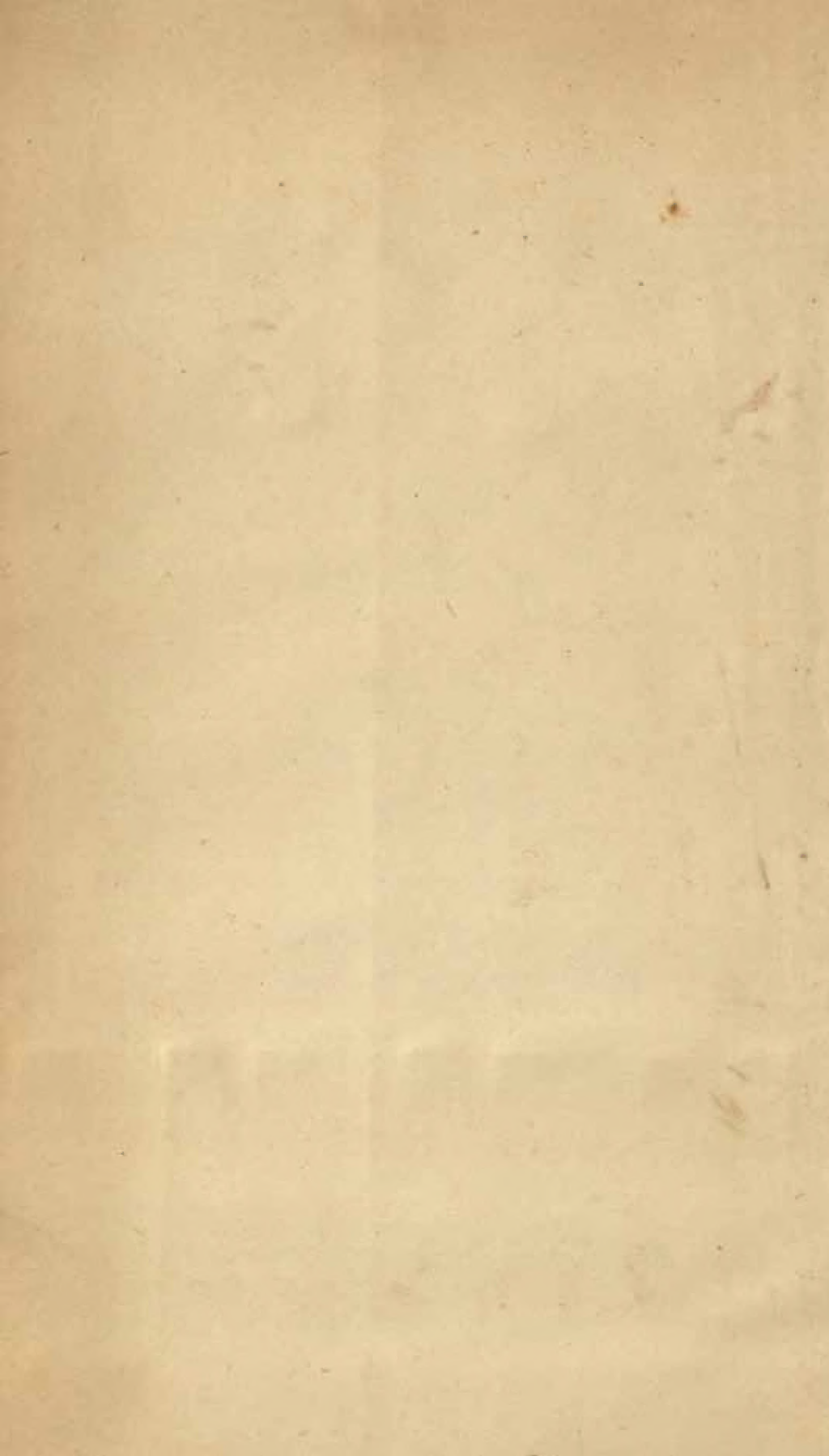


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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY, 1931

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THE ARMY IN INDIA AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

BY GENERAL SIR GEORGE DE S. BARROW,
G.C.B., K.C.M.G.

WE read in the Simon Commission Report that "in considering the implication of the policy, to the pursuit of which the British Parliament is solemnly pledged, for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration, and for the development of responsible government in British India, no question is at once more difficult or more crucial than the future organization, recruitment and control of the Army in India." At the same time the Report is emphatic that the question cannot be shirked or covered up in soothing generalities, and that it is our duty to face it frankly and squarely because "a completely self-governing India must be in a position to provide itself with armed forces fit to undertake the tasks which armed forces in India have to discharge." Whatever influence the Royal Commission Report may have on the deliberations of the Round Table Conference, and whatever value the Conference attaches to the opinions and recommendations contained in the Report, the formidable obstacle presented by the Army problem is there and cannot be burked or evaded.

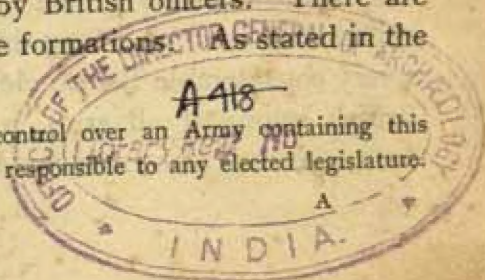
The Army in India consists of 60,000 British and 150,000 Indian troops commanded by British officers. There are also certain Royal Air Force formations. As stated in the Commission Report:

It is impossible to relinquish control over an Army containing this large British element to Ministers responsible to any elected legislature.

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Such a transfer could only take place when no part of the Army in India consists of British officers or troops recruited by the Imperial Government.

We are, therefore, confronted with this dilemma. We are told that the British Parliament and the British people have no thought of going back on the assurances they have given regarding the attainment of self-government in India. We are also told that a self-governing India must be in a position to provide itself with armed forces sufficient to undertake the tasks which the Army in India today discharges. And we may take it that the word "sufficient" here implies, not only sufficiency in numbers, but also in efficiency. And, finally, in the same breath we are told that we cannot relinquish control of the Army as long as it contains a British element to an Indian Government responsible to an elected legislature.

Accepting these statements as the basis for discussion, the following call for our consideration :

- (a) What are the tasks which the present-day Army in India discharges ; and can we expect that within any computable period a fully Indianized Army will be competent, in all respects, to execute them ?
- (b) The Indianization of the Army—can its rate be accelerated, and how long will it take to complete ?
- (c) The Royal Commission solution to the problem—is it a satisfactory solution, and, if not, wherein does it fail ?

And when we have concluded our examination of these points we shall find that the problem contains one more unknown quantity, the value of which the Commission makes no attempt to extract, although it makes an indirect allusion to it.

THE WORK OF THE ARMY

The rôle of the Army in India is twofold and is contained in the expression (1) External Defence, (2) Internal Security. As regards external defence, we may accept at once the conclusion of the Commission that "it will be impossible, for a very long time to come, to dispense with a very considerable British element, including in that term British troops of all arms, a considerable proportion of the regimental officers of the Indian Army and the British

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personnel in the higher command," the reason being that the effective defence of India is an Imperial question, in which Empire communications, Empire trade, and the general position of India in the East is affected. Altogether the issues are far too vital to permit of any risks being taken.

From this we deduce the fact that not only must the higher commands and staffs and a very large proportion of the regimental units and formations of the Army remain British, but that, irrespective of the rate at which Indianization proceeds, a considerable and, we might add, a preponderating number of the regimental officers of the Indian Army must also be British for a very long and indeterminate period. The North-West Frontier of India is the one land frontier in the Empire which is open to attack by a Great Power. Its defence cannot be left to an Indian Army, administered and directed by a popularly elected Indian Government.

The position as regard internal security is not so simple. Of the 60,000 British and 150,000 Indian troops, more than half the British and approximately one-fifth of the Indians are reserved for the maintenance of internal security; the proportion of British to Indians being as eight to seven. The limiting factor in arriving at these numbers is the minimum which would be needed for internal security purposes throughout India when the rest of the troops are actively engaged in external defence duties. This minimum figure has not been materially altered since Lord Kitchener was Commander-in-Chief, when it was fixed after consultation with the provincial governments and with due regard to the strength of armed police and auxiliary force units which are located in the several districts. The reason given by the Statutory Commission for a greater number of British than Indian troops being earmarked for internal security is that

the British soldier is a neutral and is under no suspicion of favouring Hindus against Muhammadans or Muhammadans against Hindus [and

they add that] as the vast majority of the disturbances which call for the intervention of the military have a communal or religious complexion, it is natural and inevitable that the intervention which is most likely to be authoritative should be that which has no bias, real or suspected, to either side.

THE BRITISH SOLDIER

But the Simon Commission does not give the whole reason; there is something else besides the question of impartiality. The Indian public, in times of disturbance, places its confidence in the British soldier because it knows that the British soldier will not be bribed or cajoled; that he is indifferent to threats, and does not panic; that he preserves his temper under extreme provocation. Moreover, he represents the Power which has given India a security from dangers, both within and without, which she has never known before. It instinctively recognizes that he is a son of a dominant race. It is one of those things not easy to explain, and would not be readily admitted by many Indians living in an atmosphere of peaceful security. But it would be apparent at once to anyone who has seen, say, only a company of British infantry march with fixed bayonets through a city like Peshawar.

The Indian soldier may be as brave, as physically active, as the British soldier; he often is a better shot with gun or rifle, but there is no getting away from the fact: it is the Britisher who inspires the greatest sense of security in those he has to protect, whether individually or in the mass. An Indian shopkeeper of Delhi once said to me: "When riots are afoot, put a couple of British soldiers at each end of the street and we all feel safe." When I asked him if a couple of Indian soldiers would not do as well, he merely shook his head and shrugged his shoulders.

I do not want, for a moment, to make any comparison which is derogatory to the Indian soldier in what I have just said. I have served with him, in peace and war, for forty years, and no one has a greater admiration for his soldierly qualities than I have. I am merely stating a

psychological fact where dealings with his own people are concerned.

It is evident from what has been said that the tasks of external defence and internal security cannot, at the present stage of India's constitutional advancement, be entrusted to a wholly Indianized Army. When that time is likely to arrive will be more apparent after we have considered the progress of Indianization and cognate questions.

INDIANIZATION OF THE ARMY

The situation today as regards Indianization of the Army briefly is this : In 1918 the Indianization of the Indian Army commenced with the bestowal of King's commissions for the first time on Indians, to whom ten vacancies were allotted at Sandhurst. Also nine vacancies have since been offered at Woolwich and twelve at Cranwell. Following on the Skeen Committee which was appointed to consider the question of the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst the number of vacancies was doubled, and last year 21 Indians were admitted to the College. Not all who enter are successful in passing out. For instance, up to the end of 1928 there were 112 admissions, and only 77 received commissions. Seventy-seven commissions in ten years out of a population of 247 millions in British India is not much.

The number of candidates hitherto has not been very encouraging. Both civic and military authorities have done what they could to induce a greater number of suitable candidates to come forward, and there have been indications lately that their efforts have not been without effect. I understand that the number of candidates now exceeds the number of vacancies, and the conditions are improving, both in respect to their numbers and to their suitability. It will therefore be possible before long to increase the vacancies and to accelerate Indianization accordingly. If this is done some modification will be necessary in the policy of confining the Indianization to the eight units, as is done at present.

The Statutory Commission says that the pace at which Indianization proceeds is conditioned by the efficiency of the results obtained. The primary factor governing the rate of progress must obviously be the number of Indians who qualify to receive commissions. But there is another factor which I do not think the Simon Report alludes to in any way beyond the general reference to the maintenance of efficiency mentioned. The pace depends, not only on the annual number of Indians who receive commissions, but on the length of time they remain in the Army and on the age at which they are still capable of rendering useful service. In these days the great majority of British lads who enter the officer ranks of the Army do so with the intention of sticking to the Army for as long as the Army allows them to stick.

It is a matter for consideration whether the average Indian King's commissioned officer will adhere equally tenaciously to the profession of arms. My personal observation inclines me to the belief that when the question of livelihood is not concerned, he will often retire at a comparatively early stage in his career. Others may hold a contrary opinion. But there is another point which is not so likely to be challenged by those who have passed many years in India. The average Indian develops much earlier than the European, and he ages much more rapidly. How many Indians will retain the combined mental and physical vigour which is required of military officers in the higher ranks after they have reached the age at which those ranks are usually attained? Very, very few.

The eight units of the Indian Army which are at present undergoing the process of Indianization will not have completed their transformation until the year 1949 at the earliest.

NO SHORT CUT

It is obvious, therefore, that if the conditions laid down by the Skeen Committee, which, with the exception of the Chairman and one other, was composed of ten Indian

gentlemen, that "success must be secured at each stage and military efficiency maintained throughout," the Indianization of the 104 battalions, 21 cavalry regiments, and 7 pioneer battalions of the Indian Army is not going to proceed by leaps and bounds. The course will be very gradual. And if the condition relating to military efficiency be honestly adhered to there is yet one more consideration which, to my mind, will have its influence on the time which must elapse before the ultimate goal is reached.

Discipline is of two sorts—there is the educated discipline of intelligence and there is the uneducated discipline of faith. The one has its roots in the knowledge that there must be discipline and obedience if there is to be any order and any success; that without discipline there is no army—only a rabble; that undisciplined forces are always defeated by disciplined armies; and that *undiscipline* on the part of an individual will not be tolerated by a man's comrades. The strength of the other lies in a simple trust in the judgment, equity, and leadership of those in authority over them, and in the faith that there can be no better way of going than that which their officers show them. It is this which is the discipline of the Indian Army. The Indian Army with its British officers possesses a high sense of discipline. Putting aside for the moment the question of capacity for leadership, it would not be reasonable to expect the same standard in an army officered by men of such diversity of tongues, castes, customs and creeds as would necessarily be the case in an Indian National Army until many years have elapsed.

When we come to leadership, it is natural to ask why Indians who have proved their undoubted ability in the civil departments should prove less able in the officer ranks of the military service. Sir Reginald Craddock has given the answer very clearly in a recent letter to *The Times*, and from which I take the liberty of quoting. He says:

Since the reforms, the political demand has come into greater prominence because Indian politicians have felt that the criticism that people who

want to govern themselves must also be able to defend themselves was a criticism that it was difficult to answer. What we have now to meet is the genuine demand among Indian youth and their parents and not the pious aspirations of politicians inspired by no military tradition. We know that the educated middle-classes have acquitted themselves worthily in civil branches of the public service. They have brains and application, a special aptitude for judicial and accounts work, and many of them can acquire a high degree of professional and technical skill. But their two weak points are in the qualities most required in the Army—namely, a faculty for quick decision in emergency, and a readiness to take responsibility. There are, of course, brilliant exceptions, but these are relatively few. The martial races are educationally backward. They are capable of desperate valour under commanders whom they trust, but are mostly deficient in initiative. When these races take to higher education, they quickly drift towards more otiose civil avocations.

It is an historical fact which extends to the present day that the Indian has always fought his best under European leadership. We find that since the days when the Europeans first began to set their feet in Hindustan, the native rulers have tried to engage the services of Dutch or French or Englishmen to lead their troops. Apart from this, it is not to be expected that a mixture of Muham-madans, Hindus of all communities and castes, and Christians, or, say, of Punjabis, Bengalis, Gujeratis, Madrassis, and other nationalities, is going to follow the lead of any one of them as wholeheartedly as he follows the British officer.

Putting all these things together, it is easy to see that the process of evolution of a complete and thoroughly efficient Indian Army is going to be very gradual; and all the more so for the reason that its evolution does not proceed from within the Army itself, but is largely dependent on the creation and development in some of the Indian nationalities of a military instinct which they do not at present possess.

NOT INSUPERABLE OBSTACLES

In drawing attention to these brakes to easy progress there is no desire to be obstructive to the idea of Indianization. But if we are indeed to face the problem squarely

and honestly there is no good in seeing only one side, to cover over the obstacles and difficulties or treat them as if they were non-existent. Sooner or later they are bound to obtrude themselves. A good deal of our troubles today would never have occurred if we had always been true to our convictions and spoken the truth which is in our hearts.

At the same time I would not imply that the difficulties to which I have drawn attention are to remain insuperable obstacles for all time, but I do maintain that they will not be surmounted until India has become one country, in heart and mind and purpose.

It has sometimes been argued, because the Indian Government has on several occasions lent to the Imperial Government units and formations of the Army in India for Imperial purposes, that this is evidence that the Army which the Indian taxpayer is called on to support is larger than is required for India's needs.

India has furnished contingents for operations in Manila, Macao, Java, Bourbon, Egypt, Abyssinia, the Sudan, China in 1865, 1900 and 1926, and South Africa. In all these instances the call was made on India because she was geographically much more favourably situated for the despatch of troops to the scene of action than the other garrisons of the Empire, and it was made when the horizon has been cloudless and no danger threatened the country from any direction. The Imperial Exchequer paid for the troops during their absence, and the Indian revenues benefited accordingly.

During the Great War India rendered immense help to the Empire. When the War was only four months old she had provided 21 cavalry regiments, 204 guns, and 69 infantry battalions. Her total contribution during the War was 1,302,394 men, 172,815 animals, and 3,691,836 tons of supplies and ordnance stores. She also voluntarily contributed very largely towards the cost of maintenance and equipment of these forces.

In this case there was no danger of any direct assault on

India by any hostile power. Russia was our ally during the first years of the War, and too weak and occupied with her internal affairs at the end to give any cause for apprehension.

Grateful as we must be for the assistance rendered by India, we cannot ignore the fact that those who are now clamouring the loudest for immediate self-government or Dominion status, or whatever they like to call it, are not those who made the sacrifices. The losses and sufferings were borne, for the most part, by that section of the Indian community which has never demanded the abrogation of British rule or taken any part in subversive actions against the existing Government.

The Indian officers (Viceroy's commission) and other ranks of the Indian Army have hitherto shown no desire for change of Government or for any alteration in its present form. Many attempts have been made, and continue to be made, to subvert their loyalty, but without success. But they are amazed and bewildered at the liberty and license given to the native Press, to seditionists, and to unscrupulous scandal-mongers whose mouths are full of lies. A government which does not govern in the strictest sense is simply not understood by the Indian soldier or by the class from which he is drawn. A government which does not insist on being obeyed immediately and in every particular without question is respected by him as little as would be a commanding officer who permitted his regimental orders to be ridiculed and ignored. At first, as I say, he cannot understand it; his world has gone topsy-turvy. Then after a time he begins to think; and from his whole training and heredity he can imagine only two reasons for this incomprehensible leniency. The one is that bribery and corruption have entered into the Councils and the other is "fear." He knows that where British governing officials are concerned, it will not be the one; it must therefore be "fear." And when this idea has once entered his head it can only be a matter of time for contempt to follow.

You cannot be loyal for ever to anything you hold in contempt, and loyalty must fail at last. Loyalty connotes respect for the person or the object to which it is given. When that respect is forfeited the corner-stone is gone and the fabric crumbles.

THE SIMON RECOMMENDATIONS

We now come to the solution of the problem given by the Simon Commission. It consists simply in placing the Army directly under the Viceroy, working, of course, in conjunction with the Commander-in-Chief. India's share in the cost of maintenance of the Army would be non-votable; the legislature would have no say in it. From this a curious anomaly arises. We have pledged ourselves to do our best to advance India along the road which ends in complete self-government, one of the indispensable conditions of which is that she should raise and control her own military forces which are required for internal or external defence; and yet, during the time when India is running her course, instead of gradually extending her authority over the Army until such time as she arrives at the fulfilment of her aim, she is to have no direct control of the Army at all—that is, even less than she has today.

The difficult question must arise some day as to how and when the Indian Army is to be transferred into her keeping. Will it be all at once? Such a sudden transition is hardly imaginable. Or by gradual stages? And, if the latter, how will some of the difficulties which the Simon Commission seeks to obviate be avoided? It has been suggested that the germ of a Dominion Army may be found in the Territorial Force, but one must not be led into thinking that the Indian Territorial Force (composed of Indians) is in any way comparable with the Territorial Force in this country, and it is miles behind the Auxiliary Force (composed of Europeans) in quality, training, and general efficiency. But whatever their value may be, they suffer from the drawbacks which I have already mentioned, when

there is a question of welding them into a homogeneous and in all respects efficient army.

THE BRITISH FORCE AND WITHDRAWAL

And, again, we come up against a difficulty similar in nature to that to which I have just referred. We will all agree with the Simon Commission, as already mentioned, that the Army containing a large British element cannot pass to the control of an Indian legislature, because the defence of India is an Imperial responsibility, and we cannot say when this will cease to be so. This is the ostensible reason, but it is not the only reason in the minds of the Commission, for they say that the preservation of law and order may depend, in the last resort, on the use of the *existing* Army, and they give their proposals regarding the employment of Imperial troops for this purpose. And they must visualize these troops, thus employed on internal security, as being in addition to those required for Imperial defence, for they have themselves stated the limiting factor in determining the numbers to be retained for internal security to be the minimum required for that purpose after the mobilization of the Field Army.

The point is, Who is to say how and when the reduction and ultimate total withdrawal of British troops from the internal security Army is to take place or mark its successive steps? In any case, it seems that it cannot be until the day comes when the Pathan and the Bengali, the Sikh and the Madrassi, and all the other nations inhabiting the Indian Continent live together in peace and concord—a day which at present appears as distant as that when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb and the leopard lie down with the kid.

The Simon Commission Report makes one suggestion regarding the period during which India is advancing through the stages of responsible to complete self-government. It says that one of the consequences of the proposals is "that it opens the question whether the

Government, in co-operation with the Central Legislature, might not encourage the organization, training, and equipment of certain military, and it may be naval, forces of its own, independently paid for and controlled, which would contain no British element." It looks as if the Commission had not pondered very deeply over this proposal. They draw attention to the financial difficulties which would attend such a scheme, but the slightest examination reveals many other and equally weighty drawbacks attached to it. The existence side by side of two forces, one owing allegiance to the Viceroy and the other to the Central Legislature, with two army headquarters and two sets of departmental services, competition in recruiting, differences over matters of accommodation, training grounds, and in many other directions, which would be the source of endless jealousies and friction.

It would be a more natural process to let Indianization continue to take its course, and as the Indian units of the Army become completely Indianized, hand them over to the Government of India. In this way the transition from "no control" to "absolute control" of the Army would be gradual and automatic. There would be no loss of efficiency, as no unit would be handed over until it was pronounced efficient in all respects by the military authorities. As Indianization proceeds a time will arrive when it will become increasingly difficult to induce British lads to join the Indian Army. It may, therefore, be necessary at some period to introduce an organization similar to that of the former Egyptian Army, whereby officers of the British service will be seconded for definite periods to serve with the Indian Army, and to hold the higher regimental appointments until Indians have obtained the requisite amount of training and experience. Special attractions in the way of pay and emoluments* would be required in order to induce officers to take on this attachment, which would, of course, be voluntary.

* As is done in the King's African Rifles, the Sudan Defence Force, and other cases, for instance.

PROVINCIAL RECRUITMENT

Finally, we come to what seems to me the most crucial of all the difficulties which beset the Army problem. The Statutory Commission make no attempt, as far as I can see, to face the difficulty. They are, however, plainly aware of its existence, for they say :

The plain fact is that the formation of an Indian National Army drawn from India as a whole, in which every member will recognize the rest as his comrades, in which Indian officers will lead men who may be of different races, and in which public opinion will have general confidence, is a task of the greatest possible difficulty, and the Indian intellectual has, as a rule, no personal longing for an army career.

The truth of the above statements is borne out in a marked manner by the number of recruits which are furnished annually by the different provinces, and the number of combatants serving in the Army in 1929 is shown in a sketch-map in vol. i. of the Report. Excluding the Gurkhas from Nepal, of the total number of the combatants in the Army, 66 per cent. come from the Punjab and N.W.F. Province, 11 per cent. from the United Provinces, and 23 per cent. from the whole of the rest of India put together, Bengal's share being nil. The recruiting figures during the Great War show the position even more clearly. Bengal with a population of 45 millions provided 7,000 combatants, and the Punjab with a population less than half the size provided 349,000 recruits. Punjab and the United Provinces between them found three-fourths of the total number of combatant recruits throughout British India.

The Territorial Force was started in 1923 in order to meet the desires of the Legislature that Indians who did not wish to adopt a profession of arms might still find an opportunity to give expression to their martial instincts. It was my duty during my last four years in India to make an annual inspection of the Bengal Battalion of the Territorial Force. One would have expected to find it brimful of young Bengalis eager to give vent to their military

ardour. What did I find? In the ranks—not one! Only waifs and strays from the docks and bazaars and indigent wayfarers who joined up for the sake of the food, pay and clothing, and who after a single training departed to return no more. There is no denying that the spirit of adventure and war which shines so brightly in some parts of India only flickers feebly in other parts and is altogether extinct in Bengal.

THE MARTIAL RACES AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

On the other hand, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Provinces produce some of the brightest and keenest intellects in Hindustan and the equal in many respects of the best that Europe produces. In any Indian legislature or government the members which come from the non-martial races must (by reason of their numerical superiority alone, if not on account of their superior educational attainments) greatly outbalance those that come from the martial districts.

I believe that those who know the country best will agree with me that in a self-ruling India the men of the North—the Pathans, Punjabi Muhammadans, Sikhs, Dogras and Jats, and Rajputs and Garhwalis—will *not* submit to the dictatorship of the Bengalis, Madrassis, and other non-martial nationalites of Hindustan, that the provinces that provide 77 per cent. of the Indian Army of today will *not* consent to be governed by the representatives of the rest of India, who only provide 23 per cent., and least of all by Bengal, which provides nothing. The Simon Commission points to the “obvious fact that India is not . . . a single nation, is nowhere made more plain than in considering the difference between the martial races of India and the rest.” This will be the danger, growing ever more threatening as the time draws nearer for the substitution of a Dominion for an Imperial Army. The races who possess what are called the fighting classes, and from whom the personnel of the

Army is drawn, will dominate the races who are destitute of a fighting class. It will not then be a case of a self-governing India—the rule of the more virile sections will replace the rule of the British. Or it may be that the present “Satanic” government (to use Mr. Gandhi’s term) having been evicted, India will resemble the man in the Bible who, when one devil had been cast out of him, seven more devils, each more wicked than the last, entered him—and the last state of that man was worse than the first.

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

I will summarize the points I have endeavoured to bring out:

1. The Royal Commission plan for dealing with the obstacle which the Army presents to the constitutional advance of India is suitable for meeting the transitional stages of that development. It is not ideal, but it is probably the best that could be devised. It does not, however, solve the problem of the eventual replacement of the present Imperial Army by an Indian national army equally capable of performing the duties of external defence and internal security, which, we are told, is an indispensable condition of a complete self-governing India.

2. Indianization is limited by the supply of candidates who are *in all respects* fitted for an army career. At the same time it must be borne in mind that successful Indianization does not depend solely on the number of cadets who enter the Army, but also on their capacity to stay the course up to the very end. The present standard of efficiency must be maintained throughout.

3. Communal differences are as much racial as they are religious. As long as these exist to anything like the extent they do today a national army is out of the question. The races of India must assimilate in the sense that the German races—Prussians, Bavarians, Saxons, Hanoverians, Wurtembergers—are assimilated before it is worth while giving

a serious thought to a national army. Indians must learn to command and be commanded by men of different origins and with the same mutual respect as in the British Army, where English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish command and are commanded by each other, free from all trace of inequality, mistrust, or disfavour. And that day is a great way off.

It is so far off that the consideration of how to accommodate the circumstances to it when it does come can be only of academic interest to this generation. And as, in any case, the N.W. Frontier defence will remain an Imperial matter probably for as long as the Empire lasts, it may be found necessary in the end to create a military province West of the Indus, formed by portions of the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan, which would contain an Imperial garrison, while the national army garrisoned the rest of India. This arrangement would have many disadvantages, both strategical and political. It might, however, be the only solution. On the other hand, there may be found others and better ones when the time comes. The adoption of a system similar in principle to that of the old Egyptian Army when it was commanded by British officers might facilitate the course of Indianization, especially in its final stages.

AN HISTORIC ANALOGY

The situation in India today is, in some of its aspects, analogous to that which existed in Britain some 1,450 years ago. In those days there were many Britons who had been educated in Rome, spoke Latin, wore the Roman toga, adopted Roman habits, and served both as officers and in the ranks of the Roman legions. We read in Gibbon's history that

after the departure of the Romans the whole island was divided by the distinction of two national parties, again broken into a thousand subdivisions of war and faction, by the various provocations of interest and resentment. The public strength, instead of being united against a foreign enemy, was consumed in obscure and intestine quarrels. . . .

And I would like here to relate an historical incident, for the facts of which I am indebted to the late Dr. Conan Doyle. Shortly before the final withdrawal of the Romans, three Britons—Caradoc, Regnus, and Celticus—all speaking Latin, dressed in Roman clothes, and having lived some time in Rome, came as a deputation to the Roman Viceroy. The object of their visit was to request the Viceroy to forward a petition to the Emperor and Senate praying for the grant of self-government. They acknowledged their debt to Rome for their higher standard of living and education, the peace and protection which they had received, and the other advantages they had obtained from their Roman connection. "But," they said, "our own methods of justice and manners are better suited to the country than yours, our traditions go back farther than those of Rome, we have learnt from you how to protect ourselves, and we think that the time has come for us to govern ourselves."

The Roman Viceroy pointed out to them that Britain had never been one kingdom; it had been composed of many tribes who, before the Roman advent, had been constantly warring against each other, and would be at each other's throats again if the Romans went. They replied that this was in the old days, but could not occur again in the peaceful days wherein they now dwelt. The Viceroy said: "This blessed doctrine of peace will be little help to you when you are face to face with men who worship the God of War. What will you do to defend yourselves against the Picts and Scots and Northmen who are eager to invade Britain at the first opportunity?" They answered that many of the best legionaries were of British blood and that, thanks to the military training many of them had received from the Romans, and trusting in their own right arms, they had no reason to fear invasion. "But discipline, the power to command, the higher knowledge of war, the strength to act, the spirit of co-operation—it is in these things you would fail," said the Viceroy. "Nevertheless,

you shall have your wish. Orders have just been received by me from Rome recalling every Roman to Italy to protect Rome from the barbarians."

At first the deputation was delighted and asked what troops would be left behind for their protection. "None," the Viceroy told them. "Every Roman is to go at once." Then the deputation was aghast. "If the legions go at once," they said, "and no troops are left, we shall have the Scots at York and the Northmen in the Thames within a month. In a few more years, perhaps, under your protection, we shall be in a position to act together and to defend ourselves, but not yet, not yet." The Viceroy said: "For years you have been clamouring for self-government and raising the people. Now you have got what you wanted, and what more would you have? Within a month you will be as free as you were before Cæsar ever set foot on your shores." "For God's sake, your Excellency," said the deputation, "we had not well considered the matter; wait at least till we have gone to Rome and petitioned the Emperor and Senate to let you remain." "Do as you please," said the Viceroy, "but the legions leave Britain directly we have collected the ships."

The legions left, and before a year had passed Celticus was dead, having been flayed alive by pirates and his skin nailed to the door of a church near Caistor; Regnus was dead, having been tied to a tree and shot with arrows; Caradoc was alive, but he was slave to a Scot, and his wife was the mistress of a Welsh chieftain; and blood and ruin and ashes covered the fair land of Britain.

Whatever may be the rate at which self-government is conferred on India, and however much the attainment of self-government is bound up with the control of her own fighting forces, the same fate will befall her, in kind if not in degree, as befell Britain nigh on 1,500 years ago, should the external and internal defence of India be left in her hands before she has attained nationality in fact and not merely in name.

Finally, in our anxiety to help India along the difficult road to self-government, let us beware ourselves of stumbling in stony places. Let us be sure that we do nothing that would merit the reproaches of the many men of our race who have laboured in India—the Warren Hastings, Clives, Lawrences, Wellesleys, and others of lesser renown, but not less endeavour, and of the men and women whose names are engraved in every churchyard in India, who have borne heat and separation and the loss of children who never played in an English field or plucked an English flower.

“Let all who come after, see to it that these dead shall not have died in vain . . . and what they strove for does not perish.”

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, October 14, 1930, when a paper was read by General Sir George de Symons Barrow, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., entitled "The Army in India and Constitutional Reform." Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

H.H. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, the Viscountess Allenby, the Lady Rawlinson, Field-Marshal Sir Claud Jacob, G.C.B., K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., General Sir Philip Chetwode, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O. (Commander-in-Chief in India designate), Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., the Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., Lieut.-General Sir Alfred Horsford Bingley, K.C.I.E., C.B., Lieut.-General Sir Herbert Cooke, K.B.E., C.B., C.S.I., and Lady Cooke, Major-General Sir William Beynon, K.C.I.E., C.B., Lieut.-General Sir Thomas E. Scott, K.C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir William Ovens Clark and Lady Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., and Lady Chatterton, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Colonel Sir Malik Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., Sir Campbell Rhodes, C.B.E., Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Mirza Mohamed Ismail, C.I.E., O.B.E., Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Mr. R. Littlehales, C.I.E., Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Dunn, C.I.E., Mr. Matthew Hunter, C.I.E., General W. C. Walton, C.B., C.M.G., and Mrs. Walton, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, K.I.H., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Colonel Hamilton, Mr. O. C. G. Hayter, Mr. J. W. Lewis, Mr. Bason, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Miss James, Captain Petavel, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Miss Curteis, Mr. R. A. L. Moore, Mr. Abdul Qadir Khan, Miss Corfield, Miss K. Byramji, Mrs. Faruki, Mrs. Haidar Bhuttacharji, Mr. and Mrs. Doderet, Mr. S. Byramji, Colonel G. M. Orr, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mrs. Ameer Ali, Mr. Waris Ameer Ali, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Mr. B. Shiva Rao, Mr. K. Swarup, Mr. S. C. Gupta, the Hon. Gertrude M. Kinnaird, Mr. B. T. Keshavaingar, Mr. N. Rama Rao, Sardar Hardit Singh, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Miss L. Sorabji, Mrs. J. M. Walter, Mrs. Herron, Mrs. Martin Floyd, Mrs. Bentley, Mrs. le Maistre, Miss Wright, Miss Gravatt, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Rutledge, Mrs. Davidson, Miss Tippiitts, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are living in very difficult times. Since the war, all the nations of the world have had to grapple with problems of the utmost importance, and in many cases of the greatest difficulty. There are no more difficult questions than those which beset

the British Empire. They arise daily: questions of extreme complexity, which will not wait long for an answer. But we shall answer them; and in time all these conundrums will find solution. Happily, we have no lack of experts who can and will advise us and our statesmen on the best lines to be followed for the solving of those problems. Here, today, we are fortunate in having General Sir George Barrow, who will speak to us on one of the most important subjects of those now occupying and vexing our minds, a subject on which no man living has better knowledge—namely, "The Army in India and Constitutional Reform."

(The lecturer read the paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: On the agenda paper the next item is the Chairman's address; but I shall not address you. I think that, after this most impressive lecture, anything I can say would be bathos; and if anything could spoil the lecture, that would do it. I have no knowledge of India myself, except what I saw of it as a tourist in the space of four or five weeks; but there are a great many here who know India thoroughly, and I will ask them to join in the discussion.

Sir UMAR HAVAT KHAN said that he agreed with almost all that the lecturer had said, but there were always certain things about which no two men could see eye to eye. They had heard what had happened to the Britons so many hundreds of years ago, and of course they were most anxious that the same thing should not befall them. Hitherto, the army had been led by British officers, and during his eight and a half years' active service he had seen confirmation of the view that Indians did better work under British officers. But wars nowadays were quite different from what they used to be. There were chances that fifteen or sixteen officers in a regiment might be wiped out in one day, and although it was quite right to have British officers to organize, to drill, and to teach the army, there ought to be Indians who could lead their company or their squadron, because if all the officers of a regiment of Indians were killed in one day you could promote others. Unless the present state of affairs was altered, in big wars the Indian Army would not be so efficient as one would like. With regard to Indianization, of course, the matter was in British hands and they could not do what they liked. Up to now, the British had their Sandhurst in England, where usually only those passed who had lots of money—such as the sons of money-lenders—but were not of the martial classes. The great trouble which was felt by the martial classes and the danger was that, though they made a reputation for bravery hundreds of years ago, one day if they should be led by the men of non-martial classes who would run away, perhaps they might follow them as their leaders and all the great name for bravery which they would have made would go. Why? Because they had been wrongly officered. And by whom? By the British Government. They must have some Indian centres where the proper classes could go and become officers. They were good fighting material, but had not got the money.

It was said that a knowledge of English was very useful in the military service, but a bullet would go through a white, brown, yellow, or any other

skin; and if Germans could learn military tactics in their own language, why could not Indians learn them in their own language? Hitherto, no trouble had been taken to translate books on wars in the vernaculars, and it was difficult for the ordinary officers holding the Viceroy's commission to read them in English. If they had been in their own language it would have been very easy for the officers. One great difficulty was that for four or five years they had to learn English, and then they had to start on their subject. Even the time spent learning English was not sufficient to enable them to understand many things in English, and if they were not up to the mark, it could not be said to be their fault.

What one should aim at was getting at the right class—not men of very influential families, because they were no good. If one took an ordinary British officer in an ordinary British regiment, for example, one could find many equivalents of him in the good fighting material which was to be found in India; but money should be found to teach the men, and the man should not himself have to find the money which he had not got.

There were many other difficulties in the way. It had always been said that there was only one side from which an attack could come—viz., the north-west. They would find that directly China got strong enough they would have trouble from that side. Ships could bring big armies by sea. It was no good only considering one frontier, but we should bear in mind all sides of India.

Those who were attached to the Crown and the British Government realized that they had a stake in the land—were not like the people who were said to live in an hotel and die in a hospital, and who, when they died, had not two yards of ground in which to have their burial-place. All those who had a stake in the land wanted the British Government; but if nobody cared about the landlords one would find a class coming in which would have no stake in the land, and if any trouble came they would simply leave and go to some other place. The real leaders would be made weak, and the day would come when they would be unable to do what they had previously done. He had seen a great many of the friends of the British Government who had been discarded and were vanishing away, and the time would come when there would be neither men to help in the army nor friends. He thought it was time that those present should hear from someone who knew something about India and the army, and that they should unite and let all those who did not know about India know what the circumstances were. What all of them who were devoted to the British Crown would like was that they should remain as they hitherto had been—namely, with a strong Government, and not a weak one.

Mr. W. AMEER ALI said that Sir Umar Hayat Khan had very rightly said that, given modern conditions, improved communications, improvements in aircraft, and so on, and a possible change in China from numerous war-lords to one super-aggressive war-lord, they might have to turn their eyes in another direction, as well as the North-West Frontier; and, therefore, the British-Indian Army should remain—putting it on a commercial basis well understood in certain parts of India—as an

insurance policy ; but if that form of insurance policy in the shape of the army deteriorated in efficiency, the policy would not be worth the paper on which it was written.

The problem had been very rightly stated: How to officer the Indian Army, and how to secure in sufficient quantities men of the right type. He himself was not a soldier, but he lived a good deal alongside troops, and had seen a good deal of the sepoy off parade. One of the principal difficulties in the sepoy himself was that he chafed and was restive under an officer of a non-martial race, unless and until (and it was a very big "unless and until") that officer had proved himself as such.

It was quite correct for Sir Umar Hayat Khan to lay stress on the particular point that, as Sir George Barrow had said, until all feeling of that kind was lost by the rank and file, which would take a very long time, it was most important to get the right kind of Indian officer to take his place alongside the former British officer who had led that army for two centuries from Manilla to Flanders. (Applause.)

Mr. O. C. G. HAYTER said that they had had the advantage of hearing Sir George Barrow's views on the military position in India, both with regard to external and internal security. They were told in one sentence in the paper that the numbers that would be needed for internal security throughout India were fixed with due regard to the strength of armed police and auxiliary force units which are located in the several districts.

The Simon Commission had not dealt faithfully with the question of internal security. They had been given to understand by their leaders that the Simon Report had to be backed up because it was being attacked from the extreme left. People did back it, but it was now time to say that the question of internal security had not been dealt with faithfully. He said that because it was well known that, for internal security, co-operation between an army and an effective police must be complete. The police must be to some extent still in control. The Report said nothing at all about co-operation between the police force and the military, although the schemes in this respect were perfectly well known to everybody. The force was completely surrendered to control by elected legislatures. As deterioration was apprehended, the military must find auxiliaries elsewhere.

Besides the provision of the forces, there was the vital question of the dominant position of what might be called "friendlies" or "hostiles" in the countryside. In that connection he thought the idea of encouraging the friendlies and discouraging the hostiles, as Sir George Barrow had hinted, might require a little more attention than in the past. They had been rather apt to allow great numbers of loyal people to be led by the nose by a small bunch of hostile people. The village police were an ancient but an excellent weapon which Governments had allowed to rust and appeared to be throwing away altogether. In the old village the headman was a man of authority, and a man of authority by law if the law was only enforced. He did keep order. Nowadays, one found the big house of a money-lender in a village was garrisoned by Congress wallahs,

and the headman was probably running round at the heels of revolutionaries. Now you had an expedition of two or three hundred police to haul down a flag which had been first put up by twenty men, none of whom could have put up a fight of any sort.

A passage in the Simon Report, at page 177 of the second volume, referring to the army, was very important. It seemed to make a clear distinction between "law and order" and "the public peace," but where it came in he could not understand. It would appear that the provincial legislatures were going to be responsible for law and order, but as soon as it became something called "public peace," then the British Government were to be responsible. He did not know how constitutional lawyers were going to define it, but he would imagine that the British Parliament would want to know where the responsibility began and where it ended. The Report carried the implication that provincial Governments must be allowed to call upon the military forces if they found that they could not keep order themselves. It appeared to him that the boot was entirely on the other foot in this matter, and he imagined that the British Parliament as an assembly, unless it was very foolish, would say the same. If the British Parliament was to remain responsible for keeping peace in India, it was for the British Parliament to say: "We have the right to insist that the police system which you have is of such a kind that it will satisfy us; if we have to send in troops to preserve the public peace, we must satisfy ourselves that the police arrangements are such that, humanly speaking, law and order will be maintained, and that the most the troops will have to do will be sometimes to come to the assistance of the police in maintaining order in disturbances, and that the position will not be allowed to disintegrate so that the British Army will have to come in and make war on the Indian people." He thought it was for the British Parliament to have the right to insist that the police in the Indian provinces were kept up as it, the British Parliament, desired.

Field-Marshal Sir CLAUD W. JACOB said he thought they had been rather drifting away from the subject of the lecture, which was "The Army in India and Constitutional Reform." Sir Umar Hayat Khan had said that he would like to see more Indian officers leading their men. He heartily agreed, but it must be remembered that up till now our army had been exceedingly illiterate and uneducated. That had been the trouble. When you had less than 8 per cent. of the whole of your population which could read and write in any known language, it was exceedingly difficult to expect such people to rise in the Army and be able to study the art of war as every soldier had to study it all through his service. In the Great War they were all proud, as they were today, of the Indian Army. It was a magnificent army. But they were very disappointed when, as Sir Umar Hayat Khan mentioned, the British officers were all casualties, that no leader came out and took over the command. That happened to his knowledge and in his presence twice. It was a great shock to him, because no man he thought loved the Indian Army more than he did. He had served a great many years in it. After

the war they had to reorganize the army, and then they were faced with a demand made, not by the army, but by the Indian politicians, for more Indianization, and instructions that the Indian Army was to become really Indian entirely. That meant to say that they wanted the British officers replaced. He sympathized with the demand. It was very easy to say that the British officers must go, but it was very difficult to carry out. How were they going suddenly to find 3,200 odd officers to fill all the commands from the Commander-in-Chief right down to the subalterns, and all the other hundred and one appointments? How were they going to suddenly get a large number of Indians to take the places of the British officers? Of course, it was impossible. Everybody knew it; so what was the use of camouflaging it? They would start on Indianization, but it would have to be a slow process. How long did people think it had taken to get our Indian Army as it was now, or even our British Army? It had taken years and years to evolve into what it was today. If they began suddenly to remove the British officers, those officers would remove themselves. If they were removed, they could not be replaced. This subject had been gone into very carefully. There was one man who went into it very carefully indeed, and that was Lord Rawlinson, when he was Commander-in-Chief in India. It was he who decided on the eight units scheme, which had had so many bricks thrown at it, and to which the Indians said they strongly objected, and that it was segregating the Indian King's commissioned officers. He was perfectly convinced that that was the only scheme which would work in the end. If they were going to be impatient and pull up the plant to see how the roots are going on, it would fail. If they patiently went on with it, he did not see why it should fail. It would take time, and however much they might want to hurry, it was no use, because they would only fail in the end.

Sir George Barrow's paper was a most excellent paper, with which he heartily agreed, and he hoped that those Indians who were present would think over what had been said. It was very easy to say: "We wash all that out; we do not believe it," and so on. Nobody had been able to produce a scheme, not even themselves, which they could accept, and until something like that had been brought forward he saw no reason why the army should be upset or altered from what it was now. They could not hurry things over. (Applause.)

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said that he had not had the privilege of seeing the paper beforehand, but he, like everybody else in the room, had learned much from the admirably clear and impartial presentation of a difficult problem. He doubted, however, whether the lecturer had taken account of certain solutions of the difficulties of finding officers for the Indian Army which had been put forward, and put forward by no less a personage than Mahatma Gandhi. He was lately approached by an Indian friend of the speaker's who said to Mr. Gandhi: "You are trying to drive out the British. How do you expect to protect the country when the British Army has gone, and the British officers of the Indian Army have gone?"

Mr. Gandhi, who had a solution for every difficulty, promptly replied: "There are thousands and tens of thousands of ex-officers in Germany; we will employ them." This showed what was at the back of the minds of the Indian Swarajists, of whom Mr. Gandhi was the leader.

On another occasion the Mahatma was asked: "When you have got rid of the British Army and the British officers in the Indian Army, how are you going to defend the frontiers from the tribesmen and other invaders?" He said: "I will send them my charkha (spinning-wheel), and that will arrest their progress." He commended those solutions to the lecturer as illustrating the attitude of those who claimed that they were ready to undertake the responsibility for the defence of India!

One point had struck him as the discussion went on. They had learned clearly from the Simon Report and the lecturer that the future constitution of India depends to an enormous extent on the solution of the problem of Indian defence. Therefore, it was extraordinary that among the ninety odd members of the Round Table Conference, representing every class from Maharajahs down to the oppressed classes, there was not a single member, British or Indian, of military experience competent to advise the Conference on this most urgent problem. That was an extraordinary omission. For when this matter came to be discussed, the first question to be asked would be: "What do the military experts say?" There was no military expert to refer to. The Government had very wisely nominated two of the most distinguished civilian Governors in India to advise the Conference on the constitutional and administrative questions, but there was no military officer of Indian experience or of any experience in any part of the world to advise the Commission, which was discussing issues vital to the future of the British Empire on the all-important questions of Indian defence and internal security. There was still time to remedy that omission. They could there that day put their fingers on half a dozen present who were capable of assisting the Round Table Conference in their deliberations.

General Sir PHILIP CHETWODE, in proposing a vote of thanks, said that it was hardly necessary for him to say with what tremendous interest he had listened to Sir George Barrow's lecture and what he had heard from other people during the discussion. He had been itching as the future Commander-in-Chief in India to get up and say something, but he simply dare not, because the problem was far too much wrapped up with politics for him to say anything about it.

He desired to say two things: First, that in his experience of fourteen years in India, and the last two as Chief of the Staff, he felt sure that if anything Sir George Barrow had understated the difficulties of the problem. It was extraordinarily difficult, yet, as Sir Michael O'Dwyer said, the future of India depended on the solution of that difficulty. Secondly, he thought that the two classes of people who were doing the most harm to India were, first, the people in India who were in such a desperate hurry, and, secondly, the diehards at home. They must keep an even mind, and must not exaggerate either one way or the other. Successive Governments had put

their hand and seal to the statement that England intended to do her best to lead India towards managing her own affairs, and it was no use saying that that was impossible, but it was our duty to give all the help towards attaining that end. It was stupid to exaggerate on either side, and he heard a great deal of it.

It was his very pleasant duty to propose a vote of thanks, which he was sure they would carry by acclamation, to the Chairman, Lord Allenby, and at the same time to the lecturer for his most interesting lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: I am most grateful for the vote of thanks which you have accorded to me. I do not deserve it, because I merely came here to enjoy the afternoon in listening to the lecture which we have been privileged to hear from my old friend Sir George Barrow, with regard to whom I should like so say that I concur most heartily in the vote of thanks which you have accorded.

(The proceedings then terminated.)

RURAL INDIA AND POLITICAL REFORM

BY DIWAN BAHADUR SIR T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA,

K.B.E.

(Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, India.)

I do not propose to discuss the question whether Rural India is or is not interested in political reform, though I am afraid the title of my paper might lead one to think so. I intend to make a few observations on the effect which recent political reforms in India—I refer to the reforms initiated in 1920—have had on the development of agriculture in India. So much public attention has during the past ten years been drawn both in India and in England to the ever-varying political situation in India that very little notice has been taken of the progress of what might be called nation-building activities; among such the advancement of agriculture holds unquestionably the first place.

The Agricultural Department of India was first constituted in 1871, and shortly afterwards provincial governments began to establish agricultural departments of their own under the superintendence of members of the Indian Civil Service, who usually combined their agricultural duties with those of other posts, in some cases being aided by special agricultural assistants. For many years, however, these departments, both imperial and provincial, confined their attention to matters connected with famine and land revenue, and the problems of agriculture pure and simple were hardly touched. In 1892 two agricultural chemists were appointed. An inspector-generalship of agriculture was created in 1901, and this was followed by the appointment of a few agricultural experts for service under the Government of India and in the provinces. In its present form the Agricultural Department may be said

to have been started in 1905. A Research Institute and College were established at Pusa in 1903, but it was not until 1905 that a complete scheme was adopted for the introduction of an expert agency for carrying out scientific and educational work and the practical duties connected with the development of agricultural methods throughout India.

A Civil Veterinary Department was initiated even later—*i.e.*, in 1891. It was placed in charge of all work outside the army connected with horses, mules, and cattle, and for some years horse breeding occupied its chief attention. Since 1903 the bulk of the horse breeding has been taken over by the Army Remount Department, and the Civil Veterinary Department has been occupied mainly with questions relating to cattle. Like the Agricultural Department, the Civil Veterinary Department is engaged in teaching as well as practical work. The first imperial bacteriological laboratory was started at Poona in 1890, and removed to Muktesar in 1893, where it has now grown to be the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research.

THE SMALL HOLDER

I have given this sketchy account of the beginnings of these departments to show how modest they were, and therefore how impossible it was for their activities to permeate the vast masses of the peasantry. The Indian peasant is not unique in his conservatism. Conservatism is, after all, merely prudence, unless carried to unreasonable lengths. Now, rural India is, speaking generally, a land of small holders. Whether a man holds his land direct from Government, as in Madras Presidency, or from a zemindar, as in Bengal, the average Indian landholder is a small man. He cannot afford to take risks. He follows agricultural practices which have been fashioned by experience and have stood the test of years. He is therefore unwilling, and rightly unwilling, to adopt an innovation in agricultural

practice unless and until it is definitely demonstrated to him that it is superior to what he has been following.

I do not think that it is an exaggeration to say that, prior to the Reforms, agricultural departments were looked upon by Government as something which a civilized Government had to maintain, but in the utility of which they had not much faith. The people on their side also did not take heed of them, so remote did they seem and so closely bound up were they with the ordinary activities of the Government which the people saw around them. Nor were there in India large landowners interested in agricultural development and willing to spend money on experiments—a factor which contributed so much to the advancement of English agriculture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I shall doubtless be told of the good scientific work performed by agricultural officers fifteen or twenty years ago. I am ready to admit that, but what I submit is that it did not reach the people, and it was from that point of view of little practical value. It was no fault of the agricultural departments, but of the circumstances in which they were placed.

EFFECT OF THE REFORMS

A radical change took place on the advent of the Reforms. The transference of control over the departments of what one might call national development to Ministers brought these departments within the purview of public opinion. When it came to voting on the agricultural budget, members of the Legislative Councils from rural districts began to ask why it was that they saw so little in their districts of the activities of the agricultural department. When the reply was given that that was so because they were understaffed, they pressed for the sanction of more money, and the demand grew that whatever money was available should be spent rather on these departments than on what were called the departments of public security. It was contended that the strongest foundation of public

security was a contented peasantry, and with the spread of education in the country, slow though it was, the ryots expected that a part at least of the money taken from them in taxes should be spent amongst them and in some tangible form. It was also pointed out to the Ministers of Agriculture and to their expert advisers that pamphlets and treatises on agriculture were of little avail among an illiterate peasantry; what was wanted was actual demonstrations of the improved practices of agriculture.

The growth of expenditure on both the agricultural and veterinary departments of Government, in spite of financial stringency, during the period 1919-20 to 1928-29 is remarkable. From an expenditure of Rs. 70 lakhs in 1919-20 on agriculture all over India, the figure of total expenditure in 1928-29 rose to over Rs. 130 lakhs. On the veterinary department for the same period the expenditure rose from just above Rs. 30 lakhs in 1919-20 to over Rs. 60 lakhs in 1928-29. For the first time, therefore, in their history agricultural (including veterinary) departments in India began to be, to a certain extent, adequately financed and to some degree, as their activities widened, brought into real contact with the peasantry.

A couple of examples will illustrate my point. No individual advance is of more practical importance to the agriculturist than the propagation of improved varieties and their more extended cultivation. Since the Reforms there has been a steady increase in the areas under improved seeds in almost all the important crops; for example, in cotton the acreage for 1928-29 under improved varieties is 65 per cent. more than that for 1923-24; under wheat such acreage increased by 300 per cent., and under sugar-cane by 900 per cent. Comment is needless. On the animal husbandry side let us take, for instance, the figures for the number of cattle protected against disease. These numbers have increased from 50,000 in 1919 to nearly 200,000 in 1928-29.

From an absolute point of view very great leeway has

still to be made up, but, comparatively speaking, the rate of progress is encouraging. Interest in cattle breeding and in dairying is on the increase, as is shown by the rapidly increasing demand for instruction in these matters. What is more—students who have taken a diploma in dairying are no longer forced to look to Government service as the only source of employment. They are being taken up by private farmers. There also began to be some glimmerings of co-ordination as between the work of the agricultural departments and that of the co-operative and the irrigation departments of Government. Instead of working in more or less watertight compartments, they slowly began to realize their essential interdependence if they were to get the greatest amount of results judged in terms of benefit to the people from their activities.

EFFECTS OF DECENTRALIZATION

There is, however, another side to the picture. The new dispensation brought certain disadvantages also in its train. With agriculture becoming a transferred subject, the Government of India as such, except in so far as the Indian Agricultural Service was concerned, lost the power of direction which they had before in agricultural matters. Each province was able to progress as it liked, in the manner it liked, and with the speed it liked, without reference to what was done in adjoining provinces. The Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research at Pusa and the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research at Muktesar were no longer looked upon as having any right to advise, unless of course they were specially asked, in any agricultural or veterinary matters in the provinces.

It was when things were drifting in this fashion that the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India was appointed. I am not here to dilate upon the various admirable features of the Report—its masterly survey of the agricultural position in India, its probing into the causes of agricultural backwardness, and its readiness in facing difficulties in the

way of advance. I wish to refer to the central recommendation of the Commission—viz., the constitution of a Council of Agricultural Research. It was a stroke of genius on its part to have discovered a solution of the difficulty of finding a central co-ordinating agency through the establishment of a central or, as it is now called, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. As modified to suit Indian conditions by the Government of India the Imperial Council seems to me the only possible way in which the requisite co-ordination between the activities of the several departments of agriculture in autonomous provinces can be co-ordinated and provision made for research which no individual province has the means to undertake.

THE RESEARCH COUNCIL

I shall briefly describe its constitution. The Council consists of an Advisory Board and a Governing Body. On the Advisory Board are the heads of the agricultural and veterinary departments of all the provinces plus four representatives of Indian universities, and on the Governing Body are the Ministers of Agriculture of all the provinces and two representatives of commerce as well as two members elected by the Advisory Board, with the member of the Viceroy's Council in charge of the portfolio of Agriculture as Chairman. The duty of the Advisory Board is to examine and make recommendations on schemes of research submitted to the Council by provincial Governments, universities, or private institutions. The recommendations of the Advisory Board are submitted to the Governing Body, which sanctions them or not as the case may be.

It is the Governing Body which has control of the research funds of the Council. These consist of lump sum and annual grants made by the Government of India and donations from any other sources. At the present moment, with the exception of a donation of Rs. 2 lakhs from His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, the funds of

the Council are derived entirely from the Government of India. I have hopes, however, that other States will join in course of time.

The Council is provided with a permanent staff, and its secretariat has been constituted, for reasons of administrative convenience, into a department of the Government of India. This permanent staff on the administrative side consists of the Vice-Chairman of the Council, who is *ex-officio* chairman of the Advisory Board, and the Secretary, who is *ex-officio* secretary of all the committees of the Council, plus two whole-time experts—one for agricultural matters and the other for animal husbandry. I do not wish to prolong this paper by enlarging upon the way we work, but if gentlemen would like to know more about the Council at work I shall be happy to answer any questions put to me.

Here, therefore, you see a central body on which both on its administrative as well as on its scientific side the provinces and the Government of India are equally represented. It is to this body that schemes of agricultural and veterinary research are brought to be shroffed and financed. Once you have a common meeting-ground and co-operation in actual work you get that central direction which was lacking for so long, and you get it in a far more effective manner than if it was the result of a fiat from some one person or Government.

CO-OPERATION OF UNIVERSITIES

Another point. In the past universities were considered to be outside the ambit of the activities of research in agriculture and animal husbandry financed by Government. That is no longer so. Through election by the Inter-University Board the universities have been given four representatives on the Advisory Board of the Council. Further, as I have said above, universities as well as provincial Governments have a right to ask for financial aid in schemes bearing on agricultural or veterinary research.

from the funds of the Council. Several universities have already done so ; several grants have so far been sanctioned, and more are under consideration. In this manner not only have we been able to interest universities in the work of our agricultural departments and *vice versa*, but we have found an extraordinarily good source of recruitment for our scientific appointments among the research students at our universities. There is hardly a scheme so far sanctioned by the Council in which one or more workers have not been recruited from the universities.

The Council has been further charged with the duty of financing delegations to Imperial and International Conferences on agricultural subjects abroad. It has therefore been provided with opportunities not only of facilitating contact as between officers of agricultural and veterinary departments in India and workers abroad, but also of providing facilities for Indian scientists unconnected with any Government department of meeting their confrères from other lands. This is only one of the ways in which the Council performs an important duty which has been laid upon it, and for the performance of which there was no adequate machinery in the past—namely, the interchange of information. We are shortly going to constitute a Bureau of Agricultural Intelligence, which will collect and disseminate the results of agricultural work done in India, and which I hope will in course of time form a worthy counterpart to the Imperial Agricultural Bureaux in England, to which the Council subscribes.

THE COUNCIL AND THE PUBLIC

It should not be thought that the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research is an organization which works, so to speak, on the heights outside the purview of public opinion and public criticism. All our funds are subject to the vote of the Indian Legislature, and that is enough to say that its acts are subject to a searching examination. I must confess that we started under some suspicion.

It was feared that we would be merely an engine for financing expensive but impractical schemes of research, and recruiting large numbers of experts from abroad. We have to some extent removed that suspicion, though the Council has been in existence for just a little over a year and four months. The way in which the Council tries to get all interests represented on the committees it has so far appointed for the examination of specific questions, the manner in which it has set itself to deal with some of the most pressing but difficult problems of Indian agriculture today—such, for example, as strengthening the sugar industry, research into control methods against locusts, fertilizers, and so on—have helped to inspire confidence. Without being too optimistic, I may say that these inquiries are bringing public opinion to our side. The Council tries to do its work with as little red tape and delay as possible, and people are beginning to find by experience that there is no difficulty in getting money quickly for good and practical schemes of research, be they official schemes or schemes emanating from universities and individual scientists.

I should not, however, give all the credit to the Council. The Legislature has on its side treated us with a marked degree of indulgence. I think I am not wrong in saying that its attitude is somewhat like this: The Council is still on its trial; from what we have seen during the last few months it has been trying to do its best; let us not cramp its style by premature criticism, but let us wait and see what results it achieves within the next few years and judge it thereby. I think you will admit that there could not be a fairer attitude for observers to take or a greater incentive than this for the Council to make good.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, November 4, 1930, at which a paper was read by Diwan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghava Acharya, K.B.E., on "Rural India and Political Reform."

Dr. T. Drummond Shiels, M.P., Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, was to have presided.

Sir Louis Dane, in opening the proceedings, said that they had learned with regret of the inability of Dr. Drummond Shiels to be present, owing to the serious illness he had contracted during his visit to Palestine and Cyprus. His private secretary had written stating that Dr. Shiels wished him to convey to the members of the Association his sincere regret that ill-health had made it impossible for him to keep the engagement. Sir Provash Chandra Mitter, a member of the Executive Council of Bengal, and a delegate to the Round Table Conference, had kindly consented at short notice to take his place. (Cheers.) Sir Provash Chandra Mitter then took the Chair. The following, amongst others, were present :

H.H. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., the Maharaja Dhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., the Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., and Lady MacKenna, Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir Basanta Mullick, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, K.I.H., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Nawab Sir Muhammad Akbar Hydari, Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., Mr. H. F. S. Lindsay, C.I.E., C.B.E., Dr. Matthew B. Cameron, C.I.E., and Mrs. Cameron, Mr. John de La Valette, Sardar Sampuran Singh, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Dr. Lanka Sundaram, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Diwan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, C.S.I., Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. A. Montgomerie, C.I.E., Mr. B. B. Roy, Mr. S. V. Raman, Mr. A. G. Eveleigh, Mr. Thurkill Cooke, Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayet Husain, Mr. S. Altaf Husain, Mr. S. B. Adityar, Miss E. L. Curteis, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. J. R. Henderson, Rev. E. S. Carr, Mr. H. B. Edwards, Miss Caton, Khan Bahadur Mian Abdul Aziz, C.B.E., and Mrs. Aziz, Mr. S. Lupton, C.B.E., Colonel D. Warliker, Dr. A. M. Shah, Miss A. A. Morton, Mr. H. Tonkinson, Mr. O. C. G. Hayter, Mrs. Haridas, Miss Gaywood, Mrs. Weir, Mr. C. Sidney Smith, Mr. Ghulam Qadir Khan, Mr. Vincent Esch, C.V.O., Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Mr. V. Subboo, Mr. N. Krishnamurti, Mr. and Mrs. Gray, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said : I am a substitute, and therefore my remarks will be brief. The Diwan Bahadur needs no introduction, at any rate to that

section of the audience who are familiar with India and Indian conditions. Wherever he lends his distinguished services he makes the subject with which he deals his own, whether as district officer, as Director of Industries, as a member of the Public Services Commission, or occupying, as he does, his present distinguished position. He has made good in every walk of life, and his reputation is by no means confined to the limits of India. Some of you knew him in this country when he was organizing at the Wembley Exhibition. His reputation has travelled far beyond this continent; he was called all the way to Canada to open the National Exhibition there. Therefore I do not think I need take up your time by saying anything more in introducing our distinguished lecturer.

(The lecturer then read his paper.)

The HON. SECRETARY said that he had received from Lord Linlithgow, who was Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, a letter in which he expressed his regret that it was quite impossible for him to be there. Another member of the Royal Commission, who on occasions acted as Chairman for Lord Linlithgow, Sir Henry S. Lawrence, also wrote expressing his regret at not being present, and added :

"One passage in the paper arouses my special interest where the lecturer mentions as the first of the most pressing but difficult problems of Indian agriculture—the strengthening of the sugar industry. Some years ago I had occasion to represent to the Government of India that the sugar-cane cultivators of the canals in the Bombay Presidency were being ruined by the competition of Java sugar. India introduced sugar to the civilized world, and it would be a tragedy if the Indian sugar industry were to disappear.

"No other class of cultivation gives so much employment in so many forms. It gives work and sustenance not only to the cultivator in the fields, but also to the artisan and the engineer in the small factory, and the chemist in the laboratory. When the Royal Commission on Agriculture visited the United Provinces, we saw the very promising beginnings of an all-Indian rural industry. In Madras we saw the scientific development of new types of prolific cane. Science has put Java recently ahead of the world in sugar, but there is no reason why India should go down without a struggle, and it is most gratifying to learn from the Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Council that this problem occupies a prominent place in their researches."

Sir Thomas Middleton, another member of the Royal Commission, wrote :

"I have an engagement which takes me out of London on Tuesday afternoon, so that I am unable to give myself the pleasure of listening to Diwan Bahadur Sir T. Vigayaraghava Acharya's paper on 'Rural India and Political Reform.' His references to the successful working of the new Imperial Research Council are naturally gratifying to me. I see that he characterizes its inception as a stroke of genius. If we accept 'genius' as the result of an 'infinite capacity for taking pains,' I think that the Diwan Bahadur's term is well chosen. And I add (for if I am giving away secrets they are secrets that should now be known) that, in the case of the recommendations on the Research Council, the 'infinite capacity' can be claimed especially on behalf of Lord Linlithgow, Chairman of the Commission, and Sir Frank Noyce.

"It was inevitable, perhaps, that at the outset there should be 'that

element of suspicion to which the Diwan Bahadur alludes. Members of the Commission anticipated this ; but we also expected that, as this paper suggests, any element of mistrust would not long survive the establishment of the Council.

"All of us who know India, and can appreciate the magnitude of the handicaps which Nature imposes on the ryot in his struggles to win subsistence for himself and his cattle, must agree that whatever directions political reforms in India may take, there should be unity of effort on the part of those engaged in applying research to the problems of its agriculture.

"As one who forty years ago knew one part of rural India intimately, and who in recent times in reading his newspapers has been led to wonder what has come over the *garib* Gujaratis with whose fine qualities as *kheduts* and as men he was once familiar, I may be permitted to express the strong hope that the events of the next few weeks may serve to strengthen that united action on behalf of the Indian cultivator at which the Imperial Research Council aims."

Sir JAMES MACKENNA said it was rather singular that the first speaker should be another member of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. He congratulated the speaker on his straightforward and succinct account of the great work on which he was engaged. When he saw the title of the Paper, "Rural India and Political Reform," he hoped that he might be treated to a discussion on the question whether rural India was interested in political reform and perhaps whether the political reformer was interested in rural India. He had been too long away from India to express an opinion upon the first part of the question. With regard to the second part he could only give his own experience when working under the reforms, and also from having given a good deal of attention to the question when he was out in India with the Royal Commission. His own experience was that under the reformed system of government every possible assistance was given by the Legislative Council. There never was a proposition put up which was not sympathetically considered by the local Council of Burma, which was the one with which he was most immediately concerned. He had put a question on this point to directors of agriculture all over India, and the reply had been invariably the same, that the relations with the Council had always been of the most helpful nature, and that no proposition which was put up was ever turned down on its merits. He did not propose to criticize the paper in a captious spirit, but he wished to deal with the matter historically and to fill up a few gaps. It was quite true that the veterinary department dated a little later than the agricultural department, but in point of fact it was functioning quite vigorously before agriculture had been brought into the departmental lines with which they were familiar. This was quite easy to understand. They had a simple problem to tackle ; it was on all fours with human medicine. Unfortunately the veterinary department had not kept pace in development with the rapid expansion which had taken place with regard to agriculture. There was a passage on page 3 of the paper from which he must strongly dissent. The lecturer said : "I do not think that it is an exaggeration to say that prior to the Reforms agricultural departments were looked upon by Government as something which a

civilized Government had to maintain, but in the utility of which they had not much faith." Then the lecturer went on to say: "I shall doubtless be told of the good scientific work performed by agricultural officers fifteen or twenty years ago." I am ready to admit that, but what I submit is that it did not reach the people, and it was from that point of view of little practical value. It was no fault of the agricultural departments, but of the circumstances in which they were placed. He entirely disagreed with these views. The classical date in the development of Indian agriculture was June 4, 1903, when Lord Curzon's Government sent home the despatch which led to the foundation of the agricultural department of India. Before that they had a number of distinguished workers working under very poor conditions who laid the foundations upon which the agricultural department of India was largely based. He was not prepared to admit that a radical change in agricultural matters took place on the advent of the reforms. The reforms brought no agricultural millennium; all that they did was to take over a machine which probably was not running at its highest efficiency owing to the reduction of staff during the war, the difficulty of finance, and one thing and another. But he would agree with the lecturer that since the department had come under the control of the Legislative Council, where the actual cultivators in India could through their representatives get some say, there had been a very considerable speeding up. So far from the statement that improvements were not being brought to the notice of the cultivators being true, the Board of Agriculture had at its meetings from 1905 to 1917 on seven occasions had a Committee, the sole duty of which was to discuss the way in which improved methods of agriculture could be brought to the notice of the agriculturists. Dr. Mann presided over the Committee from 1905 to 1917, and every possible means of bringing the results of the agricultural officers' work to the notice of the cultivators was discussed and, he believed, given effect to. In 1917 the Committee was temporarily put into abeyance because most of the methods seemed to have been explored, but, of course, there was no finality in such a matter, and when new things like cinemas, wireless, and one thing and another, were coming forward, he had no doubt one of the first steps of the lecturer in his official capacity would be to again set up that Committee of the Board. He thought the Government of India was well advised in selecting the lecturer as the first Vice-Chairman of the Council of Agricultural Research. He did not know whether the Dewan Bahadur was an agriculturist or not, but in selecting him the Government showed considerable wisdom, because he had such a wide experience. He was well known in England, where he conducted the affairs of India so well at the great Wembley Exhibition; he had been a member of the Public Services Commission, and now he had a post on a Council, the work of which the speaker had been following with great interest and with the greatest appreciation. He thought they were working on thoroughly sound lines, and had made a good beginning.

SARDAR SAMPURAN SINGH said he was very glad to be able to speak to the Association after an absence of fourteen years. He had had an oppor-

tunity to say something to them when he was a student in 1915 and 1916. His view-point was that of the agriculturist, because he was one of them. He thought that when one spoke of the rural classes of India one spoke of 99 per cent. of India, because a very large number in India were interested in agriculture, so that if rural India was reformed he thought the problem of India was solved. He quite agreed with the lecturer that since the coming of the reform the Legislative Councils had been liberal in allowing money for rural progress, but he considered so far much had not been done. He admitted that by opening up co-operative societies they had much facilitated the credit of the agricultural classes. He had taken over a central co-operative bank nearly seven years ago, when its working capital was about Rs. 3 lakhs; today its working capital was about Rs. 50 lakhs. Then they had about 200 societies affiliated to them, and today they had about 600 societies. Moreover, since that time they had opened up more central co-operative banks, and several co-operative shops and co-operative institutions. The co-operative movement was going to be a great factor in the future. A serious drawback was that they trained men for the work, and after a few years they left them. Then they had again to train new men, and after four or five years they got some higher jobs and left them. There was no doubt that the Legislative Councils were more liberal than they used to be, but in view of the fact that very little work had been done before, he thought much more needed to be done. They were not yet quite feeling the existence of the departments so far as the villager was concerned. One thing which was affecting the life of the agriculturist very much was the world-wide economic depression. The reforms were not going to bring a millennium to rural India unless some drastic changes were made, and the resources of the people of the country were developed to a much larger extent. He was afraid if the conditions continued as they were, there was not much hope of developing and improving the conditions of rural India.

Sir ALBION BANERJI said that not having had the privilege of seeing the paper before it was delivered, he had supposed that their friend the lecturer would give them food for reflection in regard to some of the burning questions of the day. Although they had not been very openly disappointed, he thought those who could read between the lines had food for serious reflection in the sense that the lecturer had indirectly foreshadowed the great possibilities that might be realized in India if full responsible government was granted under the new Constitution. He said this because, by way of comparison, the lecturer had tried to hold the balance, as it were, between centralization and decentralization, giving all the credit to the reform scheme for having decentralized the administration of agriculture and transferring it to the responsibility of the Ministers of the Provinces, credit which was proved by the very satisfactory statistics that had been quoted. At the same time, the lecturer had pointed out the drawbacks and the attempt which had been made by the Government of India to meet some of the disadvantages of

that decentralization, and explained how this new Central Imperial Council of Agricultural Research had been established. In his humble judgment he considered decentralization was likely to give more efficient results than any form of centralization. The constitution of the Central Board, as explained by the Diwan Bahadur, had, to his mind, a very serious disadvantage, namely, that the highly trained experts of agricultural research, who met in an advisory capacity and recommended an important scheme for sanction, were not in a position to see their scheme would be realized, because they were entirely at the mercy of the Governing Board who sanctioned the fund. The Governing Board, on the other hand, were again at the mercy of the Legislative Assembly who sanctioned the grants, and they were, as they now found, anxious to secure assistance from the Indian States by way of contributions. Agriculture and agricultural research should, in his judgment, be left entirely to the Provincial Governments, and all the funds that could be allotted from the public exchequer should be allotted by the Provincial Legislature under the responsibility of the Minister in charge of that particular department. It was very pleasant to know that the universities were coming in in connection with the work of the Research Council. He had found, when travelling in America, a university in California which had a special organization continually engaged on research, and the results of that research were placed at the disposal of the department of agriculture without asking for any contribution from anybody whatever. He thought it was a move in the right direction to have universities from all parts of India associated with the great work of agricultural research. He entirely agreed with Sir James MacKenna that veterinary aid was a very important matter in India, and that it had not received sufficient attention in the past, and if the central body would give greater attention to it, not so much in creating a large number of appointments, but in actually giving facilities for preventing disease, he thought there would be a greater impetus to the development of agriculture in the different Provinces of India.

Mr. RAGHAVIAH valued highly the privilege of being permitted to be present and to hear the lecturer, one of his oldest and most esteemed friends. They had heard the succinct account of the functions of the Council of which he was the Vice-President, and they found that one of the most important functions of that Council was to direct research and to pool the results of research. He was very interested in knowing that the Council intended setting up a bureau of intelligence which would disseminate the results of research, for he believed that those results would enable the administrators in the Provinces to bring about better methods of agriculture. The Diwan Bahadur had opened by saying that he did not propose to discuss the question whether rural India was or was not interested in political reform. The point was touched upon by a previous speaker, and the lecturer had partly answered the question himself. There was no gainsaying the fact that there was a vital connection between rural India and political reform. Rural India was perhaps now not very con-

scious of its intimate connection with political reform, but it was bound very soon to discover that it had a very great connection with political reform. The lecturer had pointed out that the reforms of 1920 had done a great deal to bring about improvement in nation-building activities. As the voter in rural India found that he could exercise an increasing influence over the members of the Legislative Council, he would insist on his representatives demanding more and more money to be spent on nation-building activities, and so the sum total of the happiness of rural India was bound to increase.

Another function of the Council was the co-ordination of the various activities which went to make rural India more happy. They knew how poor the Indian peasant was; he generally owned only a few acres, or often only occupied it, and the vicissitudes of the season were always a spectre which he dreaded. Between the vicissitudes of the season and the rack-renting landlord, or a Government strict in the matter of revenue collection, he had a very small margin left for being applied towards improved methods of agriculture, nay, even for conducting agriculture effectively on known lines. He had very little credit and could not command capital, and the evil moved in a vicious circle. Without capital he was unable to improve his agriculture, and without improved agriculture he was unable to find the means to improve agriculture. There was also a very great connection between the desire to improve agriculture and the kind of education which the ryot was getting. The desire for education was rapidly spreading in the country, but the education which the ryot was getting was not the sort which would enable him to improve his agriculture. Better education meant higher cost, and the ryot could not meet it. One of the most pressing problems in India today was how to improve the credit of the peasant and give him thereby the means to improve his agricultural methods.

Secondly, it was equally pressing that the ryot should get better education and adopt a better standard of living. Credit, co-operation, and banking facilities, and the promotion of cottage industries, were the chief means by which the peasant can earn more and secure better education for his children, and a better standard of living. Again, the kind of education which the peasant's children now got had the deplorable effect of divorcing them from rural life and creating a hankering after cheap and harmful town life and amusements. The countryside had, therefore, to be made more cheerful, more healthy and more attractive, and communication and transport would play a very important part in bringing this about. The process had already begun as the result of the present reforms, but further reforms will accelerate the process. All these matters would doubtless engage the attention of the Council when it discharged its co-ordinating functions.

The system of land taxes prevalent in India represented a share of the produce of the land, and had long formed and continued to form an important proportion of the public revenue adequate enough when the rules and the method of levying them were very elastic and responsive to the ever-changing seasons; *but a highly codified method of administration*

had made these rents inelastic and rigid, and the peasant was unable to meet these ever-recurring rigid rents in lean years. It was true that rules made provision for remissions being granted in times of scarcity; but the working of these rules was very difficult, and the peasant seldom secured their benefit. It was therefore of the utmost importance that a system of land rents and taxes whose incidence would be fairer should be derived, and the land values which were rising within the vicinity of towns, railways, etc., should be tapped to yield their fair share of the public revenue. Political reforms were bound increasingly to concentrate the attention of the voter on this subject, and consequent legislation was bound to follow. Madras had already legislated against raising the pitch of the land tax beyond a certain level at every resettlement. The speaker enquired whether he might assume that the question of land revenue policy was one which lay within the range of the Council's activities. He stated that he was fully aware that the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India was precluded from dealing with land revenue policy. But if the Council were empowered to deal with this important question, he would venture to request it to pay some attention to his remarks.

Mr. H. A. F. LINDSAY complimented the Diwan Bahadur on a very excellent paper. It was one which had given them to think, and he thought had been provocative for the deliberate purpose of enabling the lecturer to hear what they had to say in order that he might afterwards dot his "i's" and cross his "t's," as he undoubtedly would when he replied. There was one point which had run through most of the discussion—namely, whether agriculture ought to be, on the whole, a provincial or a central matter. On that point he would like to state the experience which he recently had in attending discussions of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations on agricultural questions. As agricultural knowledge developed and as the need for greater and greater specialization became apparent, one found oneself faced with duality in the study of agriculture, a study of what were on the one hand entirely national problems, and on the other hand what were very largely international problems. He suggested that within each country one also found the same need to carry on in a parallel direction studies of the purely provincial aspect of crops, and at the same time studies which centred on those big overhead problems which were too big for any provincial administration to undertake. Not only was there research, but there were questions like marketing and agricultural education. There were undoubtedly marketing problems which were purely of provincial interest, but there were far greater problems no less important which were of an entirely national character, questions like the variation between wholesale and retail prices, which were questions upon which no one single province could ever come to a general or far-reaching decision. The other question on which he would like the Diwan Bahadur to give them a little of his own opinion was that of agricultural education. There it seemed that cinematograph films were going to have a tremendous future in India, more particularly now, when the silent film seemed to be going its silent way and its place taken by the

talking film, which obviously would be particularly appropriate for instructional purposes in India.

SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON said it was about five years ago that Professor N. N. Gangulee had contributed to their proceedings a paper on the same subject, entitled "The Problems of Rural Life in India," in which he advocated the establishment of the Royal Commission which was subsequently appointed. He thought they might congratulate themselves on the fact that it was during the discussion which ensued on this paper that the suggestion was first made that to remedy the lack of co-ordination between the Provinces there should be established an Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, which suggestion the Royal Agricultural Commission adopted. The proposal with important modifications in details had been accepted by the Government of India, and today they had been favoured with a very interesting account of the organization created to deal with agricultural problems. This new Council had been at work for nearly a year, so that they could congratulate themselves on the results which had followed on that meeting five years ago. Sir James MacKenna, who had very detailed knowledge of agricultural matters in India, had touched upon certain points with regard to which both he and the speaker did not altogether agree with the lecturer. His own experience was confined to the Madras Presidency, and his recollection of the early stages of agricultural research was to the effect that the local government recognized that the experts engaged in the work had first to investigate and experiment, and that only when definitely useful results had been obtained was demonstration and propaganda of any practical value. He thought there had been too much amateur agricultural activity in those days. In Madras they suffered very severely from the zeal of some district officers who thought it necessary to do something to improve agriculture, and as there were no experts to consult they initiated changes themselves and started agricultural associations to promote their efforts to improve the methods of cultivation of the ryots. All these attempts absolutely failed: it was a case of the blind leading the blind, and it was only when agricultural experts were appointed that it was possible to commence a serious study of agricultural problems which had to be faced in India. For ten or fifteen years that work went on before it reached any marked degree of fruition. It was possibly a fortunate coincidence that provincial autonomy was granted about the time that results from research were ripe and ready to be disseminated over the country. There was no doubt it was correct to say there had been a very marked development of agriculture in recent times. In the south of India there had been a very great increase in the use of fertilizers, and this was no doubt due to cordial co-operation between the officers of the Agricultural Department and the big commercial interests which were seeking outlets for their products. He wished to suggest that the economic side of agriculture was extremely important. If they could demonstrate to the ryot innovations that would pay, whether they were new methods of cultivation, new tools and appliances, or improved varieties of crops, he did not think there would be great difficulty

in getting them adopted. Briefly stated, he would advocate the establishment of agricultural service stations where competent assistance and advice could be given to the cultivators and where arrangements could be made to carry out demonstrations on the ryot's land under normal conditions. He did not think they would get much benefit from the official demonstration farms, but if they could get service stations started which would supply on a suitable commercial basis fertilizers, farm implements, and even mechanical appliances; in fact, everything which rural industry could profitably make use of, and if those stations were staffed with men who would push the business, there was no doubt they would gradually produce a great change in the country.

SIR UMAR HAYAT KHAN said he wished to say something, because their able lecturer had shown on paper that something really was being done for agriculture in India. He came from a rural part of the country, his occupation was that of an agriculturist, and he thought it better if they heard the other side of the question. He thought there had been no greater disservice done to agriculturists in India under the present law than there had been done to them for generations; all their indebtedness dates from their connection with the British Raj—in fact he could prove it, that no debt has been handed over to them from Muhammadan or Sikh rule. In his province nearly every agriculturist was in debt, and they could not get out of that debt unless they were bought back by the Government from the moneylenders. They were in debt to the moneylender as the present law was now administered by the same class. They had the money and the influence, and could educate their sons to become judges and arbitrators. As the whole trend of the discussion was that everything was being done for them, he just wanted to say that nothing was being done for them, as they could derive no benefit out of their being in such a poverty. If they got one rupee income they had to pay on that one rupee, while the people who lent the money did not pay anything on Rs. 2,000. If things went on like that, they could never improve. They were entirely in debt and had been in debt for years, and would remain such under the present regime.

Khan BAHADUR MAIN ABDUL AZIZ stated that the lecturer had briefly alluded to the fact that the Department of Agriculture was looked upon with some kind of mistrust. His experience was that people still had a great deal of mistrust, and that that mistrust was not well-founded; it was due to not understanding the real activities and the real usefulness of the department. For twenty-five years he had been a very careful student of rural India, and he could say that if the Agricultural Department continued its activities in the way in which it had been carried on, there would be a marvellous change in India. The great service that the Agricultural Department had done to the poor rural man was to give him information; there were field rats, for instance, and they would be surprised to know that rats destroyed 10 to 12 per cent. of the crops in some areas. In his district they had been remedying that matter. In another district there was a very old cattle farm, nearly one hundred years old. It was perhaps

the best cattle farm in the whole of Asia. People were beginning to realize that you could get there the best bulls in the world. At one time from that farm they exported bulls right down to South America. He could give a number of instances where great changes had come over rural India, because they were getting out of the old mental attitude that there was nothing but weather and fate. The farmer was now for the first time in his life realizing that he could learn to control environment and conquer plant diseases and pests. This was a great step forward. There was now a variety of cotton which was doing remarkably well; there was nothing like it, and there had never been anything like it before in India. They had had exhibition trains. He hoped the Diwan Bahadur would do his best to supplement the exhibition trains by exhibition omnibuses, so that they could go to the villages where the railways did not go. The speaker had tried to arrange that people should go to exhibition trains, and had succeeded in getting only a few thousands, whereas if the lecturer could organize a bus service which would take the exhibits from village to village he would get at hundreds of thousands.

The CHAIRMAN: I think at this late hour you will appreciate it if I say that silence is golden. I will call upon the Diwan Bahadur to reply.

Sir T. VIJAYARAGHAVA ACHARYA: I do not propose to make much of a reply. My object was to make use of this occasion with a view to carrying away with me suggestions for my work in India. Sir James MacKenna and Sir Alfred Chatterton were quite right when they referred to the excellent work done by agricultural officers before the Reforms. All that I wanted to point out was that after the Reforms the peasant feels that he has got a voice in the administration of the Agricultural Department. That has altered his whole point of view. He now feels that if he does not get sufficient money for the Agricultural Department, to a certain extent it is his own fault, and he must bring pressure to bear upon his Member. The whole attitude of the peasant has changed when he sees gentlemen of other professions going to the village and during election time begging for his vote and kissing his children. As regards the grant to the Council, the position is this: the Legislative Assembly has given us a lump sum besides making an annual grant, and the disposal of the money so granted rests entirely with us. We are free from an auditor's control except such as we choose to give ourselves. We are in the position of a private society. As a private society we can do what we like with our money. We are given a free hand, and we feel that we can administer our moneys and spend them in the best way we choose, without reference to the Government. With regard to the relations between the Advisory Board and the governing body there has never been any conflict; their relations have been of the pleasantest. On technical matters the governing body, who are composed of experienced ministers, does accept the advice of the experts, but questions such as whether any particular scheme is desirable from a practical point of view, or whether it ought to be placed in urgency before some other scheme, rest with the governing body. Another point referred to was the question whether agriculture should be

a central subject, a provincial subject, or both. There are aspects in which it should be dealt with by a provincial body, and other aspects in which it should be dealt with by a central body. This Council is not a Government of India body at all. It gets its funds not only from the Government of India but also from private sources, and it is a private society. In the Council we have a federal system in action so far as agriculture is concerned, and it is a federal system which does not excite provincial jealousy, because provinces have a voice, and a large voice, in its government. I do not think I have anything else to say, except to thank you for a very interesting discussion. I shall carry away the results of this discussion, and I hope when I next come and speak at this Association, if my friend Mr. Brown will still be kind enough to permit me, I may be able to say that I have actually profited by the discussion.

Sir PHILIP HARTOG, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the lecturer, said he had been very closely associated with both of them—with Sir Provash Chandra Mitter as the Minister for Education in Bengal when he was Vice-Chancellor of Dacca, and with the Diwan Bahadur when he was a colleague on the Public Services Commission. He felt sure that the important position which the Diwan occupied could be in no better hands. He was a man of extraordinary width of knowledge, versatility, and accuracy of judgment, and he felt that the Council devised by the Royal Agricultural Commission was an excellent piece of machinery, so far as they could judge in advance. He had not had much experience in government affairs *qua* government affairs, but he had had a good deal of experience in the organization of research, and he felt sure that the plan devised by the Royal Commission would be an extremely economical one for India.

THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA ON INDIAN REFORM

THE Association gave a reception on the afternoon of November 15 at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, to meet the Indian States Delegation to the Round Table Conference. The guests, numbering 350, included not only most of the Ruling Princes and other members of the States Delegation, but also many members of the British-Indian and British Delegations. The guests were received by the President and Lady Lamington.

The President, after refreshments had been served, welcomed the special guests of the occasion in the name of the Association, and said that it was a matter of special gratification to him that his old friend H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda was to speak to them. His Highness was widely known as having been a most progressive ruler who had been a pioneer in India in introducing reforms for the benefit of his people. For his own part he felt that any expression of opinion from observers on this side on the matters which were to be considered by the Round Table Conference were to be deprecated. Lord Lamington continued:

For the last ten or twelve years it has been sought to elicit the views of the people of India upon their own constitutional problems. These inquiries have culminated in the Report of the Simon Commission, in the expression of the views of the Government of India thereon, and in the assembling of the Round Table Conference. This reception is more particularly for the purpose of meeting the States Delegation to the Conference. It is of historic significance that this is the first time that they, with representatives of British India and British Parliamentarians, meet together, to discuss and thrash out proposals for the future government of India, in place of that administration which for many generations has had such a record of success in maintaining and developing the welfare of that country, and which has been praised by many observers, and not least by Indians themselves. In the King-Emperor's eloquent speech at the great inaugural ceremony of the Conference His Majesty referred to the quickening and growth of ideals during the last decade. (Cheers.) Here may I depart in a small degree from my previous utterance that it would be well for those unconnected with the work of the Conference to be silent. My point is this—that this great movement cannot be truly political, for there has been no practical change from the condition of affairs of placid contentment ten years ago. There have been several influences at work, but probably the strongest has been due to the sense of inferiority, not merely political, but personal. Unhappily, many British have shown (in the past, not now, I hope) a supercilious attitude towards the Indian. I lately read an article by an Indian who attributed nine-tenths of the trouble to this cause. Everyone going from this country should realize what a responsibility rests on him or her in treating fairly and kindly those they may meet in India. I have always understood the right definition of a gentleman to be "one who has regard for the feelings of another." The

object of this Association is to bring into friendly contact both races, and by frank discussion to arrive at a good understanding of each other's views. (Cheers.) A large number of Princes belong to the Association, therefore we cherish the link and value their presence today ; some have generously supported our work in the past, and we shall welcome further help of this kind. I am indeed fortunate that my happy days in Bombay should have this aftermath harvest of being brought into contact at this important juncture with some of India's Princes and representatives of its different peoples. (Cheers.)

THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA, who was warmly applauded on rising, said :

It is my pleasant duty on this occasion, when we are assembled here as the guests of this eminent Association, to say a few words expressive of our deep appreciation of the abundant hospitality extended to us, and our sincere thanks therefor to my old friend, Lord Lamington, and the Council. It has been my good fortune to be connected with the East India Association for a great number of years, and I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my warm appreciation of its unremitting efforts to promote mutual understanding between the best elements of British and Indian society. Much of what has been accomplished in regard to reform in India, whether political, economic, or social, has derived encouragement from this Association. (Cheers.)

I am sure you will not expect me to refer at any length to the problems which confront the Round Table Conference. I will confine myself, with your leave, to just one or two observations which occur to me. The delegates chosen for the Conference have come from every part of India, and represent in all their external variety her manners and customs, her races and dialects. Yet, I am tempted to ask, are we not all citizens of our Motherland, fashioned and moulded by the same forces of nature, united by the desires and aspirations of our common nationality ? I am convinced that we are all equally united in our determination to reach an agreement which will serve the best interests of India as a whole. This I believe to be a sure guarantee of the ultimate success of the Conference.

His Excellency the Viceroy with the concurrence of His Majesty's Government announced a year ago that Dominion status was, in his view, the natural outcome of the constitutional progress of India as foreshadowed in the announcement of August 20, 1917. This action of His Excellency marked a high degree of statesmanship. (Cheers.)

In what does the safety and the greatness of the British Empire lie? Surely in this—that the people who constitute it are allowed freedom to develop, according to their individual genius, while they share in the ideals and the material advantages which are inherent in their common citizenship. This freedom to develop is the urgent need for India; this is her earnest desire. (Cheers.)

The British Raj has done much, but how much more remains to be done? The whole fabric of India, political and economic, moral and social, calls for reconstruction on a basis which will recall her ancient traditions and foster a manly spirit in her peoples and a greater sense of national solidarity. Let all classes lagging behind in the race of progress be given temporarily greater facilities to overtake such as are ahead of them, but not so as to cause any permanent cleavage in the body politic. Great is the contribution which the Indian nation can still offer to the world's thought, great is the part which they can play on the stage of Empire. Give them freedom for so great a rôle, and that they may realize their aspirations, give them freedom to shape their destinies in accordance with the old-time genius of their race, in co-operation with the best traditions of the West. In a word, let India now at long last find her soul and take the place which is not only her privilege but her due as a self-governing unit in the British Commonwealth of Nations, representing as she does one-fifth of the whole of the human race. The future of India and the Empire is at stake. Let us go forward in a spirit of mutual trust and collaboration. (Loud applause.)

THE NEED FOR SECOND CHAMBERS IN THE PROVINCES

BY CAPTAIN NAWAB M. JAMSHED ALI KHAN, M.B.E., M.L.C.,

President of the United Provinces Zemindars' Association

No apology is needed for bringing before this Association during the sittings of the Round-Table Conference the question of second chambers in the Provinces. This was one of the matters specifically referred to the Statutory Commission by the Act of 1919. The Report of the Commission shows marked conflict of view: while some members recommend the creation of small second chambers in the Provinces, others hold that they are undesirable. There was a similar diversity of opinion among the members of the Indian Central Committee and in the provincial committees which co-operated with the Simon Commission.

The provincial Governments are also divided on this important question. In those provinces where there is no considerable landed aristocracy, such as the Central Provinces and Assam, the provision of a second chamber is not urged, and, broadly speaking, the line of demarcation on this issue is between the *ryotwari* and the *zemindari* areas. I note with special satisfaction from the despatch of the Government of India on the Simon Report published ten days ago that all members of the Government of the United Provinces favour the bicameral system; that a similar unanimity is shown by the Bihar and Orissa Government; and that the Bengal Government, though some of its members are doubtful, maintain the opinion in

favour of a second chamber which they expressed in their memorandum to the Statutory Commission in 1929. It may be added that the Bombay Government was not unanimous in favouring single chamber government.

The Government of India, attaching importance to the knowledge of local conditions and local requirements possessed by the provincial Governments, concur in the recommendations of the Governments of Bengal, the United Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa, that in those provinces there should be a second chamber. As to the other provinces, they accept the suggestion of the Madras Government that the issue should be left open by including the subject among those matters on which, under the Statutory Commission plan, after ten years a "constitutional resolution" may be passed. The Government of India consider that the success or failure of second chambers in those provinces where they are established will materially shape political opinion in those provinces which retain a single chamber legislature at the outset of the new system.

In discussing this matter we have to bear in mind the essential solidarity of opinion on the part of the Indian delegates to the great Conference now sitting in seeking for India a status of equality within the Empire of full responsible government under the British Crown. Side by side with this eager desire there is the consideration which no responsible student of the situation can challenge—that democracy in its full literal sense cannot be applied to the India of today. To respect and meet as well as to guide popular feeling is a duty of statesmanship, but to be led away by sentimental theories is dangerous.

A DAY OF TRANSITION

The broad central fact of the situation is that India is now passing through a period of transition. She is casting off many ideas and practices which are centuries old, and

is gradually adapting herself to Western ideas and outlooks. In every walk of Indian life the change is apparent. The assertion of civic rights by all classes of the people, the pressure for the evolution of self-government, the urge for self-determination—these are Western ideas which found little or no reflection in the East a couple of centuries back. The change is the clear result of East meeting West at close quarters. But India still provides an unfinished picture of the application of Western conceptions which it will take some time to complete.

Moreover, it must be remembered that a standard typical democracy suited to every country does not exist. Conditions political, social, physical, and economic vary from land to land. Every observer of world events knows that democracy in practice is something different from democracy in theory. In Soviet Russia we see tyranny masquerading as the rule of the proletariat. No patriotic Indian can desire the application of Bolshevist theories to his Motherland. Politically minded India has no wish to cut adrift from the glorious past of Hindustan, or to see the adoption of a system in which the natural aristocracy of the country is disregarded and overthrown. In a word, India requires a constitution in keeping with her great traditions. She is a huge country—indeed, a sub-continent of striking diversities.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

In one important respect, however, there is uniformity rather than diversity. The overwhelming majority of the people, whether in British India or in the States, live in villages and are tillers of the soil. Fully four-fifths of the population depend upon agriculture for a livelihood. The zemindari or land-owning system prevails in a large part of the northern half of the country as well as in portions of the south. Zemindars form the link between the Govern-

ment and the cultivators. The Indian zemindar plays a very prominent part in the life of the countryside. The Report of the Statutory Commission points out that in my part of India, the United Provinces, some 90 per cent. of the people live in villages, and are thus brought into direct association with the zemindari or land-owning class. The Report describes as a noteworthy feature of the social organization of the United Provinces the number of great landowners, and observes that the zemindars of the Agra Province form a landed aristocracy of special importance. It cannot be denied that for generations they have exercised a healthy influence over the countryside. Their old time-honoured traditions are maintained today in strength. They are the natural leaders of the people, and their influence will continue to be of importance as a stable element in Indian society provided it is not paralyzed by an ill-balanced Constitution.

I should at this stage give you some indication of the outlook and ideas of the landed aristocracy of India. Their stakes in the country being heavy, they earnestly desire that Indian political advance should be on evolutionary and not revolutionary lines. Law and order is the keystone to the arch upon which the improved social structure of a country can be built up. Fidelity to the British Crown is the fundamental idea of the landed aristocracy which has been a steadying influence in the crises through which in the reign of his present Majesty India has passed—the Great War and the civil disobedience campaign of ten years ago and of today. The part the zemindars play in times of stress and upheaval does not figure in the newspapers, which are mostly concerned with urban events; but they have been a restraining force of the greatest consequence and value.

It is sometimes alleged that the zemindars are the oppressors of their tenants, that their aim is to keep them in a position of poverty and dependence, and that they utilize the law of landlord and tenant in such a way as

to retard the process of security of tenure. All communities and sections of society have their least worthy members, but I can say with confidence that these allegations are in no way applicable to the overwhelming majority of the landlords of India. It is certain that if their policy had been oppressive the whole zemindari structure would have fallen like a pack of cards long ago. After all, as in Great Britain so in India, the relations between landlord and tenant are interdependent in such a way that the one party cannot suffer without affecting the other. The prosperity of the landowners depends on the prosperity of their tenants. The Indian cultivator always looks to his zemindar for support and help when he is most needy. The statement that the cultivator is poor because the zemindar deprives him of all that can be squeezed from him is untrue ; his poverty is due to the general economic depression of the country. The pressure on the soil for subsistence is so great that the cultivator has lost financial vitality.

THE NEED FOR SAFEGUARDS

It is admitted on all hands in discussions of Indian constitutional adjustments that there are minorities, special interests, and special classes in India which require safeguards. Amongst these particular interests are those of the land-owning classes. If India is not to be thrown into the whirlpool of wild democracy, care must be taken to conserve the welfare of those elements in the many-stranded life of India which have steadily contributed their quota to the stability of the British Raj, and those on whose advice the governing authorities have been able to rely in times of unrest and uncertainty. On account of the unsatisfactory economic and social conditions, India is today a fertile ground for mischievous seed to germinate and spring up. Hence the need to give specific safeguards to the special interests of the classes with substantial stakes in the country.

It is obvious that a second chamber rightly constituted is an instrument for such safeguards. It has been well said: "That a majority in a popular assembly is always right, that every decision it arrives at by voting is wise, not even the most fervent democrat has ever maintained." Therefore, the view has widely prevailed among constitution makers of modern times that there should be a chamber to provide a check upon legislation in the popular House, with power of amendment or even of rejection. Democratic countries like France, the United States of America, Australia, and England all have second chambers for the purpose of exercising a moderating influence. I am aware that in some countries second chambers were not devised as a preconceived safeguard, but were an incidental creation in the process of the transfer of power from monarchy or oligarchy to democracy. In this category may be placed the House of Lords at Westminster.

On the other hand, in Australia, America and France, it was thought wise to establish an Upper House for the purpose of a revising chamber. There are many examples in the history of Great Britain and other countries of signal services rendered to the cause of solid and ordered progress by such second chambers. You will recall, for instance, that in France in 1888 General Boulanger and his party tried to force a general election of the Chamber in the hope of getting a majority of the House. The Senate refused to dissolve the Chamber, and saved France from another revolution. This service gave the Senate a claim to grateful remembrance which is not yet forgotten by the French people.

A RESTRAINING FORCE

A second chamber is not only useful as a guard against rash and sudden impulses and attempts to seize power, but it can also be used as a moderating organ. No democratic constitution yet devised has been free of demerits and

drawbacks. In democracy one has to deal with a range of human mentality differing widely in strength and outlook. In this country, I am happy to think, pecuniary corruption of a member elected by a popular constituency is unknown ; but what land is there where there is an entire absence of make-believe and jobbery for the purpose of courting the favour of the electors? The late Viscount Bryce, in his book "*Modern Democracy*," wrote that the virtues of members of popular chambers had so often succumbed to temptation proceeding from powerful incorporated companies, and the habit of effecting jobs in support of local interests was so common that a general suspicion had attached itself to their action. Speaking from first-hand experience of the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms as a member of the United Provinces Legislature, I can testify that pressure is brought to bear upon the members to provide appointments in the public service for more men of their constituency than can possibly be chosen. To satisfy the applicants the members of the Legislature pass on the pressure to the Ministers who belong to their party.

Difficulties of this kind arise not only in India, but also under democratic constitutions which are of long standing. To meet them various countries have devised different constitutional methods. In the two great Republics of France and America senators are elected for long terms in order that they may be able to appraise popular pressure and check mistaken impulses. This is done in countries where public opinion is strong and well-informed and capable of visiting its wrath upon candidates seeking re-election if they have left the right path. In India the check of a second chamber is much more necessary because very many years will pass before a strong, educated, and informed electorate can give due expression in this way to public opinion. Most of the voters today are illiterate and can easily be led away by unscrupulous and misleading arguments.

Though I am unable to agree with some of their recommendations, I note with satisfaction that the India Committee of the Royal Empire Society, consisting of a number of distinguished administrators with recent experience of India, and presided over by Sir John Kerr, formerly Governor of Assam, reporting on the probable working of the Simon Commission proposals, has strongly advocated the provision of second chambers in the provinces. The Report points out that it would be possible to find room in such chambers for outstanding men and women who are not attracted by ordinary political activities, and not bound by party or communal ties. I may be permitted to quote a couple of sentences from the Report :

"We feel confident that a second chamber formed on these lines would be invaluable as supplying the cautionary and revisory functions which are essential to the proper exercise of the enlarged powers to be entrusted to the provincial legislatures. As Bagehot said, with an ideal House of Commons perfectly representing the nation, an upper house would be unnecessary, but as things are, we feel no doubt that, in India, as elsewhere, a second chamber will be found to be an essential part of the legislative machine."

LAND-OWNING REPRESENTATION

No less important than the provision of an upper chamber is the maintenance of the system under which land-owning interests have special representation in the legislatures. The Simon Commission have rightly laid great stress on the vital necessity for the maintenance of law and order. By an irony of fate they suggest that the very class which is most interested in the maintenance of law and order, which has the largest stake in the country, should be deprived of the special representation which the Montagu-Chelmsford Report held to be necessary. Mr. Montagu, as his recently published "*Indian Diary*" reminds us, was an ardent Liberal democrat, determined to establish the beginnings of parliamentary government in India. He was also a sportsman, and he saw enough of the

countryside for the Report of which he was joint author to include the statement :

"The natural and acknowledged leaders in country areas are the landed aristocracy. They generally represent ancient and well-born families. Their estates are often the results of conquests or grants from some medieval monarch. By influence and education they are fitted to take a leading part in public affairs. Some of them are beginning to do so, and our aim must be to call many more of them out into the political lists. . . . Undoubtedly, they are called to take their place under the new régime and to recognize that political life need not impair their dignity and self-respect."

The Franchise Committee under Lord Southborough "had no hesitation in maintaining the privilege now held by them [the landed aristocracy] to special representation in the legislative councils through electorates composed of their own class." Now, after the lapse of only ten years, the Simon Commission would abolish these special constituencies. The Commission base their proposal on the ground that in most provinces landowners have succeeded in being returned for four times as many seats as were specially reserved for them, drawing the inference that their standing and representation and the influence which they exert in their own localities are such that it is no longer necessary to give them special protection.

OTHER SPECIAL INTERESTS

As is brought out in the Government of India despatch, this argument loses its significance when analyzed in the light of facts and figures. Why have the special constituencies for landowners been singled out for extinction when the special representation given to universities and commerce is retained? There is no bar against graduates, professors, teachers, men of business and commerce being elected to the councils through general constituencies and, as a matter of fact, they are elected in proportions far larger than those indicated in the case of the landowners.

I mention this not as indicating any wish to see these special constituencies abolished, but simply to point out that the argument of the presence in the councils of landowners other than those elected by land-owning constituencies is by no means conclusive.

Moreover, if we compare the number of landlords returned to the United Provinces Council in the second general election (1923) with those returned in the third general election (1926) we find a reduction from 51 to 45. With the widening of the franchise proposed by the Commission and the considerable proportion of urban seats, I anticipate that the chances of landlords being returned by general constituencies will be greatly reduced. I have noticed in the United Provinces Legislature, too, that while landlords representing the special constituencies boldly took a line of their own in regard to any particular proposal, those landowners elected by general constituencies, in spite of their sympathy with such proposals, opposed them because they had the next election in mind.

Happily, the recommendation of the Statutory Commission conflicts with the opinions expressed by the Indian Central Committee, by every provincial Government, except that of Assam (where the planting community is fully represented and a separate land-owning constituency is not needed). All these authorities hold that the special representation of the great landowners should be maintained, in view both of the position of that class in the country and of the steadying effect which it is likely to have in the new legislatures. The Government of India have "no hesitation in holding that this form of special representation should continue." With so many highly qualified authorities agreed in supporting the existing system of special representation, it seems to me inconceivable that the proposals of the Simon Commission to the contrary will be accepted by Parliament. The landed aristocracy in India have taken a place in the constitutional advance of their country and are very keen to maintain it. They are not one whit behind other interests or communities

in the ardent desire for the uplift and prosperity of India and its attainment of a status in the British Empire worthy of its great past. But in view of the present condition of the country, the landed gentry stand in need of safeguards such as those on which I have dwelt this afternoon, and they have the strongest claims for the retention of their existing political rights.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, November 25, 1930, at which a paper entitled "The Need for Second Chambers in the Provinces" was read by Captain Nawab M. Jamshed Ali Khan, M.B.E., M.L.C., the Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., in the chair. Among those present were the following ladies and gentlemen: Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., the Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., the Raja of Parlakimedi, Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Arthur Knapp, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.B.E., Sir Provash Chandra Mitter, C.I.E., Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir William Owens and Lady Clark, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Sir Sayed Sultan Ahmed, Captain Nawab Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan of Chhitari, K.C.I.E., M.B.E., Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. A. Montgomerie, C.I.E., Mr. F. B. Evans, C.S.I., Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, C.S.I., Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayet Husain, Mr. Khanzada Fateh Mohammad Khan, Mr. N. Krishnamurti, Mr. D. Das, Mr. B. T. Keshavaiyengar, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Dr. Lanka Sundaram, Mr. Khalid Sheldrake, Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, Mr. Masud Ali Khan, Mr. R. A. Sujan, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mrs. Severn, Mr. John Ross, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. Weir, Colonel Warliker, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Willmott, Mr. G. Ellis, Colonel W. Lethbridge, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. B. Ward Perkins, Mr. W. S. Lamb, Rev. E. S. Carr, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. and Mrs. Scott O'Connor, Mr. Owen Clough, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. and Mrs. O. C. G. Hayter, Miss Hepburn, Mr. and Mrs. Tonkinson, Mr. C. B. Chartres, Mr. W. D. Woellwarth, Mr. J. Craig, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: It is inevitable, and indeed very right and proper, that during the sitting of the momentous Conference in Westminster on the future of India this Association should take a vivid interest in some of the topics that are being discussed at the Round Table. Among the subjects of what one might call the second rank of importance before the Conference there are few that exceed in moment the subject of Second Chambers or Upper Houses in the Provincial Legislatures in India. On that topic we are going to hear a paper read and, after the paper has been read, the usual discussion will follow.

It is supposed to be the duty of the chairman to introduce the lecturer, and it is also invariably his duty to say that the lecturer needs no introduction. I am not going to go through that form this afternoon; but merely, in a word, to tell you that we have in the writer and reader of this paper a representative—and a very worthy representative—of the great territorial

magnates of Northern India, one who has taken his courage in both hands and fought, very often, a lonely battle for his own community, who has distinguished himself as a good landlord and a loyal friend of the British Government.

The lecturer then read the paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Before the meeting closes an opportunity will occur of expressing formally our obligation to the reader of this paper; but you will probably agree at the outset in gratitude for the lucidity and brevity of the paper and for the ease with which we were able to hear the speaker, which is by no means always characteristic of this room.

The paper is in effect a plea for adequate representation of the great landed interests in the legislatures of the future. Those of us who have lived alongside of the great landed classes realize that they have, like every other human community, their black sheep; but, speaking generally and broadly, they fill a place in the social, economic and political life of India which fully justifies the claim that has thus been put forward.

Apart from the general claim, there are certain specific grounds for the argument of my friend the Nawab Sahib. There are three specific arguments that probably will occur to most of us. The first trenches on somewhat delicate ground. If the constitution of the future is to be carried out by those who have so far undertaken the responsibility for tracing it or for tracing still more advanced measures, it will rest very largely in the hands of the professional classes; I do not say the Brahmins, because that would immediately raise a storm, but of the professional classes. In that event those who are not members of the professional classes, but have an even larger and more definite stake in the country, have every claim to put forward the plea that has been urged upon us this afternoon.

The second consideration is that, through many centuries, the great landlord, the raja of the village, the magnate, whether of ancient Hindu origin or of later Mogul associations, has invariably been the protector of his people against central oppression. I do not suggest for a moment that democracy means central oppression. Some of us might perhaps cordially agree in that definition; but if we do not, we are going to have central pressure, whatever may be the form of the new constitution and the interpretation of that pressure—if you do not like the word “protection” from it—to the humble people of the villages is essentially, and will remain essentially for a very considerable time, the duty and the privilege of the great landed magnates.

The third consideration is, I think, pretty obvious. The new constitution being what it probably will be, among the difficulties and conflicts which it will raise will almost inevitably be a conflict of interests as between the rural and urban classes. This is evident from any discussion which takes place among impartial people over the predilections of the Indian political mind for a prohibitory customs tariff. I am not here to argue about tariffs, whether they are good or whether they are bad; but I think that you will all agree that, however good or however bad they may be, they do undoubtedly differentiate between the interests of the rural and

urban population. In some cases they may prejudice the urban and favour the rural population, in others *vice versa*; but surely there is something to be said in favour of having machinery to ensure that rural interests are not largely and permanently subordinated to the more aggressive and forward urban representation in the legislatures.

Up to that point there probably will be comparative concord. There will also, I suppose, be agreement that a Revising Chamber is not out of place in any country, however advanced may be its constitutional forms. As the Nawab Sahib has pointed out, a great many civilized countries have found it necessary to establish a Revising Chamber to supervise, to watch, and to control the eccentricities of legislation in the Lower House. But even if we have not eccentricities of legislation, an intelligent Upper Chamber has a very substantial task in making the legislation intelligible. There are some here who have the misfortune to be engaged in the Law and who know how extraordinarily difficult it often is to get an interpretation from themselves or any other reasonable person, or even from the Courts, as to what a particular statute means. Take our own notorious Derating Bill. I remember Mr. Lloyd George depicting the position of affairs twenty years hence, when some humble householder is attempting to puzzle out the meaning of some obscure section in it. "He will go," said Mr. Lloyd George, "to the nearest Assessor of Taxes and say to him: 'Kindly tell me what this means.' 'No,' the Assessor will say, 'I cannot tell you. My department cannot tell you. The judges who have been asked to interpret this cannot tell you. The only man who could tell you is the man who drafted the Act, and ten years ago he went into a lunatic asylum.'" This may not happen in India, where, at least, we have tried to achieve the art of saying what we mean and meaning what we say in legislation; but it is quite conceivable that in time a body competent to review and correct projects of legislature may be an essential part of the working of the State machinery.

Whether our minds run in the direction of a Second Chamber as the means of the adequate representation of the landed classes or whether we should prefer to see them provided for by special privileges of entry into the Lower Chamber is one of the issues on which we shall hear a good deal in the course of the discussion. I do not propose, therefore, to attempt in any way to prejudice it. We have had a somewhat indefinite expression of opinion from the Simon Commission; we have had a very definite expression from certain of the provinces which are most familiar with the problem; and the Viceroy in his recent despatch, which we have all been reading in the midnight hours, has said that he will follow the provinces which wish for Second Chambers. If, as I say, our minds do run in the direction of providing the landed classes with the adequate representation which they claim, and which many of us hope they will secure, in the form of special admission to the Second Chamber, we are still at the threshold of the problem. You know how immensely complicated the whole situation is: whether the Second Chamber is to be wholly elected or wholly nominated or partly one and partly the other,

whether it is to be elected on the same franchise as the Lower Chamber or on a different franchise or whether by the agency of electoral colleges, what are to be the qualifications for membership, whether the tenure of the members is to be life or a restricted period, what its functions are going to be, and so on. Those are all issues, immense in volume but important in essence, which will have to be thrashed out after we have settled the principle; but I fancy that this afternoon we shall be content with directing our minds to the principle.

We are fortunate in having here an old associate of mine in the Transvaal, Mr. Owen Clough, who has acted, if I may be pardoned the expression, as accoucheur to at least one Upper Chamber, and is familiar with the birth of Upper Chambers generally, and we hope that he will give us some of his experience before the debate finishes.

I have only two more things to say. On the one hand, I trust that we shall avoid in India the model that is set before us by the Senate of the United States of America. I do not know whether there are any 100 per cent. Americans in the audience, but I am sure that they will bear me out when I say that the Senate is one of the first distinguished pillars of the American constitution which they all wish to amend. A famous lady some months ago announced her intention of standing for a State which shall be nameless and of spending 750,000 dollars, £150,000 sterling, not in securing her election, but merely her nomination by her own party. Since then she has done her best to spend the 750,000 dollars to the betterment of the public of the towns, but to the detriment of the countryside, and she has not been elected. On the other hand, I trust that we shall not adopt as a model for India our own Second Chamber. We are familiar with its merits and demerits; and we realize that its merits are rather in spite of our constitution than by reason of it; but any Second Chamber which starts in India upon the basis of the hereditary principle must be from the outset doomed.

The discussion is now open. I am reminded by the Secretary that the speakers are limited to five minutes each or as near as they may get. May I put in a further plea that, inasmuch as we are not talking about Indian politics generally but about only one specific topic, we should try, as far as possible, to keep to that point.

KHAN BAHADUR HAFIZ HIDAYET HUSAIN said he thought that it would have been better if he had been called upon to speak after somebody had spoken against the paper. He highly approved of it and, therefore, had not very much to say on the subject. However, there was one thing that could be said against the paper as a whole, and that was that it was a sort of special pleading or only an apology for the existence of the zemindary class. If the lecturer meant by his paper, by emphasizing the importance of the zemindars, to create a Second Chamber for them, he entirely dissociated himself from him; but if his idea was that a Second Chamber should be constituted in the provinces containing all that was aristocracy in land, in art, in literature, and so forth, he entirely agreed with him.

The opinions expressed on the subject of a Second Chamber were most conflicting. He thought that conflict had arisen because there had been such a disappointment created in the minds of the people by the present Council of State, the Upper House of the Indian Legislature. Criticism had been levelled against the action of the Council of State in that it throttled public opinion; but he thought that that criticism was justifiable only on the ground that the House was at present manned very largely by nominated members. There was now to be a complete transference of power in the Legislatures, in which there would be no nominated members. He thought, therefore, an opportunity had arisen for the creation of a Second Chamber to act as a brake and a lever over the action of the Lower House. This subject was mooted when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were to be introduced; it was even then pointed out that Second Chambers were necessary, but it was put off until the time came for giving larger measure of power to the Indians to manage their own affairs—that is to say, at a time when abolition of the diarchy was to be considered. That time had now come; they were now all agreed that diarchy should disappear from the provinces, and he thought that it was now time to consider this question in a detached spirit.

In his opinion, for two reasons in particular, it was essential that there should be a Second Chamber in the provinces. He was not talking of those provinces where it might not yet be required. After all, India was divided by so many races and by such diversities and complexities that they could not expect full agreement on all matters. There was one aspect of the life of the people of India that was peculiar, and that was what must be expected in a country which was as large as Europe minus Russia—one should find the same diversity as was found in any country in Europe. But there was one point also on which there was full agreement, and that was a demand by all Indians for a larger measure of power to control their own affairs. As the Chairman had pointed out, they could not, and he did not propose to, enter into the political issues relating to India; but the one central fact to which he wished to direct attention was the unanimity on the subject of this larger power of control being transferred to the hands of the Indians to manage their own affairs. If these powers of control, powers for the exercise of order and law, were to be wholly transferred, suspicion might arise in the minds of some at least, that they might not be properly exercised by those who were new to them. These fears might prove to be ill-founded; experience alone would show; but he thought that it was essential that there should be some sort of authority which could act as a brake on the members of the Lower Chamber, if in the exercise of these powers due discretion was not exercised by that chamber. The second point was that by-and-by authority would be taken away from the hands of the Governor and, when that happened, one could easily conceive that in a country like India, where there were majorities and minorities, there would be a difference of opinion between the majority and the minority, and the minority had to be assured of its proper and safe existence. He therefore thought that,

for the sake of stability of the Government itself, it was essential that those powers which would have been in natural course exercised by the Governor, recruited more often than not from the British, should be exercised by a body for the Indians themselves. Further, in a Second Chamber the minorities would have opportunities of having their point of view better considered than in a composite House, where conflicting interests and divers social elements would congregate, influenced largely by outside opinion. Thus he thought it was essential that there should be a Second Chamber which should regulate the policy of the Lower House. He thought that these two considerations must outweigh all other considerations for the establishment of a Second Chamber.

SIR ALBION BANERJI said that he wished to put forward the other side of the question. He came from a province which enjoyed permanent settlement for a considerable length of time under British rule. Naturally, one would expect that he would, both from the point of view of theory as well as of practice, support any proposal which would protect the interests of the landed aristocracy of India. He had, however, served in the Madras Presidency, where ryotwari settlement prevailed; so he thought that he could be considered as impartial in the study of the question. He had hoped that the lecturer would put before them some arguments from the constitutional point of view in support of the necessity for a Second Chamber in the provincial legislatures of India. He presumed that they were not discussing the question of a Second Chamber in the Central Government; so, confining themselves to the provincial legislature, one had to consider whether the main object which the lecturer had in view—namely, the protection of the interests of the landed aristocracy—should be achieved only by the constitutional experiment of a Second Chamber in the provinces.

In his view the Second Chamber might be regarded in two aspects—either as a constitutional check or as a reactionary weapon. He thought that its history taught them that a Second Chamber had always been used as one or the other. If the main question was the imperative necessity of protecting the interests of the landed aristocracy, was it not rather confusing the issue to mix the necessity for a Second Chamber as a matter of a general constitutional problem and the necessity for the Second Chamber for the protection of a special interest? He thought that the two points should be kept quite separate.

Turning to the question of protecting landed interests by means of the Second Chamber, he suggested that there would be many difficulties. If a Second Chamber were established in the provinces, it would have to provide for the representation of various interests, and not merely the interests of the landed classes. He said that in certain provinces the landed classes held a very important position, as in Bengal. In most Second Chambers in the provinces various interests would have to be provided for, and, therefore, he did not see how the interests of the landed aristocracy would be specially protected, because they might find themselves in a minority in the discussion of questions which specially

affected their interests. In his view, a Second Chamber might be absolutely necessary in the Central Government, and, whatever defects they might have found in their experience of the working of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, they might consider it absolutely necessary in a big country like India that there should be a Second Chamber as a sort of revisionary body over and above the Legislative Assembly constituted on a democratic basis; but when India was being considered as consisting of various provinces and each province had its own Government, a unitary form of government would seem to be most efficient. In that unitary form of government, apart from the question of representing the people by votes by a franchise equally distributed amongst all classes of the communities, he would go so far as to advocate that the special interests of the landed aristocracy should be specially provided for by allocating certain seats for the zemindars of the province irrespective of what other seats there might be. Otherwise he thought it would be dangerous to adopt a scheme which would provide for a Second Chamber, mainly on the ground of protecting the interests of the landed classes.

The RAJA OF PARLAKIMEDI said that as a zemindar he would like to support the proposition which had been put before them very vividly and with great emphasis in support of Second Chambers. Such institutions were found in all the Dominions, and there was no question that it was desirable as a balancing factor in India during the present transitory period if not for ever. It was necessary to point out straight away that in certain quarters it was said that it would be an entire zemindar's institution: reactionary and a drag at all times to India's progress, which was quite untrue. It had been justly pointed out that the landowners' community had always considered and would continue to consider that the prosperity of the tenants and of themselves were inseparable and went hand in hand. The landowners, like their brothers in the British Dominions outside India, had always played a great part in improving the general conditions of their tenants so far as it lay in their power, and their attitude would never be to the contrary in the future. It should be remembered that the zemindars owning hundreds of square miles of land sustaining millions of people were saving the Government from providing the necessary institutions of life and transport to build up a nation. He thought that it would be agreed that the proposal to have a Second Chamber, in which the landed interests should share as well as the retired officials of the different British services, the judiciary and educational interests should form a body of men able to hold the balance of interests fairly. As at present in different councils, the zemindary should have a separate electorate to the Second Chambers, and the other interests to come in by nomination. In order to effect a uniformity of rules and regulations throughout India—though his provincial Government was against the proposal of having a Second Chamber—he was there to take an opposite view. The popular idea in the Madras Presidency also favoured Second Chambers.

The NAWAB OF CHHITARI said that it had not been his intention to take

part in the debate, but as some of the points made by Sir Albion Banerji had not been replied to, he would like to express his own opinion about those points. Sir Albion Banerji had said that, so far as the Central Government was concerned, he was in favour of the Second Chamber, but he opposed the creation of a Second Chamber or Senate or Revising House in the provinces. Sir Albion had wanted to know why it was being proposed for the provinces. His reply was this: Although they had not yet been able to settle what was to be the future constitution of India, the Simon Commission in their Report had made it clear that the future constitution of India should be based on a federal system. The dispatch from the Government of India had made it even more clear that the future constitution of India should be based on a federal system. Those who dealt with various administrative problems in India in various capacities were fully convinced that it was impossible to have a unitary system of government for a vast country like India, which might easily be called a continent in itself. Perhaps it would be said that it was against the traditions of the country: that India never had had a federal system, neither in the days of the Moghal nor in the present régime of British rule. He agreed with that, but in India there had never been a system of responsible government, either in the days of the Moghal or today; but the moment the principle of conferring on India the boon of responsible government was accepted, they would have to take into consideration that the government would be responsible to the people. The very essence of responsibility was that they should be allowed to conduct themselves according to their own traditions and according to their own cultures. Anyone who had been to India would recognize, and Sir Albion Banerji would himself recognize, that there was nothing in common between a man coming from Madras and one coming from the North-West Frontier Province. There could be no doubt that they were going to have a federal system. Under those circumstances, if they were going to have a federal system, the constitution of every State should be complete in itself. That was the reason why they should have a Second Chamber in every province. Had there been a unitary system of government, something might have been said in support of what had been put forward; but when they were going to have a federal system of government, he did not think that they would make it complete unless they had a Revising Chamber in every province. There was another matter to which he wished to refer. Sir Albion Banerji had said that the Second Chamber either should be to protect a certain class or it should be——

SIR ALBION BANERJI: I did not say that. I said used as a constitutional check or a reactionary weapon.

THE NAWAB OF CHHITARI: "A reactionary weapon." He wanted to assure them that they did not mean to use it as a reactionary weapon. It was not the intention, nor was it in the interests of the country, and he would assure him that they did not want it to protect one class, because the idea was to have not only landholders on it, but they wanted all the ex-ministers, ex-judges of the High Court, ex-vice-chancellors of the

universities; in short, they wanted a Revising Chamber which would contain all the best experience of administration in the country to act as a check on hasty legislation in the Lower Chamber. He thought that they would all recognize that it was not correct to say that popular feelings were always right. It was just as well to have a revising body to deal with it. The Second Chamber would never be able to override the Lower Chamber; but the Second Chamber would be able to say: "You are taking this line; we think there is a danger; wait for a while." If the Lower Chamber after the necessary period of delay were still insistent, the Second Chamber would say: "By all means have it." So the duties of the Second Chamber would simply be to delay, if they thought that something wrong was going to happen. All the democratic countries like France, Australia and America had Second Chambers, though they called them Senates. Many of the Commonwealths in the British Empire had Second Chambers, and he did not see any reasons why, if the people of a province desired a bicameral government, they should not be allowed to have it.

Mr. OWEN CLOUGH said that he had listened with very great interest to the address given by the lecturer, and to the speeches that had been made that afternoon. He had taken both a practical and a theoretical interest in Second Chambers for the last twenty-five years. He had visited New Zealand, all the capitals of Australia, and Canada, and had discussed the subject there with lawyers, clerks of Parliament, and statesmen. He had also been for twenty years the Secretary of the Senate of South Africa, the Second Chamber there. The subject was so important and full of so many details and complexities that when he saw a notice in his club that there was to be the address here this afternoon, he felt very strongly that he would like to come to that meeting, if only for the purpose of urging upon those present the unwisdom of rushing into the question of the composition and the constitution of the Second Chambers of India. It was a subject that required an enormous amount of investigation and consideration. He was afraid that the experience in South Africa and other parts of the British Empire and the Dominions had been that conventions and meetings to discuss the question of the new Constitution, whether it should be federal or a unitary system, had spent a great deal of time on the Lower House and the electorate, and had left very little for the consideration of the Second Chamber. The question had not really received in any part of the British Empire the consideration which it deserved. That also was their experience in South Africa. Soon after the advent of the Union of South Africa it was plain to see that the system of their Senate was not a suitable one. He had done his best as an official to agitate for a consideration of the question of the reconstitution of the Senate, and after a great deal of agitation and discussion amongst members of both Houses privately, the Government at last decided to appoint a Speaker's Conference to go into the question of the reconstitution of the Senate, and a very fine body met to consider this question. He was appointed secretary of the Conference. Although he could not give his own opinion upon the quality of their Report, one of the leading constitutional lawyers in Australia, a country

where they had had more experience than any other part of the British Empire in the working of Second Chambers, pronounced the Report a very practical proposition ; unfortunately, however, politics came into play, and the recommendations of the Conference were not put into force. Consequently nothing transpired as the result of the Speaker's Conference, and their Second Chamber continued to be constituted as it was upon the advent of the Union.

He said that he had listened with great interest to Sir Albion Banerji advocating a single form of government. He was very strongly opposed to any unitary Chamber system. In a minute form, they had that form in the Provincial Councils of South Africa ; they also had it in the Provinces of Canada ; but in both those instances it must be remembered that those Provinces had only delegatory powers ; he did not suppose they had anything like the powers that the Provinces of India were going to be vested with. He had discussed the question with the Clerks and people working with these single Chambers, and their experience was the same as that of South Africa, namely, that it produced very slack legislation and continually necessitated amending Bills. A Bill would be introduced in this year's session, and it was found that something had been left out somewhere—there were a few holes here, or something else wrong in this particular chapter ; in fact, the experience in Canada as well as South Africa was that the legislation was not properly reviewed. Really there was no big country in the world under a single Chamber system. It was tried in France away back in history for a short time, but it was found to be a great mistake. Cromwell tried it in this country, and he himself soon reverted back to the bicameral form.

Another rather important point in regard to Second Chambers was that they should be looked upon as the Appeal Court of Parliament, and they should therefore consist of the big brains of the country. If he might speak dogmatically, he thought that the Second Chamber should not be set up as a competitor of the Lower Chamber ; it should be looked upon more as a sister Chamber, trying to aid the more popular Chamber in the discharge of its duties, and to exercise the function of a house of delay, such as in regard to spasmodic legislation which could crop up in any country ; he had had grave experience of instances of that happening. In Australia the system was a federal system ; they had Second Chambers in every one of the six States, and they had certainly been a most useful factor in checking hasty legislation. The more advanced wing of one of the political parties in Australia, in New South Wales and Queensland, had tried to do away with the Second Chamber. In Queensland they had actually succeeded in doing so. He had been discussing this question only the other day with one of the statesmen from that particular State, and he was told that a new Government had come in, and that they were going to have a referendum in order to obtain the wishes of the people as to the re-creation of the Second Chamber. They found that the unitary system was not working satisfactorily.

He would like to urge upon all those who had any influence in this

matter that thorough investigation should be made, and plenty of time should be taken in discussing the question in regard to India. What was suitable in one country as a Second Chamber was entirely unsuitable in another. It might be found in the Indian provinces that it was better to have one particular type of Second Chamber in one province, another type in another province, and so on, in varying degrees, to provide the right thing that fitted the case.

He would like to make this offer to the meeting. If he could be of any service in laying before whomsoever it might be the researches and investigations that he had made in regard to that subject, he would be most willing to assist them. He had only once visited India, and that was at the Durbar in 1902, as Private Secretary to the representative of all the British South African colonies and territories. He had had a most enjoyable six weeks in India, and the romance of the whole country simply fascinated him. He thought that it could be said to his lasting credit that after his visit he left the country and did not write a book on how to solve the problems of India. (Cheers.)

Sir P. C. MITTER said that before dealing with the question of Second Chambers, he wanted to say something upon that most important point as to which they wanted agreement, namely, stable government. At the present moment they were going to experiment in responsible government. The only responsible government they wanted was where the first Chamber was elected from fairly wide constituencies—wide so far as Indian conditions were concerned—not according to standards in Great Britain, but according to Indian standards. It stood to reason that at times there would be clashes; at times there would be prejudice; and at times there would be attempts at class warfare. It was essential if they wanted the peaceful evolution of responsible government, and it was essential if they wanted to run their own affairs smoothly, that they should give their rising democracy time to think. If that was the object of the Second Chamber, and if the Second Chamber was presented to the Nationalists of India from that point of view, he was sure that many of the prejudices at the moment held by Indian Nationalists would not be as strong as they were today. Sir Albion Banerji had said: "Why have a Second Chamber in the provinces? Why was not the unitary system good enough for the provinces?" He would like to remind him that the province of his origin consisted of 46,000,000; perhaps his long absence from that beloved province had made him forget the extent of the population and the complexities of the problems of that province. The province from which the lecturer of the evening came had a population of over 45,000,000. In Bihar and Orissa they had a population of 34,000,000. These provinces had complexities of problems, being as large as many of the biggest States of Europe, and larger, perhaps, than many of the important States of the modern world. What was Canada, Australia and South Africa, with a population of some nine millions, six millions, or four-and-a-half millions respectively, compared with a province of forty-six millions? Then take his own province. There was the problem of the Hindu and the Muhammadan. True Nationalists wanted

to solve that question. They could not solve it by laying down a paper Constitution. Issues must arise when the passions on the Hindu side or the passions on the Muhammadan side would be raised, and if they tried to solve the problem when passions were at their height they would fail; but if they wanted to solve the problem, say, two months later, if they wanted to solve the problem by taking the best brains and the best minds of the two communities, he thought they stood a much better chance of success. For that reason too he was in favour of Second Chambers. There was one point where he would like to say something with regard to the paper which had been read. The lecturer's idea seemed to be to have a Second Chamber consisting of stakeholders and stakeholders only. In the very interests of the zemindars, for whom he had worked for long years, he would advise the lecturer as strongly as he could not to have that idea. He would be up against various difficulties. On the other hand, let the stakeholders, the big landed aristocrats, by all means have a place in the Upper Chamber; but let the lecturer not forget that there were other important interests; let him not forget that men who had gathered experience in the service of the country and the community had a place there; let him not forget that in some provinces, particularly the speaker's province, the Muhammadans, generally speaking, were not big landlords; but there were Moslems in his province whose wisdom and experience would be of the utmost importance, even though they were not big landlords. Therefore let the idea of a Second Chamber be not rather the House of Lords type; let the type of the Second Chamber be of the more modern States. There was one point about provincial Second Chambers, and that was that if the component units of the United States, each with a population of a little more than a million, were to have Second Chambers, experience showed that those little States had the Second Chambers and did not take advantage of provisions in the Constitution to get rid of them. If the last experiment in democracy, the Irish Free State, although it was not federal, had a Second Chamber, even from the point of view of democracy they need not look askance. There was one point about Bengal which Sir Albion Banerji mentioned, but he forgot that there were three millions of small tenure holders there, and any legislation intended to affect the big landlords would affect the small landholders more, because the big men with the larger incomes could probably afford what the small men with annual incomes of 50 or 100 rupees could ill afford.

Mr. MONTGOMERIE said that most of those who had spoken in favour of the Second Chambers were people who had come from the zemindari provinces. In the ryotwari provinces there was a very different outlook taken. They had no such large body or class for special protection. In Bombay, for example, there was nothing like a large landed interest which might be liable, if the majority of the population were given rule over them, to find themselves badly treated. From the point of view of provinces like Bombay, and probably Madras, one of the main grounds which had been suggested for the introduction of Second Chambers was entirely wanting. He would suggest that, *prima facie*, to put forward as a

basis for the demand for a Second Chamber the protection of a special interest was to misconceive entirely the purpose of a Second Chamber in any constitution. The business of a Second Chamber, if it was to be anything, was to moderate the impetuosity of the First Chamber and not to be a Special Chamber for any single interest in the population. The other reason which had been put forward for the need of a Second Chamber in the provinces was the necessity urged by Nawab Sahib of delaying all legislation in India for six months. As one who had had a good deal to do with the drafting of legislation and getting it through an Indian Legislative Council, he knew how difficult it was at all times to get legislation through, and he knew the amount of time that was already spent in so doing. In his opinion, the Chamber proposed by the Nawab Sahib, consisting of ex-High Court judges, ex-ministers, and ex-everything—a vision which might have appealed to Ezekiel—was a body which would inevitably delay everything for six months; it was inconceivable that any piece of legislation could go before such a body and not be held up. If they put these two arguments out of account, the only other question was: What was the necessity for a Second Chamber? He suggested that for ten years the provinces of India had got on perfectly well without Second Chambers. After many years' experience in the Bombay Legislative Council, he could not remember any case in which a Second Chamber would have been of any use. They had got on perfectly well without Second Chambers, and he could not see that there was any necessity for introducing them now. Their introduction would raise the greatest practical difficulties upon the question of the electorate. What was to be the electorate for the Second Chamber? In most of the provinces of India you could not divide the electorate into an upper and a lower stratum. If it was to be done by nomination, that would put an intolerable responsibility on the head of the Executive. If they were to take for their Second Chamber all men of experience, they would cut out from the Legislative Councils precisely the men who had proved most useful. Speaking for himself, he always found that the critic of his departmental budget whom he feared most was the private member with previous experience in municipalities or local boards; he knew too much about the construction of a budget and how to get at difficult points. Those were the men who were wanted in the Councils, but who would be elected from the municipalities and local boards to the Second Chambers; and there were not too many in the provinces to set up two Chambers of them.

The MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN said that he had listened with interest to the speeches for and against the constitution of the Second Chambers in the new provincial councils that were likely to be ushered in should the Round Table Conference be able to arrive at a new Constitution for India, which they all hoped it would. He did not think that at that stage they could possibly go into the question with any degree of success with regard to the personnel of such a Second Chamber or as to its function. He was sorry that the Nawab Sahib did not differentiate the two things in his paper—namely, the necessity for having special seats

for the landholders' interests in the Lower Chamber and the necessity for a Second or Revising Chamber, which would be constituted, not entirely of the landholder elements, but of other elements as well, which would act as a corrective against the possible vagaries of the future Lower Chambers. Mr. Montgomerie, he assumed, had been an official member in the Bombay Legislative Council. If that were so, Mr. Montgomerie had forgotten that in the future Lower Chambers the official *bloc* would not be there and, therefore, there would have to be a certain other body to try to humour and by tactful persuasion get through certain legislative measures for the good of the province. For that reason the future Constitution of India should be looked upon like a mail train going at a terrific speed, the engine driver being the Lower Chamber and the guard being the Upper Chamber. One of the previous speakers had pointed out the diversities of religion, of languages, and of races in India, and he had drawn a picture in which he represented India as being Europe without Russia. If they did not have an Upper Chamber, India would become like our Europe with only Russia in it. If this were so, there would be such confusion and so much trouble that probably the Constitution would have to be altered and a more autocratic form of government reintroduced. Those of them who had a passion for apeing the democracy of the West must take care to see that, in apeing, they did not themselves become apes. If they had a Constitution which would not have to come again before the British Parliament in five or ten years' time, but was a Constitution which would pave the way for the real sound system of self-government or responsible government, then they would have the future India that they all contemplated. That being so, he whole-heartedly supported the idea of Second Chambers in the provinces. He wished to deal with a remark of Sir Albion Banerji about having a Second Chamber only in the Central Government. They did not know what the Central Government was going to be. The Ruling Princes of India had brought so many new factors into the whole idea of what the Central Government might develop into that it was difficult for them at the present moment to consider whether, if there were two Chambers or three Chambers in the Government of India, one with the Viceroy and two others with the Governor-General's Council, what form might ultimately emanate; but they did know that a federal system was essential in some shape or other in the provinces. Therefore he thought that the Second Chamber should be very carefully considered by all the different provinces of India; whether there were landholders in those provinces or not was not to the point. Where there were landholders they must undoubtedly, as an important minority, have their representation; but there were many other interests. Anybody who had time to read the Bengal Government's recommendations might do well to read the able note by Sir P. C. Mitter on Second Chambers.

Colonel Malik Sir UMAR HAYAT KHAN said that he had been twenty-five years in the Central Legislature and, though criticisms had been made against the Second Chamber, he could say that it had done

very much good. They had only to study the Simon Report and the views of the Government of India and they would all see that it was useful. The same system of government should go to the provinces in India, as a natural consequence, when they will become autonomous. It was said that there were many big landholders interested in the Second Chambers. It meant that they had a stake in the land; they did not want disturbance there when the country was not ripe for development. There had not been many zemindars in the Council of State, and many resolutions in which they were interested had been defeated because they were not sufficient in numbers. They found that in places where 90 per cent. were the land-owning classes they were being hampered by money-lenders. They had to pay heavily on each rupee they got, and yet all these zemindars had not been able to do anything in the various legislatures. It was necessary that there should be some Chamber, at any rate, which would give them relief. In his province the people were very nearly all soldiers and were drawn from the peasantry. If they had no representation in the Councils, they would take the law into their own hands. It had been done in the Sikhs' time. When they found that they could not approach the Government, they killed all the officers. Simply to avoid that state of affairs, it would be better that there should be something in the way of the Second Chambers that would make future progress more stable. He thought that they would all agree with him in thanking the Chairman for his coming to preside, and praise the lecturer for his paper, with which he was in accord, coming as he did from the same class and having the same ideas.

The LECTURER: The objections raised have been very ably met by some of the speakers, and I only wish to say one or two words about a point raised by Mr. Montgomerie. He said that he had been working the system for twenty years and had not found any necessity for the Second Chamber. I want to say in a sentence that the very experience of these ten years has shown that there should be a Second Chamber. Mr. Montgomerie has only experience of the Bombay Province and, of course, there may be some justification for what he has said, because the Bombay Government itself did not recommend the bicameral system unanimously. My honourable friend the Maharaja of Burdwan has just explained the situation quite clearly. I do not think the popular opinion in Bombay Province is quite against the Second Chamber.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of the lecturer and himself the proceedings terminated.

Mr. A. YUSUF ALI writes :

Owing to another engagement I could not stay till the end of the meeting. Had I spoken I should have supported the plea for Second Chambers. I have been urged to put my views on record, and I accordingly send you these notes, that you may, if you think fit, incorporate them in the proceedings.

There are three points I wish to draw attention to. First, I will support

Second Chambers on other grounds than those stated in the paper. Secondly, I will state some principles which should guide us in formulating the powers and constitution of our Second Chambers. And thirdly, I refer to the experience of the United States and Japan, in both of which I have recently travelled and studied the working of their Constitutions.

As pointed out by some speakers, the mere safeguarding of class or sectional interests is not enough to recommend Second Chambers, although that consideration will, of course, have some weight. Many of our difficulties and deadlocks are at present due to our viewing things exclusively from sectional interests rather than on broad national lines. Even in other countries a greater insistence on sectional interests produces deadlocks and difficulties such as we see in this country and in France and Jugoslavia. In my opinion Second Chambers can be defended in India on broad and national lines. We can point to our social institutions and traditions. We can seek one solution of our minority difficulties through Second Chambers. We can supply the inexperience of the general electorate for the Lower House by a rather greater experience and stability in the electorates and the membership of the Upper House. The principle adopted by the Government of India in their latest dispatch—which deserves far more support than it has received—is a good one: to have Second Chambers in the provinces which have declared for them, and to leave the door open in the other provinces for the future.

As to powers and constitution: a mere revising or delaying Chamber will not be enough. Nor would the new Chambers have sufficient moral authority in the country or sufficient technical knowledge to carry out such a function satisfactorily. India in recent times has suffered more from delays than from wrong policy. Mere retired men would not be able to second the national movement for progress sufficiently harmoniously. Lord Meston was undoubtedly right when he deprecated anything like the House of Lords in India. A moribund and emasculated body will be of little use in a new Constitution, where various checks will have to be applied with wisdom, tact, and sympathy, but with effective firmness! The hereditary principle is out of the question. A zemindar Chamber will not meet our new needs arising out of industrial and intellectual expansion. Even of agricultural or rural interests the zemindars are not the sole custodians. The recent rent legislation both in Oudh and in Agra province, and agrarian legislation in the Punjab, evoked a good deal of feeling in the countryside on behalf of the tenants, and it would not be wise statesmanship to ignore that movement. We want to harness it as well as the interests of zemindars to national needs.

It may be that we can have group representation in the Second Chamber in a way not possible in the other House. Perhaps we can have communal proportions fixed differently in order to satisfy minorities without sacrificing national development. Distinguished position in learning and public service may also find entry by nomination in a definitely limited proportion. The greatest controversy will rage over the question of money or taxation powers, which in most Constitutions are not given

to Second Chambers. But here I would draw attention to the powers of the Senate of the United States and the House of Peers of Japan.

Lord Meston ruled out a Senate like the United States Senate on the ground of corruption. But corruption is not a part of the Constitution and can and should be checked. The American boss system applies not only to the Senate but to the House of Representatives and the municipal and local bodies. No one wants to introduce anything of that kind or any conditions favouring such a thing into India. But the United States Senate has the same powers in legislation as the other House, except that they cannot *originate* proposals for raising the revenue. But they can make amendments. The more democratic a country's constitution the more need is there for a strong executive and for safeguarding safe and sound finance.

In Japan the Kizoku-in (Second Chamber) has practically the same powers as the House of Representatives. The Japanese believe in practical needs, and are not carried away by abstract ideas or institutions evolved in quite other circumstances. Our Indian experience in the last ten years has shown that the greatest weakness of our Councils and Assembly has been in finance. I would therefore give equal or nearly equal financial powers to the Senate, on the simple ground that they are necessary at present. The British House of Commons has always been stronger in finance than the House of Lords, and it was only right and in the fitness of things that they should have exclusive financial powers. But they had to win them after a hard constitutional fight. There were other reasons connected with the voting of supplies by the Commons when the Lords were a more or less privileged body. And the Lords have lost power in *all* legislation, except the power of delaying legislation. The Indian conditions are wholly different, and we must frame our machinery according to our needs. We must have strong Second Chambers and not mere farces. And this in the interests of progress and not of reaction.

HYDERABAD TO-DAY

BY NAWAB SIR MUHAMMAD AKBAR HYDARI

I HAVE been invited to speak to you this afternoon on the subject of Hyderabad to-day. I know that most of my audience are fully informed as to the history, geography, and other facts concerning the great State which I have the honour to represent, but for the benefit of the few whose acquaintance with India is less intimate (and I may say Indian geography is not always a strong point with my English friends), I will open with a few dry facts and statistics so as to put them in a position to follow what I am going to say hereafter.

A little to the south of the centre of India you will find a vast tableland some 1,800 feet above sea-level, generally known as the Deccan, geologically one of the oldest fragments of the earth's surface—82,000 square miles of this area comprise the Hyderabad State—bigger than many European countries, with a population of over 12,000,000 people. It is an inland State, though there remains a relic of the days when dominions extended to the coast in a treaty still in force which admits the right of the Nizam's ships to fly their own flag on the high seas. There is also a little matter of a free port, Masulipatam, about which I shall have something more to say before the end of the Round Table Conference, but at present we are not in enjoyment of the rights which we believe the treaty confers on us.

To leave the sea and go inland, there are no mountains in the Dominions; three great rivers touch the State—the Godaveri, Kistna, and Tungabhadra. The country is mainly agricultural; cotton and millet are the chief staple in the north, rice and oil-seeds in the south, and I may tell you that the castor oil of Hyderabad was largely employed

in the lubrication of our aeroplane engines in the late war, and represents some 60 per cent. of the world's total output of this important commodity. It is even said that the people of these tracts are so hardened that they cook their food in castor oil, but I hasten to add that this report is very much exaggerated. We have also minerals: coal, which is largely used on the southern railways, and gold, which was worked till a few years ago and which we are thinking of working again.

[It may interest you to learn that the site of the ancient gold workings near Muski, where the southernmost edict of Asoka has been found, has been identified by some of my friends in Hyderabad with the Ophir of the Bible from where King Solomon got his gold for his temple, and it is rather remarkable that the word for "peacock" which was in the scenery of this place is the same in Hebrew and Telugu.]

I have not the time to take you through the long and interesting history of this country—the Buddhist period, the Hindu dynasties, the early Muhammadan conquerors—and I will pass on to the time when the present ruling house first entered the Deccan, which at that time was divided amongst a number of comparatively small Muhammadan States which had succeeded in overthrowing the great Hindu Empire at Vijayanagar.

Of these principalities you will remember one name at least—Golconda, which you will doubtless connect with diamonds. The diamond mines are now, I regret to say, completely worked out, but the great fort still stands a few miles from Hyderabad city, one of the most interesting relics of Indian fortification. Even now the Golconda diamonds are known to the trade as Krishna diamonds, because they were found in the River Krishna; and even now the finest and purest diamonds are what are known as the Krishna diamonds, to which the Kohinoor belongs, and they all came from these mines which were in the River Krishna. Toward the end of the sixteenth century the

Moghal emperors sent their armies into the Deccan to complete their conquest of India; but it was not till the latter half of the seventeenth century that the conquest was complete.

THE FOUNDER OF THE STATE

The Muhammadan States fell one by one to the Moghal generals, of whom the greatest was the ancestor of the Nizams, Asaf Jah, who became Governor of the conquered territory. Here I may say that I have very little sympathy with the view held in some circles, but which I am glad to say is now no longer in the ascendant, that it is impossible to produce competent military officers in my country, and that the army must be officered entirely from outside. It was not in this spirit of contempt that the British in India at the time regarded Tippoo Sultan, Holkar, Scindia or Ranjit Singh. At any rate, no one will deny the great military qualities of the founder of the house of Asaf Jah. But to come back to our history and the eighteenth century, the period of the decay of the Moghal empire and its break-up between the Marathas, the Muhammadan powers of the south and east and the Sikhs of the north. These long centuries of conflict, in my opinion at any rate, clearly prove that no one race or creed has ever been able for long to maintain its hold over all India, and this is one reason why I believe a system of federation has a better chance of giving us peace and contentment than any system which attempts to treat the country as one homogeneous whole.

In the confusion that accompanied the downfall of the Moghals, the Marathas threatened Hyderabad from the north and west. The English and the French fought fiercely for the mastery of the south. From Seringapatam Hyder and Tippoo in turn defied all the efforts of the English armies. It is sufficient to say that after some dalliance with the French and their brilliant representatives, Dupleix and Raymond, the Nizams entered into an alliance with the English, and Hyderabad troops fought side by

side with the British armies first in the conquest of Tippoo and subsequently in the two Maratha wars. Again, in the Mutiny and up to and including the Great War, 1914-1918, the Nizams have held steadfastly to this alliance.

THE RULERS OF HYDERABAD

There have been seven Nizams in all. The father of the present Nizam, whom I had the honour to serve, was well known throughout India for his generosity, kindliness and dignity. His was a personality that impressed all India and endeared him to his people. The Hindus thought him to be an incarnation of their saints—Maneck Prabhu. At the same time he was essentially one of the old school; he was set in the old ways, and modern ideas did not appeal to him. During the last nineteen years (His Exalted Highness succeeded in 1911) there has been, I am proud to say, very remarkable progress, and I wish to pay a sincere tribute to the way in which His Exalted Highness has identified himself with every scheme of development, and the encouragement he has himself given to the officers engaged on these schemes. No one has worked more laboriously, and he has always been ready to support any measure designed for the betterment of the conditions under which his people live and get their living.

I do not wish to burden you with figures, but I feel that it is only by comparing certain figures of expenditure at the date of his accession with those of our last budget that I can give you an idea of what has been done. The sum annually spent on public education was then only 16 lakhs, and it is now 115 lakhs per annum; on medicine and sanitation 8 lakhs, it is now 23 lakhs; on agriculture $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh, it is now 10 lakhs; on Co-operative Credit Societies $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh, it is now 4 lakhs; on irrigation $23\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs, and it is now $59\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs, exclusive of the major projects which I will describe in due course. I could produce a formidable array of statistics to indicate progress in other directions, but these are, I hope, sufficient to illustrate my point.

EDUCATION

I should now like to tell you what has been done in the different departments I have named, and here I must emphasize the fact that Indian States with their traditions and independence are in a position to undertake experiments in certain directions which the centralized system of government in British India renders more difficult if not almost impossible.

It is perhaps in education that Hyderabad affords the most interesting example of originality or departure from the British system.

While pressing on with the spread of primary education so far as funds permit, primary education, I need hardly say, is given in the vernacular language of the school children, and there are four vernaculars in the State—Urdu, Marathi, Telugu, Canarese; and while reserving a clear road from primary through secondary and college to a degree of the Madras University, under what we call the English system, Hyderabad has opened a new road to knowledge in the Osmania University where teaching is entirely through the medium of the Urdu language, and English is a compulsory second language. This university has been the subject of a great deal of controversy, and I should therefore like to say something more in detail about the ideas which led to its foundation. As you probably know, all subjects of university education in British India are taught through the medium of English. Boys are even taught the history of their own country in English.

THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

Now I ask you what you would say if you were told that your sons, if they were to get any education worth the name, must get it through the medium, not of their own language, not of a kindred language, such as Latin or French or German, but through the medium of an entirely alien language, such as Arabic or Chinese? That is what is required of the Indian students to-day. What do you

suppose would be the result if such a system were applied to your country? There are always a certain number of students so brilliant that no obstacle can hold them back; but what of the average boy? Not only would he probably fail to get through the course, his whole outlook and his mental processes would become warped, and his education, so far from bringing out and developing his mind and character, might very well have exactly the reverse result.

You in England have little idea of how many students fall by the way between school and university in India. The percentage of failure is appalling. You hear speakers like Mr. Sastri, and perhaps think English comes easily to the Indian. It does not, and for one Mr. Sastri there are thousands whose English is the joke of your comic papers. To me the joke has a very grim side that you perhaps do not appreciate. Again, there are students with a talent for one particular line of study, but who may have no gift for languages. A promising mathematician may find it impossible to overcome the language difficulty. If so, there is no road open to him. His career as a mathematician is closed, with perhaps irreparable loss to the intellectual output of India.

I do not believe any thinking man can deny that in this respect, in teaching Indian students through the medium of an Indian language, we are on the right road, and I could refer to many distinguished names amongst our sympathizers. I will quote only one, Sir Ashutosh Mukerji, whose ambition it was to give Bengali the same place in Calcutta University as Urdu holds in Hyderabad. We were of course confronted at first with all the arguments which go back to the time of Macaulay's "famous"—I may perhaps say "fatal"—despatch. We were told that there were no textbooks available, no literature dealing with modern subjects, and that the language was incapable of expressing modern ideas. We can only say that Japan has overcome this difficulty, and we can do the same; and I would ask you whether mediæval English was more

capable of expressing ideas than the Indian vernaculars of to-day. Languages expand very quickly under the influence of new ideas.

We concentrated specially on Science and translated exactly the same textbooks as were prescribed for the Degree examination in British Indian Universities—Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and other sciences. We always have had outside examiners in all our subjects associated with professors of our University. It will interest you to learn that a jurist of such repute as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru remarked upon the papers that he had examined in Jurisprudence that he had been struck with the freshness of thought and clearness of exposition which had been displayed by our students. The other day the head of the Madras Observatory at Kodaikanal told me that the M.Sc. students whom he had examined had attempted many problems in Physics which compared very favourably with the products of British Indian Universities, and I have been assured by heads of Universities here that our students have done particularly well in research work. It was only the other day that one of our students who had been educated from the very beginning according to the Osmania system carried away the Chadwick prize in Engineering of the London University.

Finally, we are attacked because we have established only an Urdu university, and not universities for the other three vernaculars. Well, at present we have not the funds to support four universities; we do actually maintain two systems—the British Indian and the Urdu—and any Hyderabad student is at liberty to follow the British Indian system and graduate through the medium of English in our Nizam College affiliated with Madras University. Every advantage the student has in British India he has in Hyderabad, and he has also the alternative—the vernacular university, teaching in a language which, if not his own, is more akin to his language than English, and is at the same time the official language of the State and Government

business. There are, I may add, according to the census, 50,000 young men of university-going-age whose mother language is Urdu. We firmly believe that, thanks to the success of our lead, Marathi, Telugu, and Canareso universities will arise in British India or other states before very long, and if so, the Hyderabad Government is quite prepared to give whatever help they can to students wishing to take their education in those languages.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION

We have not neglected the education of women, and one of our schools, the Mahbubia Girls' School, named after His late Highness, and founded at the instance of Her Majesty the Queen Empress when she visited Hyderabad as the Princess of Wales, is one of the two schools which were considered by successive Lady Commissioners sent out from England as being the best—one being the Queen Mary's College in Lahore. The main feature of our school is that it is run so far as English subjects are concerned by lady graduates from the English universities specially selected; and the Indian subjects by equally competent ladies, well paid, from some of the best families in India. The Girls' Guide movement also has been given every support and encouragement by the Government.

THE CULTURAL ROOTS

I now come to another point. The imposition of the English language in India has, though there are signs of a national revival, destroyed the cultural roots, the artistic sense, the æsthetic taste of our people. Here again Hyderabad has striven to do all in its power to awake the dormant interests in the past and in the works of the great Indian artists. Nowhere in India will you find more attention paid to the preservation of ancient monuments, to archæology, and to Indian art. I would particularly invite you all to come and see the Ajanta caves and their frescoes, the sculpture of Ellora, the temple at Warangal. The Ruler

of Hyderabad is a Muslim, and a very devout Muslim too but no one in India has done more to preserve Hindu and Buddhist treasures of art. In the same way all that is possible has been done to restore and maintain those gems of Muslim architecture Gulburga, Bidar. There is shortly to appear under the auspices of His Exalted Highness's Government from the Oxford University Press an illustrated and exhaustive work on the Ajanta frescoes by Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, our devoted archæologist, and I am sure you will find great profit in studying this important contribution to the subject, which, I am glad to say, is receiving more of the interest that it deserves than it has had hitherto.

We have spent freely in order to preserve the frescoes of Ajanta, for which we requisitioned at great expense the services of Signor Cecconi, descended from a long line of restaurateurs in Italy, who has succeeded in fixing up permanently these paintings, some of which are considered by competent authorities to be as great as those of Michael Angelo in execution and greater in conception.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH

I have spoken of our great experiment in education. I would now speak to you of medicine, a most delicate task, as I freely admit. You know we have an indigenous system of medicine in India—in fact, we have two, and some of you here to-night have, I expect, a very great contempt for both their theory and practice. It was not always so, and the reputation of the Arab physicians once stood very high in Europe. To-day some of the drugs from our pharmacopœia are finding favour even with your great scientists: isabgol for dysentery, chaulmoogra oil for leprosy, and others I could quote if I had the time. We know well that in many respects the indigenous systems have not kept pace with the times, but we believe that we can graft on to that old root modern ideas on anatomy and other subjects,

and so provide a form of medical relief more acceptable to the people and far cheaper at the same time, than by concentrating entirely on Western medicine. We believe in improving and bringing our indigenous methods up to date, but not cutting absolutely adrift from our past.

We have got a very talented research worker whom we had sent out to Edinburgh—Dr. Hardikar—to investigate into the therapeutic properties of our Indian drugs.

Do not, however, go away with the idea that we neglect Western science in Hyderabad. There you will find one of the best equipped hospitals in India, and in every district the work goes on. Plague, malaria, and all such enemies we are fighting with every means in our power. In fact, we have rebuilt half the city on lines intended to defeat the plague rat, a colossal work in itself. I only wish I had some slides to show you the old dwellings and the new, but I must leave this subject as time is passing.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS

To turn to another side of the picture : in agriculture we have carried on a long and I believe successful struggle against those who import short-staple cotton from the Central Provinces and mix it with our good long-staple cotton, thus ruining not only our good name, but also our cotton, for the mixed seed has been scattered far and wide. In one district we had to buy up every grain of cotton-seed from the ginning factories and distribute selected seed in its place. Only those familiar with Indian conditions can realize the magnitude and difficulty of such an operation. I only wish I could take you to see our experimental stations, our stud farms. All this is work begun and carried to its present stage under the directions of the present Nizam.

Now I should like to tell you something of what has been done to encourage industry, of the mills, of the cement works, of the collieries, of the purchase by the

State of the railways (a system of 1,200 miles) from the private company, of the industrial reserve fund. Nearly one million sterling has been set aside for advance in the shape of share or debentures to promising industries. The interest is used to develop cottage industries and industrial experiments without exclusive regard to financial return. In all Swedeshi exhibitions—Swedeshi, I must explain, means manufactured at home as opposed to manufactured abroad—Hyderabad products have carried off prizes, and we have even received congratulations from Mr. Gandhi for the genuine impetus given to Indian industries by our methods; but I feel time is passing, and I can only mention one more subject in any detail.

PUBLIC WORKS

Before I close I must say something of our public works. When His Exalted Highness succeeded his father the city was still suffering from the effects of the terrible flood of 1908. We shall always remember with gratitude the fund opened by the Lord Mayor of the time for the benefit of the sufferers. The banks of the river, the centre of the city, were littered with debris of ruined houses buried in foul mud. There was hardly a building left on which we could look with pride. I wish you could see the difference to-day. The river has been embanked, stately buildings in the Moghal style flank either bank, with Persian gardens and running fountains in the foreground. There has been, I believe, no such building in India with the exception of New Delhi in modern times, and I quite frankly prefer New Hyderabad to New Delhi.* Courts, schools, hospitals, railway stations—all stand a record of the work done during the rule of Mir Osman Ali Khan. Soon the new university buildings, costing over a million pounds, will add a further dignity to that great city of which we are so proud. Flood protection works, water supply,

* See illustrations in the present issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.

modern drainage, electricity, telephones, all date from the last eighteen years.

Irrigation, as I mentioned before, has had a full share of attention. Over a million pounds sterling has been spent in two enormous reservoirs near the city, but a far greater work is in progress, the Nizam Sagar project, which will have 442 miles of canals commanding an irrigable area of 2,750,000 acres.

I shall be very glad if I have been able to convince you this evening that Indian States are not merely picturesque survivals of the Middle Ages, but that they have a distinct contribution to make to the culture and development of our country. Do not please think I am trying to belittle the great work done by Englishmen in India, from whose experience we have freely drawn in our administration and whose inspiring influence, I fully acknowledge, we owe to-day the reign of law. We have a Legislative Council of the type before the Minto Reforms, for making laws and regulations only, an Executive Council for administration consisting of experienced administrators and noblemen of the State, a fixed Civil List, a Judiciary independent of the Executive, a trained Civil Service with security of tenure. Even now we have Englishmen working in our administration and outside it in the Political Department, in the Residency, who give their best to the State and are fighting our battles often with as much zeal and courage as any Indian officer of Hyderabad. But it is good that there should be diversity and that full outlet should be given to the genius of the different peoples of India. Our State therefore is a true illustration of the kind of Swaraj which I have always wished for, the intimate co-operation of Englishmen and Indian in the service of the country they consider their own.

I also feel, and feel very strongly, that at the Round Table Conference the States may have their own contribution to make to political thought, and that our traditions and experience may prove of use in framing the institutions

which are taking shape at the Round Table Conference to-day, and thus promoting a solution of the Indian problem more in harmony with the genius of our people than a Constitution taken bodily from Western models which have grown up under the influence of entirely different surroundings.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, December 16, 1930, at which a paper was read by Nawab Sir Muhammad Akbar Hydari on "Hyderabad To-day."

The Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, C.G.S.I., C.G.I.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.E.E., K.C.B., H.H. the Chief of Sangli, K.C.I.E., Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens and Lady Clark, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Richard Chenevix-Trench, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., Sir William Barton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Bayley, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., General Sir Charles MacWatt, C.I.E., M.B., Sir Evan Cotton, Mr. A. L. Saunders, C.S.I., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, K.I.H., Lady Scott Moncrieff, Mr. Vincent J. Esch, C.V.O., and Mrs. Esch, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Colonel Goodenough, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Miss Gregory, Mr. P. Ramchander, Mr. R. V. Reddi, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. B. G. Gilbert-Cooper, Mrs. Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. La Touche, Miss Hurst, Mr. Brown, Mr. M. A. Shahmuri, Mr. and Mrs. V. Yajnik, Mr. B. Bacon, Miss Rosamund Chaplin, Mr. Khalid Sheldrake, Mr. Neill, Mr. Harihar Das, Dr. Lanka Sundaram, Mr. C. C. Griswold, Mr. R. K. Ranadive, Mrs. Weir, Mr. P. Dutt, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. J. A. Thombone, Mrs. Nolan, Mrs. Millward, Mr. and Mrs. Palmer, Miss Kerr, Mr. Henry McAnally, Miss Caton, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Miss M. Green, Mr. Altaf Husain, Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayet Hosain, Mr. H. S. Ede, Mr. B. F. B. Tyabji, Mrs. Hosken, Mr. G. T. Garratt, Dr. Shah, Khanzada F. M. Khan, Mr. Ghulam Q. Khan, Mr. P. Geddes, Mr. G. G. Advani, Dr. Arthur Lankester, Mr. R. A. Sujan, Mr. Rashid Ahmad, Mrs. Blennerhassett Plunkett, Mrs. C. H. Swayne, Miss McClemens, Mrs. L. M. Saunders.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my pleasant task to introduce to you this afternoon Sir Muhammad Akbar Hydari. Sir Akbar Hydari is an administrator of great experience and of ripe wisdom. He started his career as a servant of the Government of India in the Finance Department of that Government, and his services were then lent, with his own consent I have no doubt, to that ancient ally of ours, His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. It is not too much to say, I think, that he has left the imprint of his knowledge, his experience, his judgment and his great ideals upon every Department of the Government of that State. He is particularly

interested in the preservation of works of art, to which I can bear witness from my own personal experience. One of the most interesting of my experiences, in my study of Indian archaeology and art, was a visit, some time ago now, to the caves of Ellora, where those magnificent series of Buddhist retreats and Jain and Hindu temples are to be found.

Then Sir Akbar Hydari has also shown great interest in another subject which I too have always found of very real interest, and that is the question of education in India. He has been a great supporter of the Osmania University of Hyderabad, and the really interesting feature of that University is this—that the students there, instead of having to learn their subjects through the medium of a foreign tongue, learn them through the medium of their own mother tongue; in other words, Urdu is the medium of instruction at the Osmania University. That is an experiment of the greatest interest, because it has always seemed to me that one is putting a tremendous handicap upon the Indian student if one asks him to imbibe his knowledge of all those subjects which go to make up a liberal education, not through his own mother tongue, but through a foreign tongue which he has to struggle to learn, and therefore the Osmania University is one of the institutions of Hyderabad in which I am myself very keenly interested. Sir Akbar Hydari will, no doubt, say something about that and about many other features of the life of the people in the State of Hyderabad.

SIR AKBAR HYDARI: It is a matter of particular pleasure to me that I have been introduced to you by one whom I have always admired for his great interest in India and his deep interest in our culture. I have always felt that it was through that culture, and knowledge of and sympathy with that culture, that the East and the West could come together and understand each other in the very cores of their being. His lordship will perhaps remember as to how, when he was leaving India, I asked him to visit even for a few hours Ajanta on his way, because I felt that such a visit would make him carry with him still further the deep admiration and love for Indian art, which, until it had been made better known to the world, was the direction in which India had, it was thought, made absolutely no progress. I am very grateful to Lord Zetland also for his reference to the Osmania University.

(The lecturer then read his Paper.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We have had a most interesting and most important paper by Sir Akbar Hydari on one of those great Indian States that have played so great a part in the past of that great country, and that are destined, I feel convinced, to play an even greater part in its future. We are fortunate in having present with us here this evening a ruler of one of those same States; I refer to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. I really think that His Highness is one of the hardest worked amongst all the statesmen of the British Empire. Quite apart from the fact that there devolves upon his shoulders the burden—no light one I am sure—entailed by the administration of his own State, he plays a conspicuous part in all those great conferences which at the present day play so large a part in the

internal economy of the British Empire. If a representative of India is wanted for the League of Nations at Geneva, His Highness is selected; at the Imperial Conference in this country, His Highness plays an outstanding part; and once again, in that great Conference which is now assembled, the Indian Round Table Conference, His Highness is playing a great and conspicuous, and, I may even say, a decisive part. I do feel, therefore, that he is conferring upon us a very great favour in having consented to be present here to say a few words to us this evening.

Lieut-General His Highness the MAHARAJA OF BIKANER said: I gladly accept the invitation to say a few words on the subject of the interesting paper to which we have just listened. Sir Akbar Hydari has spoken to us in a dual capacity, as my noble friend the chairman has just said, for almost an official generation he served with distinction and success in one of the most important branches of the Indian administration—the Finance Department. Fortified by this wide experience he enlisted in the service of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, and has been intimately associated with the great progressive enterprises which he has sketched to-day. In this sense he has spoken for the two Indias now represented in London—the British India, with whose administration he was so honourably associated, and the Indian India—the India of the States—whose interests he specially represents as the trusted spokesman of the State of Hyderabad. My own House of Bikaner has a special connection with that part of India in which Hyderabad is situated. In the spacious days of old—whether they were good days or bad days I will leave others to determine—when a good horse, a keen sword, and a stout heart were every Rajput's title to fame, my forebears for six or seven generations in succession pursued active and not unsuccessful military adventures in the Deccan. The record of their achievements—culminating in the capture by Maharaja Anup Singh, the twelfth ruler of my State, in the command of the Imperial Moghal Army, of the fort of Golconda—is still cherished in the annals of Bikaner.

For these services the Moghal Emperors granted to my State certain villages named after my ancestors and the district known as Purejat, near Aurangabad, which we held till after the commencement of the present century, when we exchanged them during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty for other villages adjoining my State, which are now included in Bikaner State territory. Turning to present days, I have myself been privileged to continue the same contact and to enjoy the close friendship and hospitality, including participation in that magnificent form of sport, peculiarly fascinating to me, tiger shooting, in the Nizam's dominions, both in the reign of the late Nizam some thirty years ago and in that of his present Exalted Highness.

Hyderabad is the premier State, though it is only one of those many sovereign and autonomous States the rulers of which are faithful allies and perpetual friends of the Crown, and which are coloured yellow on the map of India, embracing some seven hundred thousand square miles and seventy-two million subjects—in other words, excluding Burma, over

40 per cent. of the area and 23 per cent. of the population of the vast and varied land which many, not conversant with the structure of India, often think of as only the part under the direct responsibility of the Imperial Parliament. I think it will be apparent to you, from what has fallen from Sir Akbar, that these great States are not standing at gaze, but are active in all the enterprises which distinguish progressive governments and peoples.

I touch upon this aspect of his address for a moment to illustrate the absurdity of thinking of Indian questions in terms which do not embrace the States, comprising the dominions of the Princes of India, as well as British India. The next point is that in which Sir Akbar said that the States have a distinct contribution to make to the culture and development of our country. They are the seats of ancient chivalry associated particularly with my country and its princely houses, and the repositories of the history, the traditions, and much of the art and literature of ancient India, and that—as in the case of the wonderful frescoes and sculptures of Ajanta and Ellora—they are jealously conserving.

Now, considering these two main arguments in the address to which we have listened, whither do they lead us? Surely to the general conclusion Sir Akbar has advanced—that “a system of federation has a better chance of giving us peace and contentment than any system which attempts to treat the country as one homogeneous whole.” That idea is no new one in the modern political thought of India; it has been developed by writers and publicists for a decade at least. But it has never gripped the imagination as it does to-day; and the splendid goal of a United India, equal in stature to the other Dominions in the British Commonwealth of Nations, is the end to which the delegates to the Round Table Conference are bending all their energies.

I will not speak of the progress we have made—you are conversant with it; but I should like to say, looking back on the days of the years of my life, that nothing has given me greater confidence, greater hope, and greater optimism in regard to the future of India than the substantial spirit of unity which has animated our discussions—the representatives of British India and of the Indian States alike—and the spirit of common service which makes us feel that we have unity within our grasp and are determined to ensue it. In this course my friend, Sir Akbar Hydari, who has been a colleague of mine on many a committee, and, may I add, a great worker in close harmony and co-operation with the views which I myself personally hold, has contributed his share, not only in regard to the State of Hyderabad, which he has the honour to represent, but also in relation to the other important States, as well as the smaller States, whose interests, too, we all have ever in mind.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON said the lecturer had given them a most arresting picture of modern Hyderabad, but with a modesty which they must appreciate he had refrained from saying anything of the part that Hyderabad had played in the British Empire. If they cast their eyes back on the history of the past 150 years, they would see how much they owed

indirectly to Asaf Jah, the founder of the present dynasty of Hyderabad. In the first fifty years of the eighteenth century, but for the genius, military and administrative, of Asaf Jah, Hyderabad would have been swept out of existence. Mysore would probably have been extinguished, and, when the British appeared on the scene about the middle of the eighteenth century, they would have been confronted with a mighty Empire extending from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and they would have been facing that Empire with very slender resources and without the material aid which Hyderabad subsequently gave them. The Maratha Empire then stretched right across the continent, and the Marathas were invading almost every country in India, including Rajputana. They threatened the very existence of Hyderabad; they threatened the existence of the British possessions in the south of India. There was only one policy which presented itself—that was a policy of alliance, defensive and offensive, with Hyderabad. That alliance was the keystone of British policy for over 100 years. The result was that, in the subsequent struggle with the Marathas and with the Tippoo Sultan in Mysore, the British had at their back the entire resources, military and economic, of Hyderabad. There could be little doubt that, but for the help that was received, the problem of destroying the Maratha Empire would have been an extremely difficult one. As they all knew, the allies took Seringapatam and destroyed the kingdom of Tippoo Sultan, and the Maratha Empire was broken. Both Hyderabad and the British Empire benefited greatly from these victories: Hyderabad recovered the Berar; she also ceased paying that much-hated tribute, *chauth*, the blackmail levied by the Marathas. England gained political control of the south and considerable acquisitions of territory, and later on the Nizam gave to the British Empire the so-called Ceded Districts for the support of the Hyderabad contingent, a force of 10,000 men stationed in Hyderabad. The friendship which began with these early associations with Hyderabad has continued to the present time; in the dark days of the Mutiny the loyalty of Hyderabad prevented the wave of rebellion from sweeping south. They all knew how much His Exalted Highness and his Government did for England during the Great War: how both of his regiments fought at the Front, maintained out of Hyderabad resources; how His Exalted Highness's workshops turned out munitions; and how large sums of money were invested in War Loan and in the Red Cross. They must all admit that His Exalted Highness did very much in those days to merit the title, of which he was proud, "Faithful Ally of the British Empire."

From the time of that great statesman, Sir Salar Jung, the Hyderabad Government had kept before them the ideal of a reasonable, efficient administration. Until the beginning of the present century, owing to financial difficulties, that object was not achieved in a very marked degree. At the beginning of the present century the late Nizam fixed his civil list, and, as the Lecturer had told them, he obtained from the British Government the services of two very distinguished Finance Ministers in succession, Sir George Casson Walker and Sir Reginald Glancy. The finance of

the country was now placed on a sound basis. In the ten years that followed the Administration reached a high degree of efficiency. As the lecturer had said, the Hyderabad Government was only too glad to obtain the services of able administrators from British India, both British and Indian, to assist the indigenous talent. Of the latter, the lecturer himself was a distinguished example. The present Nizam later on introduced an innovation by substituting for the Chief Minister an Executive Council. Of recent years he had greatly improved the Council, given it wider powers, powers of initiative and a considerable degree of independence, the result of which had been a very great improvement in Hyderabad administration. In fact, Hyderabad now stood in the forefront of the States so far as up-to-date administration was concerned. The distinguished lecturer had contributed greatly to the progress that had been achieved by carrying on and developing the tradition of his predecessors.

Hyderabad made a great appeal to the feelings of the 70 million Muslims in India. It enhanced for them memories of a great past, and undoubtedly added to their self-respect. He was sure they all felt it would be the work of the statesmen of the future to assist Hyderabad in maintaining herself as a great progressive State in India.

He endorsed all that Sir Akbar Hydari had said about the improvements which had been made in Hyderabad. As an act of courtesy which was greatly appreciated the Nizam had associated the Residency with the work of the Hyderabad City Improvement Board, and the speaker had recited with great interest what was being done.

His Exalted Highness had conferred another obligation upon them by sending to the Round Table Conference a deputation of able statesmen from Hyderabad to assist India in extricating herself from her present troubles. They had already made valuable contributions to the solution of the Indian problem, and he was sure that the Nizam, and the Nizam's Government, would only agree to a settlement which embodied sanity, goodwill, and loyalty to the British Empire.

Lord LAMINGTON was sure they would like to express to the triumvirate of great distinction who sat upon the platform the pleasure and honour they felt in having them there that afternoon. They were three distinguished gentlemen sitting most of the day at the Round Table Conference and holding very conspicuous positions. It was a noble act on their part to give up some of their spare time to be present that afternoon. They were particularly grateful to Sir Akbar Hydari for his very interesting description of the Hyderabad State. The lecturer had referred to Lord Macaulay's famous despatch on education, but it was justified in one way. Undoubtedly India had some most remarkable pupils who could successfully master the English language. He always felt ashamed when he came to a platform and listened to Indian gentlemen of distinction, like Sir Akbar Hydari, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. They had a wonderful mastery of the English tongue. They had been very apt pupils, whether Lord Macaulay's famous despatch was a wise one or not. Sir Akbar had dwelt on the encouragement given to the study of the vernacular in

Hyderabad State and most people thought that this was a sound policy. They were very glad to be honoured by their presence that afternoon, also by the presence of H.H. the Chief of Sangli. On behalf of those present, he begged to thank Lord Zetland for having occupied the Chair, Sir Akbar for a most interesting address, and also His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner for the very welcome words he spoke in connection with Hyderabad and the position of the Indian Princes in general.

SIR AKBAR HYDARI: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am exceedingly grateful to Lord Lamington for his kind words. We remember him well in Bombay, because really I am a Bombay man only lent to Hyderabad. It has been a pleasure and an honour to me to hear him express his admiration of my poor effort to-day.

Sir Louis Dane writes:

If there had been time after the reading of Sir Akbar Hydari's excellent paper I might have made a few remarks, and perhaps some of these are worth recording.

Place aux dames. He referred to the Mahbubia College for pardah girls of good family at Hyderabad and the similar Queen Mary's College at Lahore, and the good work done by them. The first was called after Mir Mahbub Ali Khan, the late Nizam, but Mahbub means "beloved," and so it is a good name for a ladies' college! The Queen Mary College owes its origin to Her Majesty having asked that a parting gift of some Rs. 50,000 to her when on her visit to Lahore in 1906 might be utilized for this purpose, and a small beginning was made. It soon became necessary to expand the scheme, as the young men educated at the Aitchison Chiefs' College and others who had been in England wanted wives with Western ideas and training. A public subscription was started and the Punjab Government gave a site at Lahore, and by 1911 the College was ready. Miss Edith Weston and other ladies took charge, some without salary, and from the outset it was a triumphant success. Fortunately, an attempt to restrict it to girls whose families appeared in "The Punjab Chiefs" failed, and other suitable students were admitted. Indian and Western sanitary systems were installed as object lessons, rather to the alarm of the Principal, but the former soon disappeared.

One of the pleasant portents of the Round Table Conference was the eloquent speech of Begum Shah Nawaz. She was one of the first pupils, and some six other equally brilliant specimens of the teaching of the College are in England at present, and the matrimonial difficulty has been most happily solved.

Sir Akbar Hydari thought that the Osmania University for teaching arts and sciences through the medium of Urdu was a novel experiment. It is hardly this, as the Punjab University, with its motto *Ex Oriente Lux*, was formed in 1882 with exactly the same idea, around the Oriental College, which examined and gave titles for proficiency in Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. The Oriental faculty giving degrees as Bachelor, Master, and Doctor of Oriental learning is still the senior faculty. But though every

possible encouragement has been given, and I personally share Sir Akbar's belief in the efficiency of the method of teaching through the mother tongue, the experiment has not succeeded in the Punjab. The reason is that most students go to college to secure a livelihood. Up to the present Government service and the law have been the main channels for advance in life, and for these a knowledge of English is essential, so the students nearly all take the English arts course. This is a pity, and let us hope that in the Indian State of Hyderabad the other curriculum will have more success.

His account of the revival of the Ayurvedic and Yunani systems of medicine is interesting. That also was tried in the Punjab, and the Tibbia College and Midwives' School of Hakim Ajmal Khan the Hakim ul Mulk in Delhi was subsidized and did good work, and the investigation of the medicines, etc., used was prescribed in the King Edward Memorial Medical College at Lahore. There is certainly good in some of these, but it is hard to convince most Western-trained doctors of this, and funds are diverted to systems more in fashion. However, the Legislative Assembly has now passed votes for fuller tests of the old systems and something may result. After all, the Yunani is the system of Hippocrates and Galen, and British medical practice in India has not been unchanging or infallible.

Physical conditions vary. We have even heard that the Hyderabadis are reported to use their castor oil for cooking. At school we learnt *dura ilia messorum*—i.e., tough is the digestion of the reapers—but Hyderabad must take the palm. If the custom had prevailed at present in Italy the Fascist Risorgimento might not have been brought about so easily.

Sir Akbar mentioned a claim of the Nizam to Masulipatam as a free port. It is an open roadstead, and my only experience of it is that in 1907 Lord Minto proposed to sail from that to Rangoon. But the wind blew and the ss. *Dufferin* could not remain in the roads, so the train was diverted to Madras. It does not look as if it would be a possession to be coveted.

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF LABOUR PROBLEMS IN INDIA*

BY PROFESSOR N. GANGULEE, C.I.E., B.SC., PH.D.,

Professor of Agriculture, Calcutta University ; lately member of the Royal
Commission on Indian Agriculture

THE historians have yet to analyze and evaluate the impetus given to India since the Great War. The growing labour consciousness in India is a social phenomenon which has to be contended with, and the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into and report on the existing condition of labour is a reflection of the recognition of problems that have, in recent years, manifested themselves in the trade and industry of this country. The Commission has, indeed, come at a time when the shadows of the conflict between the employer and the employee show signs of an ominous situation. The undertaking may also be regarded as a policy of Government to provide accurate knowledge as a guide in constructive legislation.

With the growth of industrialism in India have come, as they inevitably do, the characteristic socio-economic phenomena which tend to disturb harmonious articulation among all factors of national welfare. Although India has entered rather late into the field of industrial enterprise, she has the unmistakable advantage of obtaining the knowledge of the collective experiences of various developmental processes, undertaken and initiated by the West, in order to harmonize the conflicting interests of labour and capital. Their applications by Japan and China under the social circumstances totally different from those of the West furnish fresh data for formulating an industrial and labour policy for India. Then, one of India's chief advantages is its ready-made place and position in the International Labour Organization, which enables her to maintain through her own representatives an effective control in claiming the attention of the civilized world to justify her grievances and seek her redresses. But India can and will derive benefits from these advantages if and when she organizes industrial relations on a basis of mutual understanding between predominant conflicting interests.

* Based on a Memorandum for the Royal Commission on Labour in India.

The purpose of this article is not to reiterate and emphasize the existence of the conditions under which the ordinary Indian workman lives and works. They are being adequately dealt with in the evidence supplied to the Royal Commission on Labour in India. I shall venture to offer a few suggestions in regard to labour administration and labour welfare work generally, laying stress on the part the Government of India should play in bringing about harmonious relationship between industry and labour.

My interest as a student of social sciences brought me in a close contact with the labour movement in 1919-20. A number of labour associations in Bengal were then in existence, but there was no co-ordinating body which might assist these infant organizations in developing in the *right* direction. An attempt was therefore made to set up an agency under the title "The Bengal Central Labour Federation." But within a very short time the symptoms of internal dissension became conspicuous and there was a marked tendency on the part of the organizers of the Federation to identify them with the disruptive political forces. The constructive programme of the organization has had no chance under the circumstances created by predominance of political influences, and consequently I ceased to take any interest in the movement.

Another occasion that brought me in direct touch with labour was in 1922 at the time of the exodus of the Assam tea labourer. The situation was engineered by the extremists. As the coolies were put to an ordeal of suffering at Chandpur on account of the strike of the steamer crew, the late Mr. S. R. Das (then a prominent lawyer of the Calcutta Bar) and I made an arrangement for repatriating the coolies by chartering a steamer.

Since then I have followed the growth of the labour movement in India more as a student than as an active participant; and as such I venture to make a few observations on some of the questions raised by the Labour Commission now touring in India.

ADMINISTRATION

I believe that the time has come in India when the Central Government must recognize more fully than in the past that it has a serious responsibility to discharge in regard to the proper direction of forces that affect industrial relations. Labour questions in India embrace such problems which cannot and should not be treated in an isolated manner, and therefore the Central Government should be

very closely concerned with the matter of labour legislation, administration, and other allied functions. The multiplicity of various administrative authorities in the present stage of India's constitutional development is likely to produce chaos. My proposal is that a *Central Labour Council should be constituted by an Act of the Imperial Legislature*. The functions which the Labour Council would be called upon to discharge are stated below.

Central Labour Council

1. *Labour Legislations*.—The Labour Council would be a body to which the Government of India could look for guidance in all matters relating to labour legislations. The responsibility of ratification of international conventions would rest with the Council, and it would suggest ways and means by which legislative measures may be enforced.

2. *General Control of Labour Recruitment*.—The policy in regard to recruitment would be framed by the Council, and it would supervise the working of provincial organizations (e.g., Assam Labour Board) set up for recruiting labour for factories, railways, mines, and plantations.

3. *Direction and Control of Labour Emigration*.—The Council would take over the duties now entrusted to "the Department of Health and Lands" of the Government of India.

4. *Conciliation and Arbitration in Industrial Disputes*.—The Council should bring into existence a Standing Committee on industrial disputes, which would act as the advisory and consultative body on matters arising out of strikes and lock-outs.

5. *Labour Intelligence*.—The Council should maintain a Bureau of Labour Intelligence, and should conduct such investigations as may be necessary for the proper understanding of specific problems relating to labour and industry. Such investigations may be conducted through Universities and Trade Unions under the general direction of the Central Council.

6. *Direction of Welfare Work*.—The Council should be in a position to formulate a general scheme for welfare work and to indicate how best effect may be given to it. The Council would not exercise any administrative control over the welfare organizations, but it would provide the requisite degree of co-ordination among them.

7. *Control, Guidance, and Superintendence of the Trade Union Movement throughout India*.—The Council

would assume the responsibility of fostering better relations between the employer and the employee, and it would assist unions in winning recognition in Industry.

Composition of the Labour Council

In order to discharge the functions enumerated above, the Labour Council should have representation not only from the employers and workmen, but also from the Central Legislatures and recognized public bodies concerned with the welfare of labour and industry. The Central Labour Council, as I visualize it, should be more than a Joint Industrial Council, and it must be invested with real authority of a department of the Government of India.

The Central Labour Council should consist of:

1. The Hon. Member of the Viceroy's Cabinet in charge of the portfolio of Commerce and Industry—President.
2. A whole-time Administrative Officer—Vice-President.
3. Whole-time Secretary.
- 4-5. Two whole-time Technical Advisers.
- 6-8. Three representing Railways—one of whom would represent Railway Union or Federation.
- 9-11. Three representing Docks—one of whom would represent Union or Federation of Labour.
- 12-14. Three representing Mines—one of whom would represent Union or Federation of Labour.
- 15-16. Two representing Shipping—one of whom would represent Seamen's Union.
- 17-18. Two representing Tea and other plantations.
- 19-21. Three representing Cotton Industry—one of whom would represent Union or Federation.
- 22-23. Two representing Jute Industry—one of whom would represent Union or Federation.
- 24-25. Two representing Iron Works—one of whom would represent Union or Federation.
- 26-27. Two representing Post and Telegraph Services—one of whom would represent Union or Federation.
28. One representing Indian Chamber of Commerce.
29. One representing Bengal Chamber of Commerce.
30. One representing Associated Chamber of Commerce.
- 31-32. Two representing Trade Union Congress.
- 33-34. Two elected by the Assembly.
35. One elected by the Council of State.
36. One representing Railway Board.
- 37-38. Two nominated by the Government of India from Medical Service.

39-43. Five nominated by the Government of India—one of whom should be a woman.

The executive functions of the Council would be discharged by an Executive Committee consisting of:

1. The Hon. Member of the Viceroy's Cabinet in charge of the portfolio of Commerce and Industry.
2. The whole-time Administrative Officer.
- 3-4. Two whole-time Technical Advisers.
- 5-7. Three members elected by the Council.
- 8-9. Two members nominated by the Government of India.

Specific duties such as exercising general supervision on recruitment, or examining the working of Trade Unions, or formulating particular schemes for welfare work, might be discharged by *ad hoc* committees. For the purpose of settling disputes, the Council should have a Standing Committee. This committee would act as a permanent Court of Appeal for settling disputes within a certain period.

The whole Council should meet at least twice a year, preferably in certain industrial centres, and full publicity should be given to its proceedings. The Executive Committee should meet as often as necessary, and its proceedings should be strictly confidential. The Council should be maintained by a grant from central revenues.

So much, then, about the Central Labour Organization. A permanent unification of all interests concerned with industry and labour under the guidance of the Government of India should bring to an effective focus the fundamental aspects of the labour problem in India. The collective agreements between industrial organizations and labour unions would form the foundations of a constructive programme that will meet the needs of industrial India at this stage of its development.

Provincial Labour Councils

As regards administrative authorities now in existence in Provincial Governments, I am of opinion that the Central Labour Council should be invested with the responsibilities of administrative functions now discharged by Provinces through special labour officers. Duties, such as factory inspection, mines inspection, and general supervision and control of welfare work, should rest with Provincial Governments, and in each major Province there should be a Labour Council under the chairmanship of the Director of Industries. The Council should consist of representation

from (1) the principal industries, (2) recognized Trade Unions, (3) the local government, and (4) the general public. It would be an advisory body, and would suggest means of adjusting conditions of labour with analogous bodies of employees.

The relation of Provinces with the Central Government is provided in the adequate representation of various industries and trades in the proposed Central Labour Council.

In certain quarters the suggestion for creating a central body will be resented; but I am convinced that the time for decentralization of administrative functions in regard to labour has not come as yet in India. For instance, the machinery of arbitration and conciliation to curb the waste of industrial conflicts must be run by a central agency if it is to function properly and efficiently. A sound economic policy (which must embrace all problems relating to industry and labour) and an efficient administrative procedure to give effect to that policy are the two things India is in need of, and the responsibility of providing them rests with the Central Government.

TRADE COMBINATIONS

On the subject of trade combinations, both the State and employers must realize that Trade Unionism is the necessary product of the industrial growth in India, and that the movement has assumed a character which is at once national and international. In one sense the movement is certainly defensive and protective; but I should like to consider it as being "the fruit of a creative impulse." In order to create an industrial civilization based on that impulse, it is necessary to avoid all possibilities of conflict between labour and capital. The remedy of "the moralization of the employer," as suggested by the Le Play Societies in France and by the English positivists, has a special significance in India. In Western countries the employers are beginning to realize the efficacy of the remedy referred to above. The great American industrial magnate, Carnegie, writes in his "Gospel of Wealth":

"The right of the working men to combine and to form trade unions is no less sacred than the right of the manufacturer to enter into associations and conferences with his fellows, and it must sooner or later be conceded. Indeed, it gives one a poor opinion of the American workman if he permits himself to be deprived of a right which his fellow in England long since conquered for himself. My experience has been that trade unions, on the whole, are beneficial both to labour and to capital. They certainly educate the working men and give them a truer conception of the relations of capital and labour than they otherwise cared for. The oldest and best workmen eventually come to the front in these organizations."

The Labour Commission has already been supplied with a great deal of the criticisms of the nature of Trade Union activities in India. It is, indeed, true that the standard of intellectual capacity of organizers is low, and that their interest in the movement may not always be free from political bias. The extraneous pressure has undoubtedly given a false direction to the movement, but the ultimate source from which it draws nourishment lies in the general conditions of life and labour of the working men. As long as they have to deny themselves some of the essential amenities of life, labour unrest must continue to be one of the distressing features of industrial development in India. The growth of Trade Unionism has already come to a stage when the movement cannot be warped and thwarted by not recognizing its legitimate place in the constitution of the industrial régime in India.

There would be no need of urging this commonplace view if extreme conservatism and bitter opposition to unionism did not exist among organized industrial groups. They must, however, change their attitude towards organized labour in conformity with the tendency of the time.

On the other hand, the *raison d'être* of Trade Unionism should always be kept in view—that is, the movement must be directed towards exploring all means by which the waste resulting from labour conflicts may not retard the growth of industry. Its ideal should be to foster the spirit of organized self-help. The movement should not aim at an aggressive campaign against industrial ventures.

My suggestions are as follows :

1. I recognize the importance of legalizing Trade Unions, and consider that the Trade Unions Act of 1926 is a step in the right direction. But the Act should be amended in order to widen its scope and to invest the Central Labour Council with such powers as might be required for proper control, guidance, and superintendence of all Trade Union activities.

2. Three seats of Trade Union representatives elected by the Trade Union Congress should be reserved in the Legislative Assembly and one in the Council of State. The representation of labour in the Legislative Council in each Province should be secured through electoral colleges and *not* by nomination. In each Province there should be three such representatives.

3. Government, through the Central Labour Council, should make special arrangements for training Trade Union workers in at least one Indian University. The oppor-

tunities of studying the Trade Union organization in the principal industrial countries should be given to suitable Indians. The Council should be in a position to offer facilities to Trade Unions for understanding the problems of industry.

4. The Central Labour Council, in collaboration with Trade Unions, should formulate schemes as to methods of negotiation between employers and employee. The schemes, as adopted by the Council, may be enforced by an Act of the Legislature.

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

I have already mentioned conciliation and arbitration machinery, and have suggested the formation of a permanent tribunal for settling disputes. Only those official and non-official conciliators who may be *authorized* by the tribunal to take part should be recognized by the parties involved in industrial disputes. I think that the Employers' and Workmen's Disputes Act of 1860 should be amended in the light of the experiences gained during the last few years in negotiating disputes.

The public is not fully aware of the extent of economic waste caused by strikes, lock-outs, etc. The Central Council of Labour should publish an account of each dispute showing fully the loss sustained by industry and workers. These publications should also be printed in the principal Indian vernaculars.

WELFARE

I must now deal with certain aspects of welfare activities which have an intimate relation to that of housing and health improvement.

Liquor Traffic.—In the first place the question of liquor traffic in industrial areas is of so great importance that no scheme of "better living" can hope to succeed unless the drink evil is effectively kept under control. I am not a fanatic in temperance reform, but I believe in the dictum of Lord Rosebery that "if the State does not control the liquor traffic, the liquor traffic will control the State."

In industrial areas the licensing authority should consult the Provincial Joint Industrial Boards before issuing licences to retailers or wholesale dealers, and *special* measures should be taken for controlling the sale of liquor and drugs. For instance, no sale should be permitted on

Sundays* and other holidays; credit sale should be strictly prohibited; and the supply of intoxicants should be limited to a minimum standard of requirement, and they should not be sold to young persons under eighteen.

While advocating these controlling measures, I am not unmindful of their inadequacy in eradicating the drink evil. The real solution is to be sought in the improvement of industrial conditions under which the labourer works and lives. The case has been well put by the Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in their report, which says :

"The close connection between a craving for drink and bad housing, bad feeding, a polluted and depressing atmosphere, long hours of work in over-heated and often ill-ventilated rooms, only relieved by the excitements of town life, is too self-evident to need demonstration, nor unfortunately is the extent of the evil more open to dispute."

I attach some importance to persistent temperance propaganda through reliable agencies. Attractive posters and cinema films, illustrating the risk of intemperance, may be effectively used in propaganda work, and the local authorities should be asked to remove all liquor advertisements within the industrial areas. With the extension of propaganda work, the time may come for the adoption of a scheme of local option.

Indebtedness of Labourers.—The second evil to which a reference should be made is the growing indebtedness of labourers. Pathans, Marwaris, and other indigenous money-lenders should not be permitted to carry on their trade among workmen. It is upon these agencies that the workmen usually depend during strikes.

The problem of indebtedness can be effectively tackled by starting Co-operative Societies; but, at this stage, they should be established in a few selected areas where conditions of success appear to be favourable. The societies thus started should be under the supervision of a special officer of the Provincial Department of Co-operation. In the organization of co-operative enterprises both the industry and the union can render a valuable service, and I believe that through their combined efforts and resources the foundations of all forms of welfare schemes may be truly laid. To cite an example of an American Trade Union: six co-operative apartment houses for more than three hundred workers' families at a cost of \$1,800,000 were

* Wales has a Sunday Closing Act. Both Scotland and Ireland, I believe, have had similar Acts.

completed by the union in New York City and are now fully occupied, thus taking its members out of the old tenements and making it possible for them to get proper housing at reasonable cost.

There are numerous instances of co-operative labour banks organized in industrial areas of Europe and America which have made a substantial contribution to raising and maintaining a high standard of living. A small committee, consisting of two representatives of the Trade Union Congress and one of the Central Labour Council, should be deputed to Europe to study the growth of co-operative enterprises among industrial labour.

It cannot be said that in India we are generous in doling out "gifts" of welfare schemes to the working masses either in factories or in mines. The *real* solution of the problems of welfare work is to be sought in the vitality of the labour movement, so that the workers themselves may unite in order to improve their social status. In the meantime, the State and the industry have a serious responsibility to discharge in the direction of providing the requirements of a decent environment for the workers to live in.

The question has to be considered from two points of view—namely, one of effective organization and the other relating to finance. Unfortunately, as the existing welfare work in India is lacking in both, the rate of progress has been extremely slow and unsatisfactory. The Labour Commission will have before them volumes of evidence indicating the character and extent of the problems of labour welfare, and it would not be difficult for the proposed Central Labour Council to formulate, in consultation with Provincial Labour Councils and Trade Unions, a positive and constructive programme. And that programme should include, among other items, an intensive propaganda scheme to be carried on in each industrial centre by authorized agents. The primary object of this propaganda campaign should be to quicken a desire for better living among the workers, so that they may voluntarily rally round the organizations set up for the amelioration of their conditions of life. These organizations should consist of (1) representatives of industry, labour, and the State; and (2) should aim at combining resources of industrial, labour, and official bodies in order to give effect to a bold and comprehensive policy of welfare of the working class.

As regards the question of finance, I venture to offer a few suggestions :

1. A Labour Welfare Fund should be constituted by a grant from the fund raised in India with a view to commemorating His Majesty's recovery. I trust that the proposed welfare fund will be considerably augmented by donations from various sources when the work initiated by the Central Labour Council would begin to attract attention. I am also of opinion that at this stage the Government of India should make an annual grant to this fund, the administration of which would rest in the Central Labour Council.

The Commission is aware of the devolution rules in the present constitution, under which the Central Government cannot incur any expenditure in the Provinces for the work of labour welfare. I am of opinion that these devolution rules should be modified on the broad principle that the Central Government cannot divest themselves of the responsibilities for initiating and aiding such activities as are calculated to improve the lot of Indian labour. The Central Labour Council should be in a position to supplement provincial welfare activities or to finance such approved schemes drawn up by the recognized organization of industry and labour.

2. For the purposes of general education of children in industrial areas, I think the fund should come from a provincial grant and from a reasonable contribution of the Trade Unions. The facilities for technical education should, however, be financed from the joint contributions of Provincial Governments and the industries directly interested in a particular form of technical education.

3. As regards sanitation and housing in industrial areas, the responsibilities should be shared, for some time to come, by the employers and Provincial Governments. The problem of housing must be tackled in a comprehensive manner, and I do not think local bodies are competent to discharge this responsibility. Improvements of housing conditions should be made, in the first instance, in the factories and workshops directly under the control of the Government. The more enlightened type of employer is beginning to realize the importance of providing better housing accommodation which should certainly be considered as reproductive capital expenditure.

(To be continued.)

THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF INDIAN EMIGRATION—II

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F.R.ECON.S., F.R.STAT.S.

(Continued from October, 1930.)

COLONIAL emigration is either British or foreign. There are thirteen British colonies, five French colonies, and one Dutch and one Danish colony to which organized Indian emigration was at one time or another sanctioned by the Government of India. It is in the nature of things that there is much difficulty in dealing with emigration to foreign colonies concerning which information is scanty. But from the numerical point of view, Indian emigrants to British colonies are of great importance. Surinam or Dutch Guiana is the only exception.

The classification of colonies, particularly British, is of immense interest from the view-point of the material welfare of the Indian emigrant.* As a general rule, the greater the degree of representative government enjoyed by the colonies, the greater the amount of difficulty experienced by the Indian settler. The reasons for this state of affairs are set forth elsewhere in this paper. Here we are only concerned with the classification of colonies with different forms of government enjoying different degrees of internal and political autonomy. First, comes the group of Crown colonies in which the Crown has the entire control of legislation, while the administration is carried on by public officers under the control of the home Government. Demerara, or British Guiana, Jamaica and Mauritius belong to this category. Next in our list figure colonies possessing representative institutions in which the Crown has only a veto on legislation, but the home Government retains the control of public officers. Leeward Islands, Windward Islands, the Straits Settlements, Fiji and Ceylon belong to this class. Third, comes the group of overseas dominions

* I have followed the classification adopted by C. L. Tupper: *Note on Indian Emigration during the Year 1878-79*, pp. 2-3 (Simla: Government Press, 1872).

with responsible government, in which the Crown, though nominally possessing the veto on indigenous legislation, leaves the home Government powerless to exercise administrative control. For our purpose the Union of South Africa, Canada, Australia and New Zealand constitute examples. The Dutch colony of Surinam may be classed as belonging to the second category.

A geographical classification of colonies to which Indian emigration was permitted at one time or another, and is in certain cases still allowed, is the most convenient method for a comprehensive survey of the international aspects of Indian emigration. These colonies may be divided into four groups as hereunder :

- I. Colonies of the Indian System :
 - i. Ceylon.
 - ii. The Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements.
- II. Colonies of the Pacific Ocean :
 - i. Fiji.
 - ii. New Caledonia.
- III. Colonies of the South Indian Ocean :
 - i. The Union of South Africa and East Africa in general.
 - ii. Mauritius.
 - iii. Réunion.
- IV. West Indian and American Colonies :
 - i. Foreign :
 - (a) St. Croix.
 - (b) Guadeloupe.
 - (c) Martinique.
 - (d) Cayenne.
 - (e) Surinam.
 - ii. British :
 - (a) Demerara.
 - (b) Trinidad.
 - (c) Jamaica.
 - (d) Grenada.
 - (e) St. Vincent.
 - (f) St. Lucia.
 - (g) St. Kitts.
 - (h) Nevis.

Besides these colonies to which indentured Indian emigration was legal at one time or another, there are at the present day a considerable number of Indian settlers in British Columbia (Canada), California (U.S.A.), Mexico, Cuba, Brazil, Gibraltar, Hong-Kong, New Zealand and other places. The Union of South Africa stands in a separate class by itself on account of the extensive nature of the problem of Indian domiciled interests and the numerous special ordinances discriminating against Indian settlers which were passed by the Union Government.

The law of early colonial emigration is contained in the Indian Emigration Act of 1877 (which superseded earlier Acts such as Act XIV. of 1839 and Act XIII. of 1869), and the rules thereunder regulating emigration from the ports of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, together with the conventions with France of 1861, with Denmark of 1863 and with Holland of 1870. In a despatch to the Secretary of State for India in regard to emigration* the policy of the Government of India was described as that of seeing fair-play between the parties to a commercial transaction, whilst altogether abstaining from the bargain. The Government, however, stood towards the emigrants in the position of the protector of the weak and ignorant, bound to supply their deficiencies with its own fuller knowledge, so that, as far as possible, they might be placed upon an equality with the more robust races with whom they have to deal, and that in the contract which they made with those who made a bid for their labour they might not be worsted or imposed upon. It was not the policy directly to stimulate emigration. It was thought that such a course would be liable to popular misconstruction and would create embarrassing relations with foreign and colonial administrations. The latter, it was considered, should look not to Indian authorities but to their agents for the promotion and quality of their labour supply. As such it will be seen that the Government of India at this period only permitted colonial emigration but did not actively encourage it.†

Notwithstanding this paternal interest of the Government of India, Indian emigration abroad during the nineteenth century was extremely unsatisfactory, and the Government of India has at various times been compelled to stop such emigration without distinction of the emigrants' destination being British or foreign colonies.‡

* May, 1877. Quoted in Tupper, *op. cit.*

† In this connection see *Papers respecting the East India Labourers Bill*, 1838 (London: Published for the Court of Directors of the East India Company).

‡ The evidence on this point is voluminous. I give below a select list of the documents consulted :

Letters from the Chief Magistrate, Calcutta, to the Government of Bengal, December 10, 1840, January 19 and February 24, 1841. These letters are available in the Record Department of the India Office.

The Report of the Calcutta Committee of 1840 has already been referred to.

For a survey of the later inquiries into the question see J. Geoghegan, *Note on Emigration from India*, which is the standard treatise on Indian emigration overseas prior to the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Calcutta : Government Press, 1873).

INDIANS OVERSEAS

Country.	Total Number of Indians.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Remarks.
AFRICA :					
South Africa—1921	161,339	—	—	—	—
Transvaal	13,000	—	—	—	—
Cape Province	6,500	—	—	—	—
Natal	141,000	—	—	—	—
Kenya—1926	26,759	—	—	—	—
1921	9,411	—	—	—	—
Tanganyika—1927	18,483	—	—	—	—
Uganda (Blue Book)—1926	11,613	—	—	—	—
Zanzibar and Pemba—1921	12,846	—	—	—	—
Portuguese East Africa—1928	8,475	6,960	1,515	—	—
Egypt—1927	821	623	198	—	—
Soudan—1927	525	368	157	108	Of whom 46 are males under 10 years, and 62 are females under 10 years.
AMERICA :					
Canada	1,016	—	—	—	Of whom approximately 1,000 are in British Columbia.
British Guiana—1928	126,964 (estimate)	—	—	—	—
1921	124,938	—	—	—	—
1911	126,517	—	—	—	—
Panama	300	—	—	—	—
Cuba	1,000	—	—	—	—
Mexico	256	—	—	—	—
Brazil	44	—	—	—	—
Argentina	—	—	—	—	—
U.S.A.	6,000	—	—	—	—
Trinidad and Tobago—1928	128,970	—	—	—	—
1927	127,326	—	—	—	—
1926	126,175	—	—	—	—
1925	125,238	—	—	—	—
1924	123,993	—	—	—	—
1923	122,362	—	—	—	—
1922	—	—	—	—	—
1921	128,533	—	—	—	—
1920	130,028	—	—	—	—

Average net immigration between 1921-1924. A hundred or so arrived in Brazil in 1927. A few British Indians are employed in the North, etc.

These figures have been taken from the Reports of the Protector of Immigrants, but according to a memorandum prepared by him in January, 1928, there was a census taken of the population of Trinidad in 1921, and it was found that there were 121,420 East Indians there, made up of 51,491 males, 39,394 females, and 30,535 children.

Jamaica	...	...	...	...	...	...	Figures not available.
Surinam (Dutch Guiana)	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
ASIA :	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
India—1921	...	...	...	318,942,480	163,995,554	154,946,926*	—
1911	...	...	...	315,156,396	161,338,935	153,817,461*	—
1901	...	...	...	294,361,056	149,951,824	144,409,232*	—
1891	...	...	...	287,314,671	146,769,629	140,545,042*	—
Malaya—1921	...	...	...	471,666	335,485	136,181	—
Mauritius—1921	...	...	...	265,461	139,119	126,342	—
1911	...	...	...	258,251	139,355	118,896	—
1901	...	...	...	261,136	144,096	117,040	—
1891	...	...	...	255,920	147,499	108,421	—
Ceylon—1928	...	...	...	739,316	244,063	236,304	258,409
1927	...	...	...	719,552	241,200	234,131	244,221
1926	...	...	...	666,931	226,680	219,540	220,711
Hong-Kong	...	...	...	—	—	—	These figures are approximate owing to slowness of employers making returns.
Persian Gulf	...	...	...	—	—	—	Number unknown.
Palestine	...	...	...	2,018	—	—	"
AUSTRALIA :	...	...	...	...	...	...	"
Fiji—1921	...	...	...	60,634	37,015	23,619	—
1911	...	...	...	49,286	26,073	14,213	—
1901	...	...	...	17,195	11,353	5,752	—
1891	...	...	...	7,468	4,998	2,470	—
Australia—1921	...	...	...	2,620	—	—	—
New Zealand—1926	...	...	...	951	—	—	—
EUROPE :	...	...	...	...	...	...	Figures unknown.
France (including Colonies)	...	...	...	—	—	—	Gross annual average immigration since 1911.
Madagascar	...	...	...	182	—	—	Figures unknown.
French Oceania	...	...	...	—	—	—	"
Cochin China	...	...	...	—	—	—	"
Tahiti	...	...	...	—	—	—	"

These figures are approximate owing to slowness of employers making returns.

Number unknown.

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Figures unknown.

Gross annual average immigration since 1911.

Figures unknown.

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DISTRIBUTION OF 10,000 MALES AND FEMALES IN THE INDIAN POPULATION

Age Group.	1921.		1911.		1901.		1891.	
	Male.	Female	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
0-5	1,202	1,316	1,327	1,433	1,254	1,339	1,409	1,527
5-10	1,471	1,494	1,383	1,383	1,394	1,382	1,428	1,396
10-15	1,245	1,081	1,165	997	1,264	1,082	1,139	946

* Extract from Part I. of Volume I. of Report of Census of India, 1921, p. 128 :

The despatch of 1877, already referred to, states the position as follows:

Colonial governments appoint persons of approved character to conduct emigration on their behalf from the Presidency Towns of India. These agents employ recruiters, of whose respectability they are required to convince the Government Protector of Emigrants; these recruiters persuade persons to emigrate and take them before the magistrates, who register the engagements. The recruits are then conveyed to Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, where they are housed under the immediate eye of the emigration agent in depôts which have been licensed as fit places for the collection of emigrants by the Protector. They are thence shipped on board vessels, which are also licensed, care being taken that they are equipped in every respect with what is needed to ensure the safety of the passengers on their long voyage; and there the direct concern of the Government with the transaction ends.

It is only to be expected that the history of Indian emigration is replete with examples which bear testimony to the misery and privation of the ignorant and timid emigrant who had never possessed any bargaining capacity. Information regarding living conditions overseas was scanty, and in the general scramble for an adequate labour supply the employing agencies in some instances grew extremely secretive. Numerous legislative enactments were passed amending the Act of 1871, and introducing several provisions calculated to improve the material welfare of the Indian emigrant. Such were the Amending Acts of 1890, 1896, 1897, 1902, and 1908. Act XVII. of 1908 was a consolidating Act. Further enactments, such as Act XIV. of 1910, the acceptance by Lord Hardinge of the resolution of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for the abolition of the indenture system in 1916, which resulted in the Emigration Act of 1922, further amended in 1927, bring up the legislation to the present day.* Numerous committees and deputations inquired into the question of the prosperity of Indian emigrants, but our knowledge of their living conditions is not as yet complete.†

The following statement indicates the various stages at which collective Indian emigration was sanctioned by the Government of India.‡ Very few of the countries mentioned in the list continue to receive immigrants at the present day. In fact, organized emigration, with the

* For a summary of this legislation see "Emigrant": *Indian Emigration*, pp. 15-38 (London: Oxford University Press, 1924).

† The reports of these inquiries have been used at a later stage of this paper.

‡ G. A. Grierson, *Report on Colonial Emigration from the Bengal Presidency*, pp. 2-4 (Calcutta: Government Press, 1883).

exception of the special type prevalent in the case of Ceylon and Malaya, has been definitely suspended.

British :

Mauritius, 1842.
British Guiana, 1845.
Trinidad, 1845.
Jamaica, 1845.
Grenada, 1846.
St. Lucia, 1857.
St. Kitts, 1860.
Natal, 1860.
St. Vincent, 1861.

Nevis, 1873.

Fiji, 1879.

French :

Réunion, 1860.
Cayenne, 1860.
Guadeloupe, 1873.
Martinique, 1874.

Dutch :

St. Croix, 1862.
Surinam, 1873.

Statistical data relating to the actual number of Indians overseas at the present day are not available in any one place. I am obliged to the Economic and Overseas Department of the India Office for supplying me with the statement of the present position (see pages 116 and 117). In cases such as Brazil, Mexico, and Madagascar I have supplemented the information available in Ferenczi's *International Migrations*.*

III. ECONOMIC FACTORS AND THE INDIAN EMIGRANT

The economic factor in the problem of the Indian emigrant is the source of all the present troubles connected with the subject of Indian emigration. They are twofold. The first is the environment in which the Indian labourer is obliged to live. This has a profound effect upon his economic condition. Next, the opening up of the countries of the colonial system by the Indian commercial and professional communities. This class of Indian emigrants is the object of jealousy by the peoples who live side by side with them in a world more or less predominantly governed by economic motives. We will discuss the matter under these two heads.

The economic condition of the Indian emigrant labourer is largely determined by the methods of recruitment pursued by the various employing agencies in the colonial empire. It is no exaggeration to say that methods of recruitment once for all decide the rôle which the emigrant labourer has to play in the land of his destination. Here again there are two types to be reckoned with. The methods of recruitment adopted for the colonies of the Indian system—*e.g.*, Ceylon and Malaya—are quite different from those of the others. Comparative contiguity

* Vol. I., Statistics (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1929).

to India is a premonition with the Indian emigrant to these colonies. Recruitment is only for a short time, and the oscillations of labour emigration are at once frequent and intermittent. In the case of distant colonies recruitment gradually tended towards permanent settlement. This was particularly so after the abolition of the indentured system in 1921.

The *kangani* system supplies a greater part of the labour force necessary for the colonies of the Indian system. It is entirely patriarchal in character. The *kangani*, or labour headman, was in the beginning, and still is in a large number of the older and more solidly established estates, the senior member of a family group composed of his personal relatives, to whom are not infrequently added other families from villages adjacent to the place from which he emigrates. The resultant labour force is subdivided into a number of smaller groups, each under its patriarch, the sub- or *silara-kangani*.

The family principle is further manifested in the groups which are under these minor headmen, a man with his wife and children and, it may be, one or more close relations, assuming joint responsibility for advances made to them, and holding their earnings, in some part, in common.*

As the patriarch of the whole labour force under his charge, the head-*kangani* transacts or supervises all the financial affairs of the estate with his labourers with the exception of payment of wages. Not infrequently he is the sole debtor to the estate, inasmuch as he is the channel through whom all advances to the immigrant labourers are made, the sub-*kanganis* and, it may be, his own personal gang of labourers, owing him money, while the remaining labour force is responsible for their debts either individually or collectively to the sub-*kanganis*. In most of the well-established estates the sub-*kanganis* owe more money to their head-*kangani* than the latter owes to the estate. In such a case the head-*kangani*, apart from being the head or organizer of the labour force, actually assists the estate to finance its workmen.

Both in Ceylon and Malaya recruiting is done by *kanganis* sent over to South India to fetch an adequate labour force, which is subject to a strict inspection by the emigration and medical officers of both the Madras and the colonial Governments, acting in close co-operation. The method of recruiting varies. In Ceylon some estates pay a

* Ceylon: *Report and Proceedings of the Labour Commission*, p. vii (Colombo: Government Press. 1908).

bonus of 5 to 10 rupees to the *kangani* for every labourer he recruits after the labourer has served the estate for a given length of time, usually from six months to a year. Other estates pay the *kangani* an advance for himself. But in the case of recruitment for Malaya, the estates have an efficient credit system in Madras which obviates such an advance. Finally, some estates pay nothing, and consider the *kangani's* commission to consist of head-money, generally two cents for a head-*kangani* and three to four cents for the sub-*kangani*, daily received by them from each individual labourer that works on the colonial estates under their supervision.*

Large advances and payments to recruiters are usually offered by the Ceylon planters in times of acute demand for labour. Until recently the *kangani* was able to take advantage of a system known as *tundu*, which is a statement in writing by the superintendents of estates that they are prepared to discharge one or more of his labourers on payment of his or their liabilities, the amount of which is duly noted in the document, and on the basis of this *tundu* obtain employment at a higher advance on another estate needing labour. Abuses of a very serious nature could result from this system. With the introduction of the "Discharge Ticket" system these abuses were rectified to a very large extent.

The average advance to an Indian immigrant labourer in Ceylon, who was profusely propitiated before he was prevailed upon to leave his home, was estimated by experienced planters at 70 rupees.† But the creditor of the immigrant labourer is the *kangani* and not the estate. The freedom of the labourer is absolute in that under section 5 of Ordinance 13 of 1889 he is at liberty, no matter what the amount of his indebtedness to his *kangani*, to give a month's notice and quit the estate without let or hindrance. In the case of Malaya the Indian labourer does not start his life in debt.‡ On the other hand, his wages are higher than those of his compatriot in Ceylon, which may be due to the greater cross-sea voyage he has to make.

* N. E. Marjoribanks and the Honourable Khan Bahadur A. K. G. Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar: *Report on Indian Labour Emigration to Ceylon and Malaya*, p. 5 (Madras: Government Press. 1917).

† *Ibid.*, p. 10.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

(To be continued.)

THE INNER EAST

(Conducted by W. E. D. ALLEN, M.P.)

I

TEN YEARS OF BOLSHEVIST RULE IN AZERBAIJAN

BY JEYHOUN BEY HAJIBEYLI

[The writer of this article, a well-known authority on Turkish history and law, was a member of the National Delegation of the Republic of Azerbaijan at the Paris Conference; he is a member of the Société Asiatique, and a frequent contributor to the *Revue du Monde Mussalman*, the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and other publications.]

IT was on April 27, 1920, that the Bolsheviks, speculating on the Pro-Turk sentiments of the Azeri people, succeeded, by means of a large display of force on the northern frontier of Azerbaijan, in seizing the reins of power in that country.

More than ten years have passed since that day. They are still there and govern the country, though nominally it is the Azeri "proletariat" that governs, and Moscow has theoretically no say in the matter.

We will endeavour to draw up a balance sheet of this reign at the moment when it has attained and even passed its tenth anniversary.

In the first place, what are the bonds that attach the Turki and Muhammadan Azeri people to their rulers? There are none, except the Russian Red Army, which occupies all the strategic points and intervenes whenever the population attempts to manifest with any degree of energy its discontent and its despair. We can describe, then, the regime as one of simple occupation.

In the second place, what is the system of government? It is in the hands of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, which is to all intents and purposes identical with that of Moscow, the sole arbiter of the destinies of the former Russian Empire and its various peoples, including those which have realized the principle

of self-determination as preached by the Bolsheviks at the beginning of the October revolution.

Within each of these local Communist parties throughout U.S.S.R. are to be found the "eyes of Moscow" occupying the most responsible posts (general secretaries for the most part), and it is they who in reality conduct the affairs of State. It is worthy of note that the number of Turko-Azeri members in the Communist Party of Azerbaijan has never attained even 40 per cent. of the effective total, and this in a country where 75 per cent. of the population is composed of Turko-Azeri elements.

The following are figures, taken from Bolshevik journals, subsequent to the occupation in 1920.

At first, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan numbered only a few hundred adherents, few of whom were Turko-Azeris. Towards 1925, thanks to brisk recruiting, there were 19,034 members and candidates, of whom 8,344 were Turko-Azeris and a few Persians. It can be seen, therefore, that the proportion of Turko-Azeris, the alleged self-determining and "dominant" element, did not really correspond to the number of inhabitants (1,500,000 of the total population of the country which counted at this period nearly 2,000,000 inhabitants). The Communist organization of Baku alone absorbed 14,567 out of the total of 19,034 indicated above, and it is well known that at Baku the numbers of Russian workmen are continually on the increase as against the Muhammadan elements. That is to say, the kernel of the Communist organization is to be found in the international town of Baku where the native population has the tendency of giving place to foreign elements. It is, moreover, a fact that the Baku organization dominates that of Azerbaijan.

In 1926 the Baku organization numbered 20,631 Communists, of whom Turko-Azeris and Persian elements constituted less than 30 per cent.

In 1927 the Communist Party of Azerbaijan counted 28,717 members and candidates, 39.9 per cent. of whom were Muhammadan elements, while in Baku they represented 27.9 per cent.

In 1928, 32,081, of whom 12,741 were Muhammadans—or 37 per cent.—2.9 per cent. less than in the previous year.

Finally, in 1929, the total for the whole country reached 34,000, while the Turko-Azeri proportion remained the same.

The same proportion is observed in the Præsidium, in which a majority is composed of foreign elements.

One sees from these incomplete, though instructive, figures how the government of the country even in the interior is in the hands of foreigners.

On the other hand, all governmental measures, whether local or general, are drawn up by the Præsidium, the soul of which is the General Secretary of the Party ("little Stalins," as these men are called), and it is to be noted that this post has never been entrusted to a local element ("Secretaries" chosen from local elements are only honorary or at the best employed on technical duties). It is true that the Commissars of the People (members of local government) are for the most part Turko-Azeris, but it is equally true that they are men without real authority or independence, being in addition under the supervision of their non-Azeri assistants. In reality they are simply subordinate officials of the Party which receives its orders from Moscow. Moreover, Moscow has another means of exercising its prerogatives over the adjacent Sovietic States—namely, in the system of eliminating from the party all "doubtful elements." As soon as an opposition movement or a nationalist tendency is perceived in the local bodies, Moscow issues orders for a "purification," and all suspicious elements are liable to be ejected as "bad internationalists."

In Azerbaijan during these ten years power has been held successively by Pankratof, Kiroff (Russians), Mirzoyan (Armenian of Russian sympathies) and Guikalo (Russian).

In a word, there is but little difference between these men and the former Tsarist Governors. The title of "Independent Republic" allied to Russia by special treaties is purely honorary. The Centre decides everything; even the budget of the town of Baku is fixed by Moscow.

The rule of the Bolsheviks in Azerbaijan can be divided into three periods: 1920-1924, troubles and insurrections (to the number of 57); 1925-1929, accelerated industrialization; 1929-1930, compulsory socialization and further troubles due to this policy.

It was not difficult to foresee that in a country so essentially Muhammadan as Azerbaijan great difficulty would be encountered in attempting to pass measures destined to change completely the social life of the masses. The Azeri people at the beginning of the revolution looked upon Bolshevism as quite a different movement from what it actually was. Knowing little about the doctrines of Marx, they in common with other Muhammadan peoples were

more interested in the outward manifestation of the movement, which they welcomed as a liberation from Tsarist oppression, than in its development from the point of view of internal reforms. In addition, they were deceived by propaganda into taking at their face value Bolshevik protestations of pro-Islamic or pro-Turk sympathy. There were some who regarded Bolshevism as a force which would ensure to the "oppressed peoples of the East" an independent existence without any interference with their internal affairs. But as soon as its true character became apparent, the population in despair began to revolt. There followed the uprisings at Ganja, Karabagh, Lenkoran and elsewhere, all of which were crushed with bloodshed.

This was the first stage of Bolshevik rule, which only came to an end in 1924.

The population, weary and exhausted, now opposed a passive resistance to the Bolsheviks in various matters of social order, such as marriage, family status, and the distribution of nationalized property, etc.

Finally, the extravagant measures for speeding up the complete socialization of the country, added to the religious persecutions of 1929, resulted in a series of sanguinary events.

We will now proceed to a study of the work of this Government in those various domains where the Bolsheviks and their friends in Europe lay special claim to "successes."

In the forefront they place industry and the oil fields of Baku. It is true that both from the technical point of view and from that of quantity they have achieved an apparent success; the production of 1928-29 (13,700,000 tons) largely exceeds that of 1913 (9,233,000 tons). But it appears that this increase is chiefly due to a system of exploitation which oil experts regard as prejudicial to the future of the industry by reason of its exhaustion of the fields.

On the other hand, the increase is not so considerable when compared with the output of other countries.

During the same period the United States has increased its output by 306 per cent., the Dutch Indies by 235 per cent., Roumania by 156 per cent., and Mexico by 70 per cent., as against the Soviet's 49 per cent.

One knows the importance which the Soviets attach to oil as a political weapon quite apart from its economic interest; it is thanks to this "liquid gold" that they can obtain the foreign currencies of which they so sorely stand in need. But another question presents itself: can this

success be truly described as one for the Azeri people properly speaking? Baku, as Chicherin has said, is the "chauffeur of U.S.S.R. "; and while Moscow by exploiting its wealth continues to rule at the expense of the people in bondage, the lack of petrol in the villages of Azerbaijan is a subject for banter in the newspapers.

This source of wealth is excluded from the budget of the "independent Republic," and the budget itself, which, by the way, is only passed with the assent of Moscow, instead of running into hundreds of millions and more as in the time of the National Government, is reduced to tens of millions with a chronic deficit, which Moscow, playing the part of benefactor, is pleased to cover "gratuitously."

There are other technical successes which the Soviets have realized in the territory of Azerbaijan, such as the Baku electric tramways (the Tsarist Government, while profiting by its riches, was content to leave a town of the importance of Baku with the "konka"—horse-drawn trolleys), the electrification of certain railway lines connecting Baku with the oil fields, the completion of Baku-Julfa railway, the new pipe-line from Baku to Batoum, the erection of spinning, cloth, and soap factories at Ganja, etc.

But all these undertakings, which we mention for the sake of impartiality, are part and parcel of the general industrialization scheme of the Union which draws profit from them ; and we can hazard no opinion upon the quality of the goods produced.

On the other hand, many important branches of industry which existed before the war, such as the famous Kedabek copper mines, are languishing, and a similar fate has befallen many branches of handicraft, such as the silk and carpet manufactures, etc.

In the domain of Public Education we note—and here the contrary would be abnormal—an increase in the number of schools and pupils, especially in the case of primary instruction. But with regard to the real value of these schools as institutions and as centres of education we venture to quote certain sidelights which we have taken from the Bolshevik Press :

"In some of the schools in the Shemakha district there are only 15-16 seats for 20-30 pupils. The buildings need repair, the windows are broken, and the walls cracked and falling to ruins. . . ."

"Out of the 165 schools in the Kuba district only 30 are housed in more or less suitable buildings. The rest are in

ruins. There are no scholastic implements. The teachers are often unpaid for months at a time."

"Out of a total of 1,434 schools for the whole of Azerbaijan only 300 (another version 200) are in buildings suitable for their needs."

With regard to the composition of the teaching staff we know that "7.3 per cent. have received a special training, 7.2 per cent. secondary instruction, 76.7 per cent. primary instruction, 4.3 per cent. have been taught at home."

Another version :

"86.2 per cent. of the teachers in Azerbaijan have only received a primary education."

"The Commission of Control found a schoolmaster unable to divide 315 by 5."

It was due partly to this lack of education that the teachers as a body in Azerbaijan submitted to the new regime with a facility which contrasted with the attitude of other intellectuals. And from 1928 onwards we see the schools becoming centres of anti-religious propaganda ; thus the Party decreed, and the teachers obeyed. It is not surprising that with such a badly equipped body of teachers the proportion of pupils who have passed their secondary school-leaving examination and qualified in the higher schools (University, Polytechnic, etc.) is on the average 13 to 14 per cent.

Other defects of the secondary schools are the overworking of teachers, who often have to give instruction in three or four schools, and the lack of respect shown them by the pupils, which even the Bolshevik Press criticizes.

"Teachers earn far less than workmen."

"Schoolmasters beat their pupils and dismiss them of their own accord."

"85 per cent. of the primary schools are housed in cabins or cellars."

"In the Kurdistan district the school has no door ; one enters it by the window."

On the other hand, it appears that a country as rich as Azerbaijan cannot afford to maintain and develop its scholastic institutions. According to the budget for Public Education, 86 per cent. of the modest sum (varying from six to twenty-four million roubles from year to year) allowed goes in teachers' salaries, leaving only 14 per cent. for the upkeep of the schools.

However that may be, the latest figures show that the number of pupils attending the schools amounts to 200,000, of which 20,000 are girls. The number of Azeri students

at the University and other technical schools does not exceed 23 per cent. of the total students in these institutions. Out of a total of 95 students who have completed the Polytechnic course in 1929 there was only one Turko-Azeri.

In order to obtain a precise idea of the positive achievements of the Soviets, it is necessary to study along the same lines as Public Education the work of turkifying the governmental apparatus, a task which is alleged to constitute the essential principle of the Soviet programme in its application to the national republics.

This question was raised at the Thirteenth Conference of the Communist Party. According to the resolutions passed on that occasion the following bodies were to be the first turkified: the Central Executive Committee, the People's Commissariats, as well as those of Public Education, Finance, Hygiene, Interior and Agriculture, and the Commissars' Council. The project of nationalization (turkification) was to be realized either by these bodies being wholly composed of Turki-Azeri elements or by the exclusive use of that tongue as their official language. In 1926 the project was realized in the following degree: the People's Commissariats—Public Education 53·3 per cent. Turko-Azeri elements, and in the others nearly 50 per cent. with the exception of Hygiene. But the Soviets of Baku and the Azerneft (State administration of oil) remained Russian. . . . The general secretary of the Party, Comrade Mirzoyan, explained this meagre result on the grounds that there was a dearth of Turko-Azeri specialists and scientists.

In 1927, at the Eighth Communist Congress, A. H. Karaef made the following statement: "In the executive bodies of the wards and districts nationalization is an 'accomplished fact.' As for the central bodies, 100 per cent. of those which serve as connecting-links with the province are nationalized. Only a few are not yet nationalized, such as institutes of agronomes, geometricians and veterinary officers, 'for want of Turko-Azeri specialists.'"

The dearth of Turko-Azeri specialists is not surprising, as the Communist leaders have divided the Turki intellectuals into two categories: (1) those who are Communists or pro-Communists; (2) those who are neutral or anti-Communists. The latter are excluded from the cadres of intellectual workers, and if they are not thrown into prison or deported to Solovki, they are refused all participation in the work of reconstruction.

Since the latter date we have been unable to discover in the Bolshevist Press any further data on these questions, with the exception of the declarations of responsible commissars who, in reply to questions put to them, argued that for the want of specialists the problem of complete turkification could not be solved for ten to fifteen years, especially in the case of the University and other high schools. We can therefore conclude—and the anti-Bolshevist Azeri Press bears us out—that nothing has yet been done in this direction.

In the same order of ideas is a characteristic article published by one of the Turko-Azeris Communists, Riza-zadé, in the Tiflis journal, *Zaria Vostoka*.

"Is it true," asks the writer, "that the Baku Communist Party intends to turkify Azerbaijan?" and he answers in the same breath: "of course it is all nonsense, childish fables, for nobody takes the smallest interest in the question. The Party simply ignores the advice of Turko-Azeri Communists in the matter."

With regard to the University, there are 119 Azeri lecturers out of a total of 233; on the other hand, there are only 7 on a Governing Body numbering 68. In the Polytechnic there are 24 Azeri professors, out of a total of 137, and none are on the Governing Body.

Although Turki is the official language, there are institutions where requests are not accepted when written in that tongue.

In 1926 instruction in the Russian language was made obligatory in Azeri schools in order, as the Commissar of Public Education stated, to "facilitate the adoption of Western civilization."

Lawsuits are conducted in Russian where non-Azeri elements are concerned.

Another branch of "positive" activity which the Bolsheviks advertise the most is the "emancipation of the Muhammadan women."

As this question requires a profound separate study, we shall content ourselves with remarking that Soviet influence has undeniably accelerated the feminist movement. But how far this premature and apparent emancipation is accompanied with undesirable symptoms for the Muhammadan home is a matter which demands investigation.

Emancipation where it is part of an evolutionary process is desirable, but when the term is merely understood as the refusal of illiterate women to wear the veil, it constitutes a

social danger, the fatal effects of which the Azeri people has experienced in the shape of many a sanguinary family tragedy.

Let us note, however, the feminist activity which is concentrated round the *Ali Bairamof Club* at Baku.

There is a *real* positive result obtained during these ten years of Soviet rule: a certain reaction of feeling among the masses has taken place in the countries of the Caucasus. The spirit of solidarity between the Armenians and Azeris, which was disturbed under the Tsarist Government, especially from 1904 onwards, has once more been resumed. It is difficult to say how far it is the result of Communist propaganda—fraternity among the working classes—or the fear of reprisals on the part of the Soviets in the event of any manifestation of chauvinistic tendencies, or merely the fact that the peoples in question experience the need of solidarity in the presence of a force which keeps them in subjection by means of their divisions in the past.

A word must be said about anti-religious propaganda and persecutions which constitute the most negative aspects of Communist activities.

Azerbaijan, an essentially Muhammadan country, has not been spared, and the campaign has widened the gulf between the Communist régime and the people under its sway.

This untimely interference in the domain of Muhammadan beliefs cannot fail to increase the animosity engendered by the conflict of two opposing doctrines.

According to Soviet statistics, 172 mosques were closed in Azerbaijan up to 1929; religious instruction is prohibited in Azeri schools, and the atheistic programme has already been introduced in its place. The Muhammadan clergy is turned into ridicule, insulted, and used by the authorities as hostages for the good behaviour of the masses. Under the influence of this tireless propaganda the younger generation of Muhammadans is running grave social risks.

We have endeavoured to trace with all objectivity the general outlines of Soviet rule in Azerbaijan during the last ten years.

We must leave it to the reader to draw his own conclusions.

GEORGIAN POETRY (*Continued*)

BY CHALVA BÉRIDZÉ

(*Translated by* MISS NANCY WILLIAMS)

HE let down his chain to the unknown, who climbed up into his cell to warm herself at the glowing hearth. She was a shepherdess, beautiful and graceful, charming and sympathetic, who had lost her way in this place which was hardly adapted for the leading of a flock of sheep.

Amazed to see such a young man in this melancholy solitude, the shepherdess questioned her kind host: "Why, for what purpose, and under what circumstances had he left the world, his friends, parents, brothers and sisters or children?"

How could he bear to live so far from a world that was so rich, so attractive, so varied, and so full of things to be done?

His answer was brief: "It is to save my soul; that is the root of it all; it is to escape from worldly temptation, that I came here," explained the hermit, with his usual quietness and restraint.

His cordial welcome touched her, and they looked at each other: her eyes seemed to burn into his soul, and her gracefulness tore his heart, and evil passions enveloped him and wild thoughts rushed into his mind. For an instant he fought against her influence, but in the struggle between bestial passion and religious devotion, between the flesh and the spirit, the Man was vanquished and desire triumphed.

He gazed at the image of the Holy Virgin, but saw only the face of the shepherdess; he tried to pronounce a few prayers, but the words would not come; he could see nothing but the woman, and a mysterious voice whispered in his ear: "Thou must conquer."

He took again his book of prayer and placed it on the sun-ray, the symbol of divine grace, but what was his astonishment when the sacred book fell suddenly to the ground: the ray of sunshine would no longer serve as a support. . . . The hermit was stupefied; terrified and confounded, the victim of his passion, he felt his brain reel; he called on God for help, signed himself with the Cross, and died under the symbolic ray of light.

The shepherdess slept on. The place was deserted, this time for ever; where prayers and masses were once said, only the sighing of the wind is heard; only wild beasts sheltering from the storm find there a refuge.

Thus the poet shows us the unequal struggle between passion and duty, body and soul, desire and religion, which ends with the triumph of the lower nature. Passion has troubled his happiness; once roused, it never ceased, but goes on with its diabolic work, with the disastrous voice of desire.* A great poet, a fine prose writer, an informed political writer, an energetic and courageous statesman, E. Tchawtchawadzé may be considered, after Rousthaweli, as the greatest Georgian, who guided the thought of his country, who fought with chivalrous bravery against her foes within and without for more than forty years.

At the finish of this sketch, mention should be made of his poem "The Phantom" ("Atchrdili"), written in 1860—that is to say, at the time immediately before the emancipation of the Serfs in Russia and in the Caucasus (1861-1864).

It begins with a description of dawn among the mountains of Georgia, when all the world was wrapped in the silence and beauty of the hour. Only the poet's reason bade him beware: "Never count upon the quietness and placidity of Nature, they are ephemeral; Heaven and Earth alike deceive thee! Under this enchanting tranquillity you will find suffering; curses and imprecations in apparent calm and silence."

However, the beauty of the morning disperses the poet's doubts, and he feels his faith returning; his thoughts and dreams, refined and purified, come back once more. . . .

Then the poet sees on a glacier among the heights an old man, calm, motionless, absorbed in contemplation; around him are the peaks, below him the Terek, the threatening river with its sounding floods; and beyond the flowering fields and meadows, with the beloved river Aragwy flowing on its eternal course. . . . "There, where the Aragwy pours its waters into the Koura—there, they say, Georgian life of old once flourished. The centuries have flowed with the rivers, and how many Karthwels have gone with them?" This apparition of the old man troubles the mind of the poet, who asks why he stands there, so high above the world, in that motionless contemplation. The reply is long and reasoned:

* There is an English translation in verse by Miss M. Wardrop, "The Hermit," a legend by Prince Ilia Tchawtchawadzé, translated from the Georgian; Quaritch, London, 1895.

"O Georgia, thou country of martyrs, always, everywhere I am faithful to thee, I am thy immortal soul, and in my heart lie enclosed all thy past and all thy future. Thy sufferings were mine; my tears have flowed for thy unheeded misfortunes.

"I know thy brilliant and heroic past, thy greatness in the centuries that have past; thou hast known the delights of liberty, but thy sons, worn out by ever-present dangers, believe neither in thy future nor thy happiness; thou art no more than a deserted temple, a desecrated shrine. . . .

"Where are the heroes that I seek? There is no confidence among you, no fellow-feeling. The overlord ('Batoni' in Georgia) is hard and unsympathetic, the slave ('mona' in Georgia) is unhappy, oppressed.

"Unfeelingly, heartlessly, shamelessly the famished mother is separated from her child, without knowing where or at what price he will be sold and resold by the overlords. Thus are stifled the highest feelings and passions of the mother.

"If a girl is beautiful, she is bargained for as though she really were a piece of merchandise. Poor helpless slaves, for you, in your defence, the true Lord was crucified. His wondrous words, His mighty acts call us to prosperity, tell us that the future is in our hands, that our hateful chains will be broken at last by the divine will, and that a new life, rooted in a new soil, will be born and live for ever, that love and justice will govern the world, and the wolf and the lamb will lie down together in this long-looked-for time.

"Compare this with another lord, self-satisfied, contented, typical of his period, unjust and terrible; look, too, on the merchant with his fox face; he is a liar, without scruples; he casts aside the principles of brotherhood, he disowns his neighbour, and triumphs.

"See here, the priest, 'the father of the nation,' slothful and idle, calling others to work. Truth hides her face from him, and goodness flees away.

"Look at Tiflis in her moral poverty, with her enfeebled citizens, her noise, her emptiness; and Mtskhetha, the old capital, cradle of the great heroes of the Karthwels, where liberty flourished, where a healing spring gushed out curing thousands of sufferers. The spring is dried up, the trees are faded, and grandeur is replaced by decadence and defeat.

"O country of the Karthwels, how much suffering has come over thee! Thy thorny road is stained with the blood

of two thousand years of martyrs. Two thousand years of the struggle for liberty against Arabs, Mongols, Turks, Persians, Scythians, and countless pitiless invaders, bold to destroy thy faith, thy country, and thy homes . . . all these have gone over thee.

"I remember Pharnawaz, king and hero, father of his threatened country, the terror of his enemies. . . . The wonderful life of yesterday is but a memory. . . . Will the Karthwels ever rise again, will the brave sons of the Caucasus unite together to fight the common enemy, to build up their temple anew?"

So speaks the phantom to the listening poet, but the storm sweeps down from the mountains with lightning and thunder, the clouds gather, and the poet seeks in vain for the figure of the old man. "The strange vision is finished." But he is wrong; the heaven shines clear again, the storm is calmed, the clouds disperse, the mists vanish, and the sun rises again in triumph, lighting the darkest corners with his rays. Then once again the poet sees the old man, kneeling, his hands held up to heaven, pouring out his prayer to the Infinite . . . "O Almighty God, these people have known so little peace, quiet or safety; pardon their inevitable sins, breathe into the hearts of the brave sons of Georgia, that they may serve aright their harassed country; send them for a sign of hope a rainbow, and put far from them the fearful thought of flood. . . .!"

The prayer is heard, the seven-coloured bow stretches across the universe, hope springs again in the sad heart of the poet, and the vision of a better future possesses his whole being.

Let us see now wherein lies the poetic greatness of Elias Tchawtchawadzé. It is in his sincerity, his simple, colourful, yet exact language, in his whole life, which was full of action and noble works. If Rousthawéli is considered as great a poet in the Caucasus as Dante in Italy, Saadi in Persia, Camoens in Portugal, Elias Tchawtchawadzé is the Victor Hugo of Georgia. His poetry is not a mere dream, rising from a thought, born of fantasy, but a reaching out towards the infinite, which never, however, loses touch with reality. It should be remembered that this Georgian poet is not less poetic in his prose; in fact, his prose is often more poetic than the verse of certain poetizers of our time, whose lines are often prosaic enough.

The charm of his style, reflective, vivid, and delicate, makes us feel the power and grandeur of his writing. Just as Chateaubriand is poetical in the elegant turn of his

prose, Elias is always the poet—in his poetry, in his prose, in his patriotic deeds, and in his very life.

Look at his portrait, which will tell you much. Kindliness, generosity, bravery are written on his forehead, a deep insight into the human soul and a rare faculty of observation are suggested by his keen, imperious glance. Alone at first, he was heard and followed later. A leading influence on his nation for many years, he led them on towards victory. After his tragic death, under mysterious and inexplicable circumstances, the whole country raised him to the dignity of being the real pride of the Georgian nation, in the same category as the famous Rousthawéli. They call him by his nickname "Ilia," without any other title; one of the principal streets of the Georgian capital is called after him, and a symbolic monument is raised in his honour on the crest of Mount Saint David up above the town of Tiflis.

Schools, literary societies, groups of poets bear the name of "Ilia"; he is regarded as a divinity in Georgian Nationalist circles, and his birthday and the day of his death are kept with religious fervour (October 27 and August 30).

His feelings were so deep, his sincerity reached such heights that his opponents trembled before him, particularly the Socialists of the country. The founder of two papers—*Droeba* (*The Times*) and *Iweria* (*Georgia*)—he left an ineffaceable mark on Georgian journalism. In his thoughtful, well-informed articles, called "The Stones Cry Out," he attacked mercilessly his enemies, both foreign and of his own country. It is by reason of such writings that the future historian of Georgian literature will rank him as an admirable pamphleteer.

* * * * *

Waja-Pchawéla is the pen-name of the popular poet of the mountains, Louza Razikachwili, of the poetic pleiad of Tchawtchawadzé. A convinced pessimist at the beginning of his literary career, he thus philosophizes. "My heart grieves," he says, "when I see my martyred country." The downhill progress of the universe, the evils of existence move him deeply, and he pours out his spleen and his hopeless grief in his poem "Carrousal":

"Bring me wine
To drown my grief,
Give me thy heart
To save mine honour.
Better it is to die,
Ah, joy! than suffer ever.

Raise me to heaven,
 For death is sweet.
 While some folks laugh,
 Yet others suffer,
 So goes the world,
 And nothing is made perfect."

Courage and perseverance, love of country, chivalrous generosity, faith, the love of nature, justice, liberty—these form the groundwork of his philosophy as is shown in his numerous poems.

In a song dedicated to Rousthawéli, he sings of the splendour of his soul, and the comradeship of his famous heroes, Tariel, Awthandil, Phiridon, their chivalrous devotion and their infinite courage.

When the poet looks back on his past, he is amazed at the swiftness with which it has passed. The future is dark as night before him, his beloved has gone, friends are far away; nothing comforts him but the infinite beauties of Nature. The towering mountains that surround his village speak to him of hope; his grief passes by degrees, and, speaking to his brother, who is a poet too, he concludes:

"O my country, crown of my life, though thou art now in bondage, tomorrow thou shalt be free." . . . Dwelling on the beauty of his country, he is deeply stirred; he dreams of an ideal life, uplifting as the peaks of the surrounding mountains, which are "the waves of life," so, like Alfred de Musset, in that moment of profound thought, "his lips keep silent to hear the voice of his heart."

Waja-Pchawéla wrote many poems on Georgian celebrities of different periods; when he thought of the past of his country, he remembered Tamar, called the "Mother of her Country"; Rousthawéli, Saakadze, Gourmichwily, Jrakly II., Baratachwili, Kazbek, E. Tchawtchawadzé, A. Tzérétéli find in him the best interpreter of their merits.

Waja-Pchawéla (Louka Razikachwili) died in Georgia in 1916.

* * * * *

The collected poems of Tzérétéli, who belongs to the same coterie as Pchawéla, have as a foreword a hemstitch which has become popular. He says: "My ink is made of tears and honey, of gall and acid. Some will be hurt by my poems, others will be comforted and satisfied. The poet will be always impartial, as the nightingale sings equally on both rose and thorn."

One of his best poems, "Salamouri" ("The Flute"), was written during a stay in Russia. The poet addresses

himself to this magic instrument to console him when he is far from his country. The shepherd uses his flute to scatter his griefs, and its sharp voice reminds him of the voice of his enemies—Tartars, Turks, and Scythians.

In the "Power of the Lyre" he asks to serve the cause of truth alone; "The Prayer" is full of spirit and sings of the beauties of this world. Injustice must always be opposed by decisive and vigorous resistance, and in every circumstance the wise man should not give way in the least degree to the attacks of injustice; he should face misfortune while fighting inch by inch to bring back his lost happiness.

In the poem "O Georgians!" he laments the downfall of his country, and pours out all his bitterness in virulent lines against the selfish, the covetous, the proud, and the cowardly.

In another poem he is beset by a black bitterness, and addresses his evil spirit and begs him, not without irony, to dower him with those faculties that are indispensable in this base world: tricks and hypocrisy, plausibility and coarseness, envy and cruelty. By these horrible means one may advance, for the whole world since the beginning has bowed down before these powers of darkness. The poet is alive to all the tendencies of the present time; he thrusts at injustice, attacks falsehood, and defends truth. His magic words are at the service of his country; he is gentle and patient as a dove when comforting his friends, pitiless as a serpent when attacking liars and hypocrites. He soars like an eagle into the air; sometimes he glides like a reptile in the depths of caverns.

He is afraid of nothing, and is always in the forefront of the battle, ready to serve the cause of the distressed.

"My poetry is not," he says, "a song of nightingales, for the rose in my heart is faded, and thorns choke my life, while the gloomy raven cries 'Misfortune' to me. The future is uncertain, the past wearisome, the present abnormal, impotent and difficult, and almost always selfish." . . . Cursing his uncertain fate, not trusting the truth of women, he says in sounding yet polished verses that the serpent lies in wait for him everywhere, keeping him from the rose. Bitterness dwells in his broken heart and kills him little by little. Mankind is dust; he awaits and prepares for death alone. In his principal poem "The Lyre" he says:

"My Lyre must serve
The cause of Truth."

His poems "The Question" and "The Answer"

enshrine his philosophy in burning and inspired phrases. The subject is as follows :

The poet, seeing a silent nightingale on a tree branch, asks the cause of his unnatural silence :

"The jealousy of the cruel serpent stifles me ; his mortal sting threatens me and prevents me from singing."

But when the nightingale puts the same question to the sorrowful poet, he takes up his lyre, resumes his song, and answers :

"The cruelty of humanity pierces my heart ; my fellow-men choke the songs in my throat." . . .

In the poem "*Bagarat the Great*" he mourns the martyrs of his country who fell in the unequal struggle for the cause of their fatherland.

The following are maxims taken from his poetry :

1. The seed which is not sown in sorrow has no harvest.
2. He who turns from his mother-tongue will be cursed for ever.
3. A woman is fonder of her husband than of her father, but mother-love can be replaced by no other feeling.
4. Spring brings us charm, sweetness, and light ; then Nature celebrates her golden wedding.
5. A poet should inhabit a place where riches are not of account, where spiritual worth only is prized, and where appearances are not considered.
6. The country best suited to the poet is the precious country of dreams.

His poem "*Different Nations*" describes in a few words the practical nature of the English, the egoism of the Germans, and their inquiring mind ; the perseverance, energy, and bravery of the French with their motto, "*Liberty, Fraternity, and Love.*" The Georgians have taken for their device gaiety, patriotism, freedom from care, thanks to the richness of the country.

A. Tzerételi is also a noted writer of fables, and his genial translations of the fables of Krylow have been adopted by the schools. Dramatic art in Georgia is indebted to him for excellent translations of Molière ("*Fouberies de Scapin*," "*Avare*," etc.).

If the poetry of Tchawtchawadzé is imbued with a deep and exquisite lyric quality, the poetry of Tzerételi is for the most part satirical. He loves to laugh in his verses, and to make his readers laugh too. Witty, ingenious, and wise in his lifetime, laconic in his expressions, he often convinced even his enemies by his clever and mordant

satires. Beloved by the whole nation, well thought of beyond the limits of his country, he was the object of deep veneration during the celebration of his fifty years Jubilee in 1912 at Tiflis, and the provincial towns (Batum, Koutais, Poti, Soukhoun) at Baku, Moscow, and Petrograd.

He lies beside Ilia on the top of Mount St. David. As Tchawtchawadzé is called by his first name only—"Ilia"—so Tzérétéli is always referred to in the press, in books, and in the schools by his nickname of "Akaky." The two names "Ilia" and "Akaky" are inseparable in the mind of Georgia.

The Georgian poets, Rousthawéli, Barathachwili, Orbeliany, Gouramichwili, Gabachwili, Waja-Pchawéla, Tchawtchawadzé, Tzérétéli, would do honour to the literature of any European country, and, in our opinion, they deserve to be better known. So have these poets appeared to us, some in their short, others in their long poetic careers, such are the favourite poets of the Georgian nation since her beginning.

After the death of Tzérétéli (d. 1915) Georgian poetry underwent a marked and regrettable decadence. The War, followed by revolutions in Georgia (1917-21), ruin, disasters, a fresh annexation, have sapped the creative energy of the poets of our own times. The sky of Georgia is too overcast to think of Rousthawélian brightness.

Some are given over to politics, others to business, and a third party have taken the weary road of the exile.

"Verses are scarcely in the mode," said the wise Voltaire; "everyone does geometry and physics."

As for Georgia in this abnormal period, she is in the midst of grief; roses have lost their colour, nightingales no longer pour out the plaints of love, the old-time song is hardly ever heard, the flowering fields are stricken, and the threatening cries of boding ravens assault the poet's ear.*

* Among the poets of the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, Ewdochwili is also a distinguished figure, and has been followed in his humanistic poetry by a galaxy of young poets (1900-30). These are Thoudospireli, Kouchichwili, Roukhadzé, Wardochwili, Abacheli, Grichachwili, Chanchiachwili, Tabidzé, Mtchedlichwili, and many others.

RATIONALIZATION IN PERSIAN ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

BY ARTHUR UPHAM POPE

THE Exhibition of Muhammadan Art in Munich in 1910 marked something of an epoch. Almost for the first time since the Middle Ages the essential provinciality of the artistic consciousness of Europe was sharply challenged. A whole realm of art that had previously been known only to a limited group of scholars and connoisseurs was with dramatic suddenness swept into a universal recognition, and many important studies were initiated.

The Exhibition of Persian Art in London promises to be equally epoch-making. It is both more concentrated and more extensive. Instead of presenting an art refined by a religious culture covering half the world from Spain to Central Asia for a dozen centuries, as did the Munich Exhibition, it is limited to that of a single people and a single land for more than five thousand years.

It is obvious that such an exhibition as this, with the sacrifice, effort, and cost involved, requiring as it did in some cases exceptional and even audacious decisions to participate, could hardly be repeated—certainly not for generations, perhaps never. The material is too scattered and too precious to be easily gathered again. It therefore becomes especially important that the present occasion shall be exploited to its utmost.

If the Exhibition passes into history only as a thrilling memory, the original hopes on which it was founded will be grievously disappointed, for the main purpose has been the advancement of knowledge, even more than the delight and instruction of the public. Moreover, before any proposal had been put in practical form, it had been studied in the light of its relation to a larger programme of which the ultimate aim is a more rational co-ordination of the efforts of scholars in the field of Persian art.

The first step towards this co-ordination was the organization of the Second Congress on Persian Art to coincide with the Exhibition, so that the fullest advantage could be taken of the material assembled. Often exhibitions have been held in one place and gatherings of the scholars concerned at another place and still different time.

The second co-ordinating step will be the publication of the Survey of Persian Art, a serious and systematic history intended as an adequate record of both the Exhibition and the Congress, while in another sense the Exhibition and Congress furnish the material for the Survey, and are preliminary to it. Most of the contributors to the Survey, some thirty-five scholars in ten different countries, will be present at the Congress, where they will discuss the essential points of their coming work with the view to securing a unity and integrity of treatment that has been very rare in a work of collaboration of this kind, while the Exhibition will furnish much of the material by which the discussions will be checked.

But these three—the Exhibition, the Congress, and the Survey—however well co-ordinated, are again only a starting-point for an even more ambitious programme which looks to the establishment of a general, if somewhat informal, permanent organization of scholars all over the world who are interested in Persian art. In the field of Persian art studies there was no organization of even the most shadowy kind until the Philadelphia Congress in 1926, and in most countries there still is no focus for this interest, so that for the present Exhibition and Congress sympathetic individuals have had to be found in nearly twenty countries, and committees created *de novo*, a work too arduous and costly to be repeated unnecessarily.

With an international organization it would be possible to keep together in each country a certain group which would be ready to take up the work of arranging exhibitions and congresses, and there are many similar practical ways in which it could serve its members and advance knowledge. Every scholar knows the distraction and harassments inevitable on the acquisition of photographs of new material. A central bureau could be arranged which could collect photographs and films, properly registered and classified, to be distributed to scholars at minimum cost, a bureau to which members could be expected to supply original negatives in so far as they were not needed for exclusive publication, in return for which such an organization could supervise the rather troublesome and expensive problem of photographic printing. Such a central collection of photographs would be of inestimable benefit, not only to young students, but often to advanced scholars. It could be of immense service to publications and scholarly periodicals needing material. It could serve, to a certain extent, as a lecture bureau. It could supply the

latest and most practical information to scholars seeking to undertake research in Near Eastern countries. It would be extremely useful in notifying other scholars of the travels or whereabouts of their colleagues, for droll stories can be told of scholars searching each other in distant lands when guests in the same hotel. The most commonplace imagination could elaborate a long list of other services that such an organization could perform.

The services of an international organization are essential for the prosecution of a programme which has long been cherished in America for research in all documentary sources bearing on Persian and allied arts. A vast wealth of material in nearly every country, in many languages and in innumerable archives, calls for translation into some common tongue and co-ordination in proper source books. Work of this sort could be continued almost indefinitely, and if properly carried out would mean at many points substitution of fact for speculation and the solution of many important problems.

Plans of work on the part of various institutions could be very properly communicated from such a central organization, which could also serve as a clearing-house for new ideas.

The proposal is nothing short of a scheme for the rationalization of all studies concerned with Persian and related arts. The dangers of over-organization in the field of scholarship have been sufficiently demonstrated. Mountainous institutions, well-planned and financed, have laboured mightily sometimes for only mouselike results. Any organization that limits individual initiative or in any degree hampers imagination, taste, or ambition will do more harm than good. On the other hand, if scholarly research is to have adequate endowments, in an age when all resources must be husbanded and wisely expended, it must have a sound comprehensive programme, in which intelligent co-operation and a genuine devotion to the highest ideals of science shall be quite unmistakably the guiding principles.

Research of all kinds in the Near East, and many other places as well for that matter, has been abandoned to a doctrine of *laissez faire*, almost without let or hindrance. In the archæological field itself it is not beyond reason to hope that various institutions can learn something from the methods of the missionaries in this part of the world. Whatever limitations might be alleged, they are profoundly and seriously in earnest in serving a cause which they

believe is far beyond any personal advantage and in which personal ambition has been completely sunk. They have devised and loyally adhere to various divisions of the field, which has given them all more authority and more respect. The wiser scholars in all lands would welcome an effective reaffirmation of the great ideals which have imbued so much general scientific work. They keenly feel the need of a generous sharing of methods and results, and the development of a sense of loyal comradeship among all the workers in the field.

Such an organization would formulate something like a declaration of policy which would be morally binding at least on all in the field, and would tend to restrain and discipline those natural human vanities that can be so troublesome. It could be of service also to governments which are concerned with the legal control of various research enterprises within their borders.

The closure of Persia to free archaeological enterprise for the last thirty or forty years has been generally held to have been something of a misfortune to the advance of knowledge, but now that the legal difficulties have been happily and generously removed, an opportunity is offered which, if wisely taken advantage of, will more than compensate for the delay.

The Exhibition, the Congress, the Survey and the permanent informal organization that, it is hoped, will grow out of them, were in the first place undertaken in the hope that they would make possible the fullest realization of the new opportunities in Persia by initiating a new epoch in studies in this realm in which a new attitude and a modern technique of co-ordination might take the place of the old, somewhat haphazard rivalries and accidents which have often been so unprofitable. Consequently, far more important than the most elaborate machinery of organization is the development of a spirit of unity and goodwill among the scholars, of a spirit that shall err on the side of generosity, that shall value successful joint accomplishment above individual ambition, even though its rewards may be more remote and less personal. To work for such ideals may be as sentimental as working for eternal peace, but it is just as necessary. Co-operation on the higher levels of human experience, comradeship in the realm of the spirit, is one of those intrinsic values, one of those ultimate and durable satisfactions which justify the difficult art of living.

N.B.—Examples of Persian art with notes upon them by Mr. Upham Pope will be found in the Pictorial Section.

ILLUSTRATED SUPPLEMENT

PERSIA

IN view of the opening of the International Exhibition of Persian Art in London, the photographs reproduced by courtesy of Mr. Arthur Upham Pope will prove of special interest.

INDIA AND TIBET

The New Delhi is not only an attempt to erect a central place for Government in India, but also is an effort to build a whole city and not merely some individual buildings. Therefore the January number of the *Architectural Review* shows long stretches of road, flanked by gardens and courtyards and fountains, connecting up the vast blocks of building that are the Secretariats, Council Chambers, and Viceroy's House. The letterpress is by Mr. Robert Byron.

It is interesting to see in such a prominent paper as the *Architectural Review* these illustrations of Lutyens' dome to the Viceroy's House which dominates the whole city. There is not space on these pages to reproduce an illustration which can do justice to that dome, but the *Architectural Review* has large pages with full-size pictures which do, and which show also the gardens, interiors, fountains, and avenues. For a whole number has been devoted to the city.

Two illustrations of the Viceroy's House are reproduced by courtesy of the *Architectural Review*.

Two illustrations show the type of buildings that have been erected in Hyderabad State to the designs of Mr. Vincent Esch, and are referred to in Sir Akbar Hydari's article.

Two reproductions of work by students of the Bombay School of Art recall the fact that Captain Gladstone Solomon held a very successful exhibition at India House in the summer months.

There is a further example of work by an Indian artist with explanatory letterpress.

The two examples of Tibetan art are taken from an article by Anne Hallema in the October issue of *Nederlandsch Indië Oud en Nieuw*.

MALAYA

The photographs here illustrate various spheres of activity in British Malaya and accompany the article by Mr. Banner.



Photo by A. Upham Pope.

STUCCO DECORATION IN THE MOSQUE OF SAIN, DATING FROM THE
ELEVENTH CENTURY

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Photo by A. Upham Pept.

THE SMALLER DOME CHAMBERS OF THE MASJID-I-JĀMI (THE
CONGREGATIONAL MOSQUE), ISFAHAN, DATED 1088

Showing pointed arch, which was developed in Persia centuries before it appeared in Europe.

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Photo by A. Upham Pope.

NICHE IN THE COURT OF THE CONGREGATIONAL MOSQUE, ISFAHAN

Done in mosaic faience in intense colours of turquoise, cobalt, lapis-lazuli emerald.
Sixteenth century.

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Photo by A. Upham Pope

VAULT IN ONE OF THE SMALLER SANCTUARIES OF THE MASJID-I-JÂMI,
ISFAHAN: FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Showing the expansive force of the arch pushing outward the piers. The brick construction reports constructional strains quicker and more clearly than masonry, thus supplying the information which was valuable for building in stone.

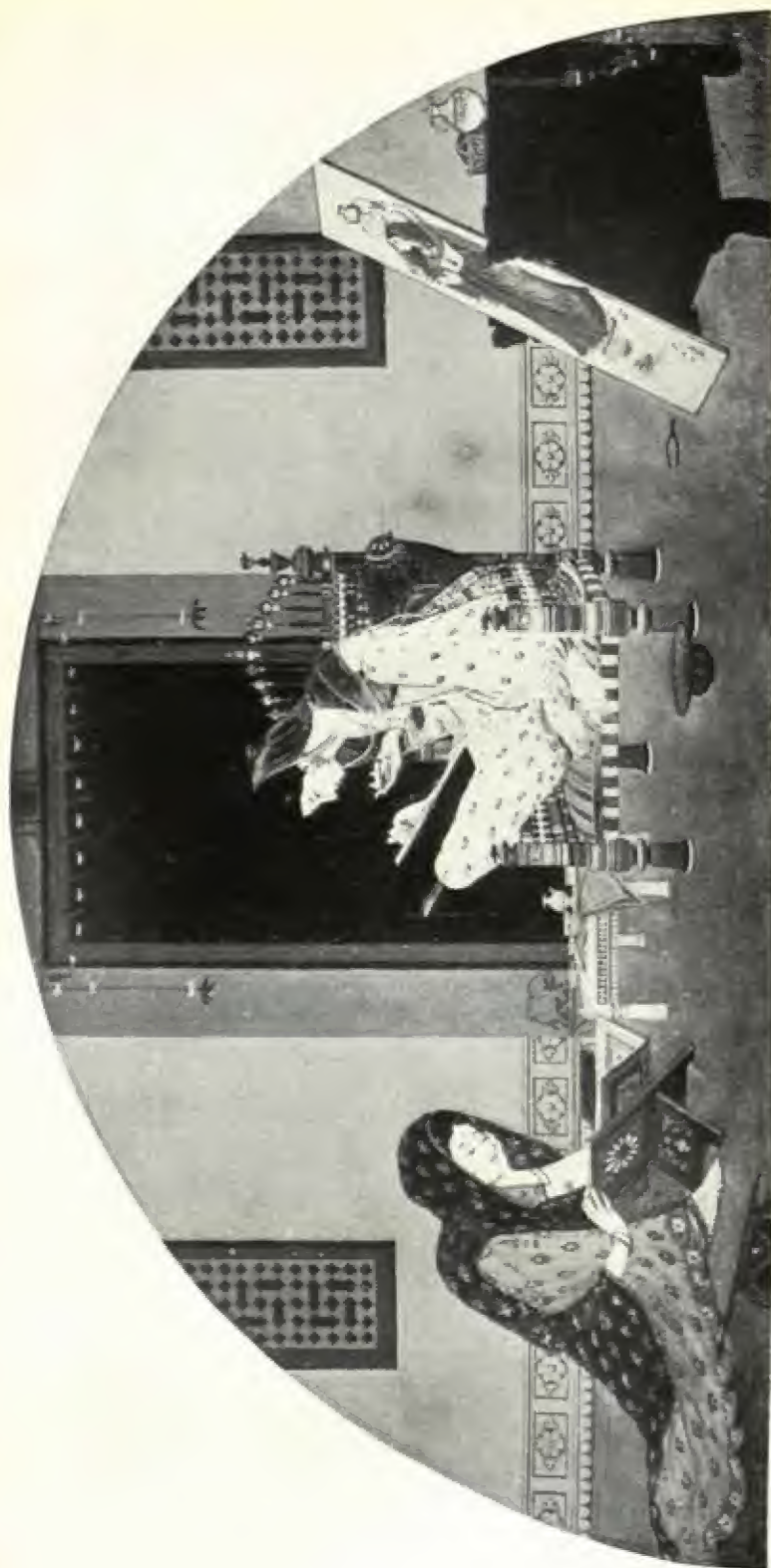
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MURAL DECORATION; "POETRY"

By D. J. M. Colaco, Bombay School of Art.

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MURAL DECORATION: "PAINTING"

By J. M. Alivasi, Bombay School of Art.



THE CITY HIGH SCHOOL, HYDERABAD, DECCAN
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THE HIGH COURTS OF JUSTICE, HYDERABAD, DECCAN
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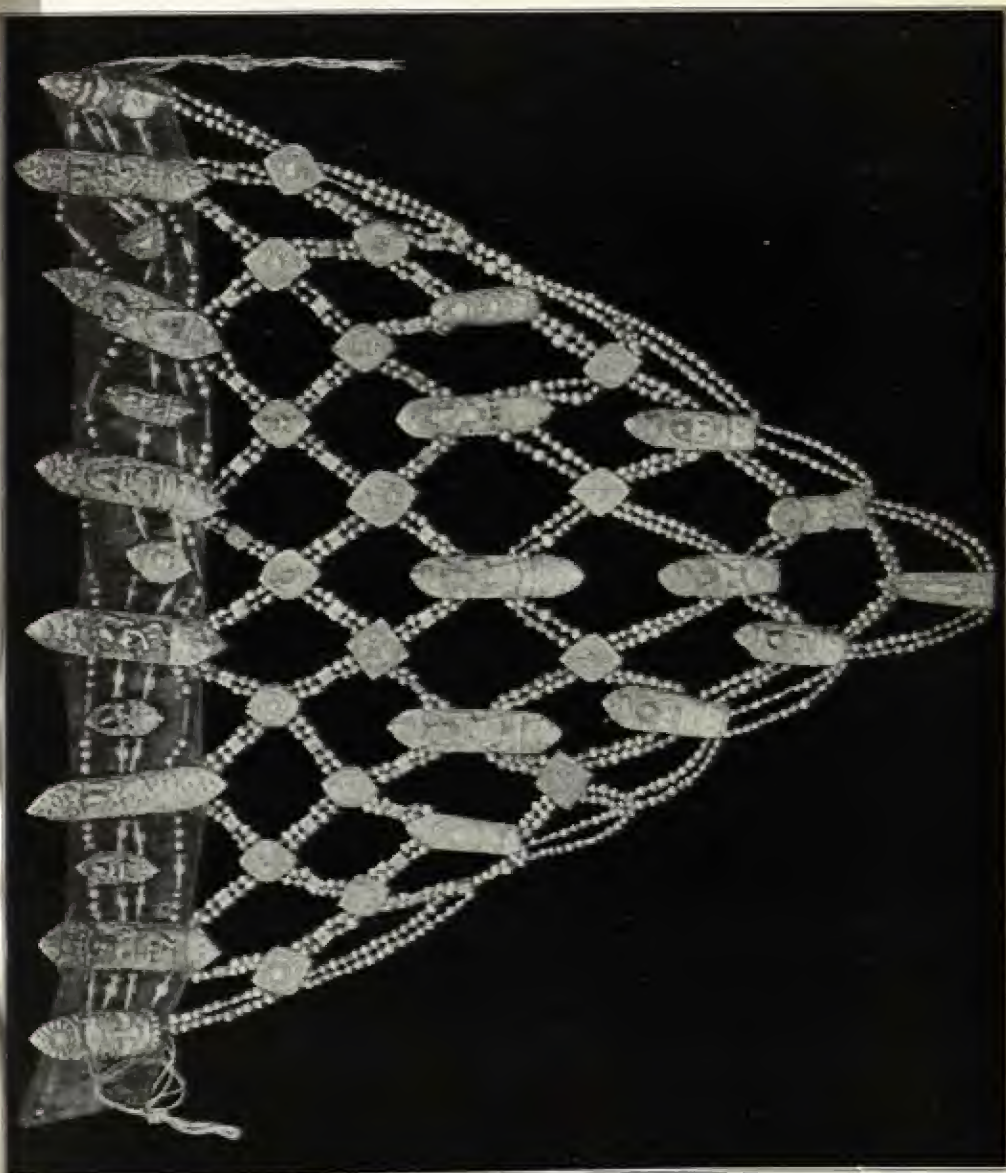
VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI

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TIBETAN ORNAMENT

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GAUTAMA BUDDHA (TIBETAN ART)

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THE QUEEN OF THE HILLS

From a drawing by Lalit M. Sen.

An Indian picture by an Indian artist. Mr. Lalit M. Sen is an exhibitor at the Royal Academy, and one of the group of Indian artists selected by the Government to decorate the new India House in Aldwych, recently opened by H.M. the King.

The scene is Naini Tal, a Hill Station in the United Provinces in the outer ranges of the Himalayas. The cantonment of the British troops is situated among the farther hills, the blue outlines of which are discernible in the distance, beyond the clouds and mist rising from the valley. The centre and subject of this picture is a hill girl, who, as is the wont of her class, has gathered bits of wood and grass, to be sold in the market place of her village. She is, in all her poverty, *the Queen of the Hills*—with her serene features, her golden rings and simple dignity; a proud Hindu, as the vermilion spot between her brows, the caste mark, indicates.

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GOPENG PIPE LINE BRINGING DOWN WATER FROM HYDRAULING



Photo: Malayan Information Agency.

TAMIL WOMEN



OIL PALM



Photo: Malayan Information Agency.

CHENDERIANG TIN MINE, SHOWING CHINESE LABOURERS STRIPPING OVERBURDEN



MALAYAN JUNGLE

Photo: Malayan Information Agency.

THE ARTISTIC POSSIBILITIES OF LITERARY CHINESE

BY PROFESSOR G. MARGULIÈS

(*Lecturer at the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes Paris*)

To produce objective and general values literary history must necessarily proceed by a method of comparisons. It is the only way to make the distinction between original qualities and those which are shared in common with the country, the epoch, or the literary school.

The method must always be the same, the element that can vary is the point of view from which the aforesaid comparative study is made. There the difference is considerable. We can easily observe it in a concrete example. The critic who wishes to study literature from the point of view of the individuality of the artists would doubtless find an unending variety. He will compare characters, technique, theories of art, notice the deviations that personal reasons bring to the general development; he will not be able to draw any general line, his point of view being strictly analytical. In the particular case of China, which interests us in the present instance, the variety will certainly be greater than anywhere else. In Europe already, where countries and populations are small, where all civilizations are in constant contact with each other, where literatures are not more than six or seven centuries old, we may easily observe considerable differences due to countries, epochs, literary schools, and personal temperament. There can be no doubt that the difference must be still greater in China, with its 2,500 years old literature and its immense population.

We see that this kind of analytical process cannot lead to any general conclusion; it would serve only for the examination of details. But if one takes the opposite point of view, if, leaving aside every personal, individualistic element of literary production, one tries to find out all the similar elements typical of the whole production of an author, an epoch, a country, or a civilization, instead of an analysis, as was the case with the former point of view, one comes to a synthesis. That kind of study is the one necessary for every general work, examining not the differentiating elements in the data, but the common characteristics of the group that is being taken into consideration.

In the present paper I shall try to consider Chinese literature as a whole and, taking it in as wide and general

an aspect as I can, compare the peculiarities of the whole of Chinese literary production, not only with single Western countries, but also with the whole of European literary activity from classical antiquity up to modern times. I shall take no notice of country, language, and artistic principles, differences which, from the generalizing point of view, become but secondary details. I shall have to define what are the qualities typical to each of those two groups and, comparing them, point out the differences and their reasons, leaving aside the qualities which all groups of human beings share in common as typical of human mentality in general.

Having thus defined the limits of the problem which interests us now, we must see what the elements of the study will be. It would be prudent not to consider literary themes. When considered superficially, they seem of an endless variety, dependent on epoch, personal temperament, many quite occasional and merely personal events, and thus belonging to a detailed and not to a general study. If one tries to lay aside all the individual elements of the themes and reduces them to mere outlines, it will be easy to maintain that every literature, however small it may be, has passed through them all. The number of themes, considered from the synthetic point of view, will be extremely small and, moreover, the same in every country. It corresponds to the initial similarity of human beings whatever their nationality and epoch; this already belongs to human nature, which, as we already stated, is above all racial differentiations and therefore cannot enter as an element of comparative study. Moreover, the subject is not an essentially literary element, it does not belong to that peculiar art, but is taken very often as a pretext. If you admit that the difference between a poet and a narrator of events is analogous to the one between a painter and a photographer, you will at once see that it would be useless to study outlines that can be identical, while artistic renderings of them will be of infinite variety.

It appears, then, that we must base our study on the elements essential and exclusive to literary art; we will try to see, whatever the subject may be, by what means a Chinese author tries to impress his reader, compare his methods and achievements with those of Occidental writers and see what qualities are peculiar to Chinese literary technique.

Such a comparison must be based on data essential to literature. It is easy to state that every literary work has in it two elements: a theme whose expression is the aim of

the author and the pretext of every particular work, and the material of which the work is shaped and which is the same for all works—I mean the language. We saw that the former was of no use for our study; let us consider the latter.

When considering Chinese language and comparing it to Western languages, we immediately observe two peculiarities which no Western language possesses. These peculiarities are: monosyllabism and the exclusively ideographical writing. It is known, of course, that Chinese is a monosyllabic language, which means to say there are in Chinese no conjugations, no inflections of words whatever; all words are absolutely unchangeable. It is known also that Chinese writing is ideographic, which means to say that every word has its peculiar writing sign composed of elements expressing its meaning.

As these two elements are wholly unlike anything we can find in Europe, we shall take them as the basis of our comparative study; let us therefore examine in detail what those qualities really are and what effects they have on Chinese literary technique.

We shall start with the element more exclusively confined to literary art, the writing system. All European languages, all writing systems actually in use throughout the world, except those derived from Chinese, use phonetical writing. By phonetical writing is meant a more or less conventional notation of the sounds that, when pronounced, give the word in its standard pronunciation; this sound evokes in our mind the idea corresponding to the word. When we are accustomed to do much reading, we do not need any longer to repeat aloud the sounds noted down by conventional letters, we can generally imagine them by merely seeing their notation. It is, nevertheless, true to state that in the process of reading a phonetically written text, it has to come to the audition first, and only then becomes intelligible; it calls up sounds and not ideas, so that we can read any given text, written with Roman characters, but should not be able to understand its meaning, unless we knew the language. By such principles of writing, literature comes necessarily to be a notation of direct speech. The advantage of written matter is that one can read it over several times, and thus examine and understand it more slowly and thoroughly; still it can by no means pretend to express thought better than speech.

With ideographical writing the case is different. Ideographical signs do not necessarily and exclusively express

phonetical aggregates, as does the alphabet. They are direct written interpreters of ideas in the same way as words are their sound interpreters. So the effect of reading will be the opposite of that of phonetical writing stated above, and we see that Japanese, Koreans, and Annamites who use Chinese writing signs will read and understand Chinese texts, but will be wholly unable to reproduce the sounds of Chinese language; the meaning is always the same, but words sound differently in different languages. That this may be better understood by Westerners I may take the example of the Arabian number signs; their meaning is the same for all European countries, though everyone pronounces them in his own language.

Such a writing system caused the Chinese to take particular care of their literature, and to attach much more importance to it than has been the case in the West. In Europe writing allows people to concentrate their thought and express it in a more precise form, speech being more difficult to follow; still it uses almost the same language, only a richer and conciser one. In China writing tends to separate the written language from the spoken one; the latter expresses ideas for the ears, the former writes them down for the eyes. The principle of ideographical writing has allowed Chinese literature to be developed into a wholly independent art. It had its own ways of expression and suggestion proper to the writing itself, it kept the development of literary language apart from the evolution of the spoken one. Considering all these peculiarities, would it be too much to state that, by using ideographical methods of writing, Chinese becomes the only language whose literature is a real, self-contained art, independent of speech, and superior to it in its richness of expression?

I know that in the Occident as well as in China there is always a distinction between written and spoken language. The spoken language has a rather small vocabulary to meet the ordinary needs without precise interpretation of thought. It further uses long and often intricate grammatical constructions. Since thought is expressed spontaneously, the speaker has not the time to build up the period in the concisest form, and the sentence has to be understood in its general lines through quickly moving speech. Writing, on the contrary, gives the writer all the time necessary to find out the most suitable expressions and the most logical and short grammatical forms for them; it can be read over and over again, and difficult words may be sought for.

For that reason written language is perforce more concise in its structure, and uses a considerably larger vocabulary. That makes the distinction between written and spoken language which is to be observed in every country, however slightly its literature may be developed.

Yet Western written languages are still closely connected with the spoken ones, as they merely note down their sounds, so that their evolution is subordinate to the evolution of the spoken language, and has no independent development. In Chinese the distinction is much sharper, as we saw that ideographical writing permitted the written language to be independent of the spoken one. On the other hand, monosyllabism makes the vocabulary of spoken Chinese still smaller than is the case with Western languages, as sound distinctions are very poor, and increasing the vocabulary would perforce lead to a too great number of homonyms. Further, all words being unchangeable, spoken language needs quite elaborate and long syntactical structures to make clear the development of the sentence. We see that the peculiarities of Chinese language help, too, to make the distinction between written and spoken language as great as possible, the spoken one being quite poor, having little phonetic variety. But this phonetical consideration disappears when we pass from the spoken to the written language, as the sound has but little importance for the latter. Monosyllabism then becomes a new reason to increase the number of words. In polysyllabic languages nuances are always expressed by derived forms from the same roots by mere grammatical changes. This is non-existent in Chinese, where the invariability of all words makes it impossible to apply to Chinese the very grammatical distinctions of Western languages, such as a noun, a verb, an adjective, and so on. The same unchangeable form assumes in Chinese all these functions according to the structure of the sentence.

That lack of grammatical derivatives obliges Chinese to create new words for the expression of every particular nuance; of course, the greater part of this very large number of words is confined to written language only. In Western languages those derivatives are built by the application of grammatical rules, and the phonetical additions that make them out of the roots can be easily followed by the ear. In Chinese it is scarcely possible to recognize by audition similar roots in the immense quantity of homonyms. Writing, on the contrary, possesses much more perfect means of pointing out those connections. Every

Chinese character possesses an element called a key, common to all the words dealing with similar ideas; that key shows which are the characters that belong to the same circle of ideas, whatever phonetical differences there may be between them.

The number of those keys is, however, limited, so that they naturally can express only the most general outlines of the ideas, and every character, though possessing a key, is still entirely independent. In this way Chinese words, though belonging to the same order of ideas, do not depend on each other, as do the words in polysyllabic languages. They form sets of ideas independent of each other, though very closely connected, and express all the changes of an object, all its different aspects, yet every one strictly confined to its peculiar moment and form—something one might compare to the photographs from which cinematographical films are made. Polysyllabic languages, on the contrary, develop all the nuances from the same root by mere grammatical changes. They possess in this process a strong tie that binds together all the single aspects expressed by each of the words; it is always easy to fix the exact place of each word in connection with the others and to follow their progressive development.

Thus we see that in polysyllabic languages the creation of new words and the creation of nuances are based on continuity. Further, identical methods of formation of the words allowed comparisons and established a sort of gradation, showing the relative value of each term. Finally, these two elements, continuity and gradation, bring forth the principle of movement, a continuous and progressive evolution, whose development is united through all the changes. That system emphasizes the unity of the whole evolution or aspect, but the very tie that so visibly binds together every distinct phase or view of the whole, makes its individualizing elements less conspicuous. It shows more the general movement, leads to generalization, and shows just the outlines without pointing out the independence of the details.

Chinese structure, on the contrary, is based on the precise notation of every single detail in its individual aspect, as considered independently from all the others—*i.e.*, on the element of discontinuity. Further, as there are no possible rules for the formation of words, no common roots as they exist in polysyllabic languages, no gradation can be observed; all words are of equal quality and importance, they have absolute and not comparative value.

Finally, those two elements, discontinuity and the absolute value of all words, bring out the lack of movement; the language gives rather a series of unmoving pictures, independent of each other and self-sufficing, although they may be bound together by a common idea or general aspect. Words having absolute value, the language, not bound to follow the spoken one, having the possibility of creating as many new words as necessary, nuances are noted with great preciseness and exactitude: every slightest difference has its appropriate expression and yet forms always a whole in itself, containing all the elements of the whole necessary to make of it a picture in itself and not merely a part of a picture. If the Occidental linguistic system is adapted to show the relations between the different aspects of one development, the Chinese system shows rather the peculiarities proper to every one of them. Thus the language compels Chinese authors to reproduce separate and unmoving moments rather than general development, gives to their work a static aspect, while Occidental works are more dynamic.

We have considered the tendencies of the language in its most general form. In its more elaborate and artistic form, which is literature, the tendency to immobility is again strongly helped by monosyllabism and ideographical writing. All words have in Chinese the same length of one syllable and the ideograms can all occupy practically an equal space. Moreover, as grammatical value is determined by the position of words in the sentence and the forms remain unchangeable, theoretically at least all words must be interchangeable, and Chinese poets never know the difficulties of their Western colleagues of dealing with words of unequal length. That explains the fact that even Chinese prose has a rhythmical regularity that could not be thought of in polysyllabic languages; parallel structure is one of the most essential elements of Chinese literary art. By parallelism is meant an exact correspondence in structure and meaning of two or several sentences, in which the number of words is the same and their grammatical disposition most strictly repeating itself. No Occidental literature can have anything of the kind; even if it succeeded in having exactly identical sentences, the words would still not be of the same length, nor occupy graphically the same space. But this regard for rhythm and parallelism—still emphasizing the general static tendencies of the language—makes Chinese authors consider the structure of the sentence rather as a decorative

element, and, the number of rhythms being scarce, just as in the West, the number of poetical metres is scarce; Chinese authors do not seek for great variety in structure; a few classical models are sufficient for them, and all the power of expression lies in the choice of words. When composing a literary work, the author executes a sort of mosaic; and this once more leads the author to produce pictures rather than express movement.

The case of the polysyllabic languages is wholly different. We may see it better when examining Western poetry. The regularity of rhythm and metre—necessary even in Western poetical works—finds a strong opposition in the variety, in the length and accentuation of the words. Therefore a Western poet has generally a very limited choice of words that will fit his poem, and he is often obliged to use inexact and vague terms, sacrificing exactitude to harmony. Further, he must quite often lengthen his poem to be able to include in it all the words necessary to a complete expression of his idea; vacant spaces left in verses have to be filled by more or less useless words whose meaning adds nothing to the expression of the thought. Occidental poetry being thus compelled to use too many words, and yet without being able to express its thought precisely, is naturally led to effects of harmony and poetical movement rather than analysis and preciseness. These are emotional elements, inclined to vagueness, often personal and individualistic.

Utterly different is the case of a Chinese poet. His vocabulary is unlimited, and he can always use the word that best suits the most precise expression of his thought. His skill will consist in conciseness, and the effort of thought and attention necessary in the choice of words leads him to abstraction. Ideographical writing helps, too, to fortify those tendencies to abstraction. We saw that Chinese characters expressed thoughts and not merely sounds, so their form is already a first abstraction in itself. But, further, this writing system allows very skilful allusions of characters, analogies between different elements of characters bringing forth most subtle thought-complexes and leading the reader often a long way from the strict meaning of the character used. Needless to say, all this technique exists only in writing, and nothing remains when merely the sounds of the words are spoken. This once more proves to us the utter independence of written Chinese from the spoken language, the independence of literary art from speech, and the very great importance of

the writing system as an artistic element. It may explain, too, the importance attached by Chinese to calligraphy; in fact, only with ideographic writing systems can calligraphy be an art, as it then expresses ideas and not mere sounds. To Chinese literature calligraphy is about the same as oratorical art is to speech—it emphasizes the qualities of the work.

Now that we have gathered a sufficient amount of material, we may try to sum up what are the peculiarities of Chinese literary technique due to monosyllabic language and ideographical writing. We see great care in the choice of words, an unlimited vocabulary, a tendency to rhythm and parallelism in every literary work, great conciseness, and yet fullness of expression. So much for the exterior, merely technical side. As far as the ideas are concerned, we may point out the tendency to abstraction and static character of expression, preferring pictures to movement.

Having thus considered the peculiarities of the language in its most direct expression and before coming to the domain of thought, we may still add a few more remarks. We have already noticed that syntactic forms were very often stereotyped, and authors frequently repeated them in the very form in which they found them in the works of their predecessors. The importance of the work lies always in the choice of the words, and fixed grammatical forms are most convenient to the constant parallelism of Chinese literary productions. In Western works the originality of an author—his expressive power—lies chiefly in the development of the sentence, in the movement of the period; the particular and personal elements of the thought, the nuances of expression are given chiefly by syntactical structure. Words are but elements necessary to form a whole sentence and express its movement; the author does not always insist on their separate value, but considers the sentence as a homogeneous entity. On the contrary, Chinese words and their written expression form independent self-sufficing entities, often expressing complex ideas; every one of them is to be considered apart. Thus the power of expression, the originality of the author and his work lie in the choice of terms, details of thought are expressed by precise characters, and grammatical structure serves mostly as an impersonal framework to them.

That individual value of characters and impersonality of the structure of sentences explains a point in Chinese literature of which Westerners have often made a reproach to Chinese writers. Noticing that Chinese authors imitate

very closely the works of their predecessors in the structure of sentences and the development of periods, they came to the conclusion that plagiarism was a frequent thing in China. The remark would be right, were Chinese structure analogous to the European one. As it is, it is very superficial and unjust. The syntactic frame has merely to satisfy necessities of parallel structure, so that the reader's mind, seeing the habitual forms, may concentrate all his attention on the characters themselves. Independent as they are, it is sufficient to change one or two of them in the whole sentence to bring forth an utterly different meaning, a new idea, and the author will show the originality of his observation and thought—the only kind of originality really important in artistic productions. Under such circumstances to accuse a Chinese author of plagiarism would be as wrong as to accuse every European poet writing a sonnet or a stanza, of copying all the earlier poets who wrote in similar forms.

In the last example I am purposely comparing the whole of Chinese literature to Western poetry only. Accustomed to rhythmical and parallel structures, Chinese prose uses grammatical sentence-frames very much in the same way as Western verse technique uses different poetical metres; in fact, we must not forget that parallelism wants the same number of words in parallel sentences, and, Chinese being monosyllabic, the number of words in a sentence could just as well make the number of syllables in a verse. Moreover, as written language is different from the spoken one, previous compositions are the only source from which it may be studied; in Europe poetry only is studied in this way. Prose takes its technique from the spoken language, whereas Western poetry, as well as all Chinese literary production, is forced to reproduce more or less strictly earlier models, having no other elements of creation. That may explain with sufficient clearness why I had to compare Chinese literature reproducing grammatical structures to Western poetry reproducing poetical rhythms.

Further, Chinese prose being so analogous to what in the West is considered as poetical technique, it is natural that Chinese poetry must use still more elaborate distinctions in order to be different from prose. In fact, Chinese poetical technique uses very strict phonetical distinctions in the rhythm and in the structure of every verse, based on monosyllabism and polytony of the language and therefore wholly unknown in polysyllabic languages. They may seem extremely difficult to foreigners, but, considering the

peculiarities of the language, they are not more rigorous than laws of prosody and rhyme in European poetical art.

Coming now to the ideas, the interior structure of literary works, we can easily see that the qualities we noticed in the technique are also characteristic for the mind. Polysyllabic languages borrow their literary effects chiefly from the syntax—the general structure of the work; Western literary works must therefore be based on movement, be it narrative, if the subject is concrete, or emotional, if the subject is abstract. Monosyllabic languages have conciseness and precision; so their literary works avoid expression of movement and prefer to give successions of statics. Thus linguistic considerations guide not only the structure of every sentence, but the structure of the whole work as well. Western works give movement, Chinese works give pictures. And, as the writing system leads the language to abstraction, those pictures never have a profusion of personal details: they present a sort of scheme, indicating only the few characteristic details strictly necessary to reveal the universal, typical aspect of the picture.

Here, though always keeping as a basis the linguistic starting-point, we already reach the highest element of literary works—I mean, the ideas that inspire the author and guide the work. The transposition of the same elements into this new domain will at once show us the differences. Western authors, forced by their language to indicate movement, study and reproduce things that move and change, life in the personal aspect, considering every episode, every being from within, which makes it seem unique in its way; they are concrete and human. Chinese authors have at their service an instrument of great precision and considerable power of abstraction, so they are attached to the unchanging, nature, life, and feelings considered from without; and thus generalized and universal, they seek the universal elements of every isolated case, and come to abstraction through characteristic exterior details.

Both Western and Chinese authors are inclined to give pictures of human feelings. Yet Western authors have a language which has too much movement in it to be precise, so they generally give only the general outlines of the feeling, but can show its evolution and development. Chinese authors, maybe, will not succeed in giving such a mobile picture of its gradual development, but they will have a far more precise and delicately shaded picture of every phase of the evolution considered separately. Western works attempt to seem real by all and every

means, to the risk of appearing commonplace; they are looking for individual, living details, characteristic of only one moment or one person. They make the differentiation between particular cases by multiplying the number of details observed. Western authors are inclined to invent the subject, so as to have more freedom in building up their work. Chinese works are concise and clear. Even when reproducing a great number of facts, they do not make of them living and individual episodes, but merely note down the elements they need; this allows them to deal with very great numbers of facts and persons, and yet the work need not seem confused. Yet generally Chinese artistic work reduces the elements of its subject to the very strict minimum; from accidental exterior forms they always develop abstract, generalizing elements, showing the thoughts or the feelings for which the exterior story serves only as an illustration. They like historical allusions and examples, but not in the way Western authors do when they try to revive history in a more or less changed and modernized way, unable to reproduce the past, since they are taking only the living detail, which disappears for ever, and is unique for every moment and every person. Historical allusions in a Chinese work are by no means revivals; they are only quotations of well-known cases, admitted as characteristic for some given nuance of thought or feeling, and known by everybody as such. So the author takes them from the immense repertory of examples gathered by many centuries of literary practice merely to make his thought clear; he never treats them otherwise than as abstract typical cases apart from personal or circumstantial elements.

Both Western and Chinese authors are looking for details, but Western authors want them to be numerous and diversified, to make the individuality of the living particular case they are seeking to set forth; Chinese authors want a detail that will be characteristic for the universal aspect of the case. However fine the nuances may be, they always seek to make them general; an abstract observation, and not merely a reproduction of occasional and secondary circumstances. To generalize this remark and see the interior aspect of it, one may say that Occidental authors reproduce the variety of events and personalities, while Chinese authors reproduce the variety of feelings and thoughts, the first giving the exterior aspect of things, the second their interior causes. It is still the same aspect that we saw in comparing phonetic to ideographic writing,

one noting down the sounds of words, which is their exterior aspect, changing and uncertain; the other noting down the meaning of words, which is their inner content, and remains unaltered in all phonetic changes.

Thus, starting from the data of language and writing, we come to the definition of the very soul of literary creation. It is certain that the characteristics of a literature are not proper to that art only, but are to be observed in every branch of art and spiritual activity of the nation, as the expression of its soul. For that reason we can see the same elements of notation of characteristic detail, abstraction, discontinuity, independent static value of data in painting, philosophy, music, and so on. Here a question arises: can we pretend that it is the language that has guided Chinese mentality on that way, writing being a mere consequence of the linguistic system? I certainly should answer the question in the affirmative, but it is not a thing to be admitted on a simple assertion, and the question is certainly too wide to be discussed here.

(To be continued.)

NETHERLANDS INDIES SECTION

A MONUMENTAL WORK ON HOLLAND'S COLONIAL POLICY

(Reviewed by DR. G. J. RENIER)

MR. A. D. A. DE KAT ANGELINO's monumental work on colonial policy, *Staatkundig Beleid en Bestuurszorg in Nederlandsch Indië*, is a "best seller" in Holland, and as such it has acquired, through the collaboration of the Dutch public, the significance of a social phenomenon. The success of these three volumes has been prodigious. Over four thousand sets have already been sold. If one takes into account the population of the Netherlands, this is equivalent to a sale of several score of thousands of a work in three volumes published in the English language. As one who hopes to introduce this work to the English-speaking public in his capacity of a translator, I do not feel it my task to express an opinion about its intrinsic value. But I welcome the opportunity which the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW has kindly offered me of informing the English-speaking reader interested in the Far East of the gist of the message which has so profoundly stirred the Dutch nation.

In the Far East Holland has an Empire with over fifty million inhabitants. The problems which arise in so important a section of the colonial world are bound to reverberate far beyond the territories of Indonesia. The solutions applied to these problems, and even more the spirit in which these solutions are applied, are of the greatest consequence to all colonizing nations. It is important, therefore, that the principles which guide the Dutch nation and its Government in dealing with the populations of Indonesia should be known abroad, and in the first place to the British, who are Holland's closest neighbours in the East.

Mr. De Kat Angelino absolutely rejects the theories which would establish a fundamental and unbridgeable gap between the people of the West and those of the East. The difference is merely one of degree in historical evolution. The spirit of the West has acquired a technical

superiority, but it has already passed through the difficult stages through which the East, in its turn, is now struggling. Meanwhile the East has developed a soul of its own, a soul which draws an immense strength from all the graduated and intense loyalties that hold the East together and give it the peculiar patriarchal and mystical structure that characterizes it. Antithesis between these two worlds, argues the author, is either superficial or due to misunderstandings. If only the atmosphere is cleared, if realities are coolly and frankly envisaged, the synthesis of East and West is bound to come. This synthesis will not be a sheer absorption of the East by the West, a superimposition of an alien culture upon an unwilling foundation. Both sides have much to contribute, and out of their meeting will come the greatest blessings for the whole of mankind.

The author examines the stages of evolution which have already been passed. There have been attempts at synthesis in the Empires of the Ancient World. Evolution towards the synthesis has been at work and is still continuing its beneficent activity in many Eastern states, especially in Japan, but also in Siam, in China, and elsewhere. In these states the leadership towards the new order has been undertaken by the élite, which represents the spirit of the East. Success has been possible, as in Japan and elsewhere, or is to be expected, because the religious loyalty to the ruler, the representative of the supernatural order, has kept his subjects together and made them willingly participate in the task of progress, which is the task of adapting the country to the technique, the trade, the system of world communications, and the ideas of the West that can in any case not be excluded. Even China, which has done away with its divinely appointed ruler, has kept its piety and its social interdependence, which will eventually link the various portions of the country together and enable them to make their own individual contributions to cultural evolution.

In the colonial world the problem is not essentially different. There the task of leadership has fallen to the Western colonizing nations, which may have come for the sake of trade, of interest, if not of plunder, but which have had to stay, unwittingly at first, because they have been drawn into the vortex of world progress and have become gradually aware of their duties of leadership.

How can the colonizing nations acquit themselves of their gigantic task? In what I consider the most important

chapter of his whole work (Part I., vol. ii., chap. ix.) Mr. De Kat Angelino draws what he calls the directing lines of the future. The first of these principles consists in widening out the social horizon. Synthesis does not start with world conferences or a League of Nations organization. It begins by breaking down the partitions that isolate hostile groups. It joins them together by putting the abstract notions of patriotism, civic spirit, and love of truth in the place of group morality. "Everywhere the sterile social indifference of the populations has to be transmuted into interest for outsiders."

The second principle of colonial policy consists in obtaining the collaboration of the Eastern élite. It is a mistake to imagine that the Eastern temperament is naturally submissive. This only appears to be so owing to the extreme dependence of the individual upon the group. Indeed, "one may safely predict that the greatest difficulty of Eastern democracy will be, not Eastern obedience and submissiveness, but the lack of obedience and of readiness to serve." The élite must realize that instead of fomenting discontent, it must give the example by which alone democracy can be made to harmonize with the mentality of the East and to agree, at least in its lower structures, with the existing order.

The third principle is that of "differentiation according to need, but inside the frame of unity." Western leadership has been accused too often of discriminating between groups, of dividing in order to rule. As a matter of fact, it is aiming at something entirely different. "Without giving up any of the lofty ideals of unity, collaboration, and democracy, it nevertheless works in each field according to its nature." In the Dutch East Indies autonomy and self-government are being granted to smaller and larger territories, democratic decentralization and administrative division based on old Indonesian units are growing apace. The Native States and the autonomous village units are the best illustration of this policy. Eastern society is encouraged to renew itself upon its old bases, but towards new achievements, through the co-operative system, through village banks, and by all other available means. Customary law is allowed to adapt itself to all changes of environment. But always the greater unity must be kept in view. Every step towards autonomy and differentiation in accordance with needs must be counterbalanced by a step towards the great unification which will eventually substitute for the innumerable local and group loyalties

loyalty towards the greater unit—Indonesia, India, Cochin-China.

The fourth principle of reconstruction is that of "connecting nationalism with the work of reconstruction." The sterile and destructive nationalism of antithesis must be transformed into a fruitful civic spirit and a constructive patriotism animated by the spirit of synthesis. This principle determines the direction into which the second principle, that of utilizing the indigenous élite, is to be guided. There can be no full-blown democracy straight away. Parliamentary institutions such as have been granted in Indonesia and elsewhere are a promise for the future; they are a definite recognition by the authorities that they accept the direction in which evolution is moving. But, if anything, the parliamentary atmosphere at present is dangerous. It makes for words instead of action, and causes the élite to forget what is its real and immediate task—that of working at the reconstruction of the social edifice from its very foundations. In Indonesia, for instance, the élite still leaves the important task of studying customary law to Dutch savants, officials, and jurists. The same thing applies to wellnigh every other kind of intellectual and social work.

Education, of course, will do much to improve this state of affairs. It must form the perpetual care of Western leadership. "The élite possesses more knowledge than 95 per cent. of Westerners themselves, and does not see, therefore, why it should be guided by the West. They are better acquainted with the weaknesses of the West than with those of the East, for never before has a civilization published its failures with the frankness of the West. All the while the real secret of the West remains completely hidden. No wonder, then, that these educated Easterners mock in their heart the West which their intellects want to imitate, and that they mock in their mind the Eastern institutions from which their hearts cannot be torn away. The worst fate that can befall a man—the disturbance of the harmony between head and heart—visits these people twice over."

This tragic misunderstanding must be cleared up. It must be made clear to the élite that the secret of the West does not reside in the possession of artillery and of technique. The home, the obscure and steady devotion of each individual to duty, are, for instance, of far greater importance in explaining the success of the West.

The fifth principle is that of the transformation of the

mechanical structure of Eastern society into an organic dispensation. There must be, and in the Dutch East Indies there is already growing, a complete reform of the administration which will establish a much closer contact between the population and officialdom. While the administration must realize more and more that its task is not merely one of preserving order, but of providing for the social needs of the population—not in the sense of pure paternalism, but in the sense of preparing the population by practical education to provide increasingly for its own physical and moral needs.

In connection with the fourth principle, the author discusses the extremely interesting question of the duration of Western leadership in the colonial world. This question involves a gigantic sacrifice on the part of the colonizing nations, because the policy of synthesis demands that the whole patrimony should be placed in the name of the ward, to be transferred to him as soon as he has proved himself able to look after his own interests. Complete autonomy in the long run cannot avoid separate diplomatic representation, and the gradual development of relations with other states for which the Empire as a whole might not care to be responsible. Where blood ties do not exist, the grant of dominion status may soon result in a manifestation of even sharper divergences. This development will probably apply to the whole colonial world. The answer, therefore, to the question of duration of the Western leadership is a supremely delicate one. Yet the Dutch Government has not hesitated to give it. "Western leadership must remain until the foundations have been constructed. This implies that illiteracy must have disappeared as a result of a good general popular education, as it has disappeared in Japan; that the particularist village spheres must function as village autonomies, as conscious organs of the great whole; and that the popular credit system and the co-operative movement must have freed the people from debt, and must, by the application of better methods of production, have called into existence a prosperous population and a strong middle class." This answer is unequivocal, and to translate it into terms of chronology is much more the task of the Eastern élite than of the Western leaders.

The second part of Mr. De Kat Angelino's work applies the general principles he has set out at the end of his first part to the particular problems of the Dutch East Indies.

He successively studies the administrative system since the days of the Dutch East India Company, the system of justice, education, social construction, political construction, agrarian policy, labour legislation, and taxation. As in this volume much matter of detail is given as well as general considerations, it incidentally forms a real encyclopædia of information concerning the technique of Dutch East Indian administration.

NOTE

IN the October issue there appeared an article by Dr. H. Cohen de Boer on "The International Labour Office and the Colonies." The author of this article is the Secretary-General of the Ondernemersraad voor Nederlandsch-Indië.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN THE NEAR EAST

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS

BY WARREN R. DAWSON, F.R.S.E., F.R.S.L.

In this journal last year some account was given of the exploration of the Royal City of Nineveh, Assyria's ancient capital, that has been carried out during the last hundred years.* It was then stated that Dr. R. Campbell Thompson and his colleague, Mr. R. W. Hutchinson, intended, during the ensuing winters, to continue their investigations of this historic site if the necessary funds should be forthcoming. It is pleasant to record that thanks to contributions from the Gertrude Bell Bequest, the Percy Sladen Memorial Fund, the Research Fund of the Society of Antiquaries, as well as from Mr. O. C. Raphael, F.S.A., and Miss Eleanor Hull, augmented by a generous donation by Sir Charles Hyde, the progress of the work has been rendered possible, and Sir Charles Hyde is providing the entire cost of two further seasons' excavations. Dr. Campbell Thompson and his colleague have now published a detailed account of the results of the season 1927-8, with many excellent illustrations, in a communication made to the Society of Antiquaries.†

The site excavated was that of the Assyrian temple of Nabu, on the larger mound of Nineveh, dating from the eighth-seventh century B.C. The name of the original founder is lost, but it is known that the temple was restored, first by Adadnirari III. in 788 B.C., and later by Sargon (721-705 B.C.) and by Ashurbanipal. In 612 B.C., when Nineveh fell after a long siege to the united forces of the Babylonians, Medes, and Scythians, this temple, like all the other buildings on the mound, was destroyed by fire, and the ash-strata that can still be discerned bear witness to the great *débâcle* in which the proud city was involved. A patient examination of all traces has enabled the excava-

* "Exploring Royal Nineveh," *ASIATIC REVIEW*, Vol. XXV., July, 1929, pp. 522-528. This article has been translated into Dutch and published in the "Wetenschappelijke Bladen," March, 1930, pp. 351-359, under the title "Het Opgraven van het Vorstelijke Ninive."

† "The Excavations on the Temple of Nabu at Nineveh," by R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., and R. W. Hutchinson, M.A., F.S.A. *Archæologia*, Vol. LXXIX., 1929, pp. 103-148 and plates 41-65. Sold separately, price 12s. 6d. net.

tors to plan, with a surprising degree of accuracy, the general lay-out of the temple, and to trace the alterations made from time to time in its construction, and the occupation of its site after the holocaust of 612 B.C. It appears that the site of Nineveh was not reoccupied until after the Macedonian conquest. Greek inscriptions have turned up on the site, and Dr. Campbell Thompson found fragments of pottery attributable to the first century B.C., and some further fragments and two lamps of the first and third centuries A.D., as well as a hoard of silver coins of Bahram V. (A.D. 420-438). During the succeeding centuries, there is evidence of the occupation of the site in a series of deposits and buildings covering the six and seventh, and ninth to fourteenth centuries A.D. Part of the site had been used as a burial place, and a number of tombs, some containing human remains, provides evidence of several successive periods. A good collection of antiquities was recovered : these include inscribed prisms and tablets, pottery, statues, and other sculptured fragments and bricks. All these are described and admirably illustrated in the plates. Amongst the inscriptions, which Dr. Campbell Thompson has transcribed and translated, are some important historical texts of Tukulti-Ninurta II. (890-884 B.C.), Ashurbanipal, and other kings. As a specimen, the following may be quoted :

"Unto Nabu, the supreme lord, dwelling in Ezida, which is in the middle of Nineveh, his lord : Ashurbanipal, King of Assyria, the one sought after and desired by his great divinity, who at the utterance of his behest and the giving of his weighty ordinance in the shock of battle cut off the head of Teumman, the king of Elam, and, as for Ummanigash, Tamaritu, Pa'e, Ummanaldas, who, after Teumman ruled over Elam, by his great command my hand captured them and unto the wagon, the vehicle of my Majesty, I yoked them and by his great aid throughout all lands I secured what was due to me. In those days the court of the Temple of Nabu, my lord, with solid limestone its area I enlarged. For all time, O Nabu, look with joy (thereon), and may it be pleasing unto thee by thy ruled line the securing of a life of long days for me (and) may thine ordinance go forth that my feet be long to tread Ezida before thy presence."

The king in his vanity bids his patron god to look with joy "for all time" on his restored temple. Ashurbanipal

reigned from 668-626 B.C., and in a short time (612 B.C.) this fair temple was a blackened ruin—such is the fate of kings.

Space forbids a further examination of this important memoir. It will be found replete with interest. The illustrations and plans are excellently produced, and the rich harvest garnered in the season with which it deals promises well for the results to be gathered and laid before us in future memoirs. Enshrined in permanent publications and museum galleries, the works of Assyria's ancient kings will indeed endure "for all time," and will meet the gaze, not of Nabu and the ancient gods, but of modern generations of Europeans who have learned to gather and respect them with greater ardour than the divinities for whose edification they were planned.

* * * * *

While Dr. Campbell Thompson and his colleagues were exploring the dusty mounds of Nineveh, an expedition organized by the University of Chicago was busy in the central part of Anatolia, once the seat of another vanished power of the ancient East—the Hittite empire of the second millennium B.C. The mysterious Hittites have played a large and, until recently, almost unsuspected part in the destinies of the ancient world. They were at one time powerful enough to be a menace even to well-organized and well-equipped Egypt; they figured in the political struggles of Mesopotamia; and elements of their culture have travelled far and wide. Hittite influence is obtrusive in early Greek art.

An interesting and abundantly illustrated report on the work of the Chicago Expedition in 1927-28 is now before us,* in which the scientific and historical results of the explorers are fully and interestingly narrated. It is a far cry from Asia Minor to Western Europe, but, as we are told in the introductory chapter:

"During the first millennium B.C., Western peoples came for the first time into direct contact with peoples from the plains of southern Russia and from Iran. So that period witnessed the beginning of clashes between East and West, which culminated for the time being in the victory of the East in this region. But traces of Western cultural influence could never be completely

* "Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor, 1927-28," by H. H. Von der Osten. University of Chicago, Oriental Institute, Communications No. 6; Chicago University Press.

eradicated, and now a new wave of peaceful penetration has started from the West.

"So the Hittite question has now become more than a trivial, purely scientific caprice. It has become a vital point in our understanding of our own civilization. Not as a single people nor as an isolated culture problem are the Hittites of interest to us. In them we have now to see one of the most ancient historical peoples, living for nearly a thousand years in a land which played perhaps the most important part during the earliest period of the use of metal; and in addition to their native culture we shall probably find in them survivals of still older peoples, leading us as far back as the Stone Age."

This paragraph plainly expresses the realization of the importance of the contact of peoples in building up the civilization of the world. Slowly but surely modern investigators are accepting the doctrine, which it has long been fashionable amongst archæologists and anthropologists to deny, that waves of culture have spread from the great civilizations of antiquity which have shaped and modified the cardinal customs and beliefs of mankind in far distant regions which the older and cruder philosophy long persisted in regarding as the spontaneously and independently "evolved" creations of each and every civilization and race. The varied civilizations of today are complex growths in which are to be detected powerful grafts from the cultures of the ancient world. Such facts of mutual influence can be plainly read from this interesting report on a specific area, and from its 160 well-produced illustrations.

* * * * *

The discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamen in 1922 called the attention of the world to the civilization of Egypt in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and clearly demonstrated the wonderfully high level of artistic and material culture that had been attained at that period. It is not generally appreciated, however, that in many respects this high culture was inferior to that of more than a thousand years earlier, for under the powerful Kings of the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasties—a period conveniently called the Pyramid Age—a state of civilization was reached which later ages never surpassed. Under Tutankhamen and his predecessors of the Eighteenth Dynasty the city of Thebes was the capital of Egypt, but during the Pyramid Age the centre of government was in Lower Egypt, focussed in the city that

was afterwards called Memphis by the Greeks. Of the culture of this ancient capital and its times Professor Capart and Miss Marcelle Werbrouck have now provided a most readable and interesting account in the sumptuous volume now before us,* a companion to that which they published five years ago on the later city of Thebes.† All about the neighbourhood of Memphis are scattered the vast pyramids of the pharaohs, a subject of perennial interest and charm, and one also that has irresistible attractions for mystery-mongers, as the strange publications of recent years may testify. At Gizeh stand the two great pyramids of Kheops and Khephren with their smaller neighbour, that of Mykerinus, all of the Fourth Dynasty. At Sakkara are those of Zoser (the "step-pyramid") of the Third, and of Unis, the two Pepis and Teti, of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. At Abusir, at Meidum, at Dashûr, at Hawara, and at Lisht are other pyramids of various sizes and dates. Of all these the author gives us a splendid account in which the resources of air-photography and of the latest discoveries have been fully utilized. In this splendid volume of 415 quarto pages, with no less than 391 superbly produced photographs, the authors unfold the story of the rise, development, and decline of the great Pyramid Age with its wonderful achievements of art and building which had flourished and had reached old age and decline long before the historic era of Greece had begun. In a book so well written, so well illustrated, and so splendidly printed and produced, we have only one regret—there is no index. The addition of an adequate index would have greatly enhanced its usefulness.

* "Memphis: à l'Ombre des Pyramides," par Jean Capart et Marcelle Werbrouck. Bruxelles, chez Vromant et Cie. 1930.

† "Thèbes: la Gloire d'un grand Passé." See ASIATIC REVIEW, Vol. XXI, October, 1925, pp. 671-674.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

FEDERAL INDIA. By Colonel K. N. Haksar, C.I.E., and K. M. Panikkar.
(*Martin Hopkinson.*) 10s. 6d.

(*Reviewed by A. L. SAUNDERS.*)

This timely and important work is written, as is to be expected from the authors' reputation, with practical knowledge and great literary ability. Their object is to sketch the conditions of a federal system that will embrace the Indian States in an all-Indian nationality, and to forecast the lines of its development. It is admitted on all sides, they say, that "the Constitution of India, if it is to include the States, will have to be federal in form." That is true, but one may demur to their further deduction that "this implies that the Central Authority would have to be created by agreement between the federating States . . . and would exercise only the powers specifically allotted to it by the Constitution or those naturally flowing therefrom, all other powers being exercised by the constituent States." The creating Authority can only be the British Parliament, and the doctrine that ultimate and residuary powers next in the constituent States is not implied in the term "federal." According to the nomenclature of the dispute which culminated in the American Civil War, the name "federal" asserts the supreme authority of the Union, and "confederate" stands for State rights. The paramountcy of the Government of India has been lately challenged on behalf of the States before the Butler Committee, but without success. It is not so much the authority of successive Viceroys—of Hastings, Dalhousie, Curzon, and Reading—as practical necessity that entails paramountcy. It is impossible to visualize the States as independent integral sovereignties. Geographical considerations alone put that out of the question. Equally impossible, as the authors say truly, is "a unitary centralized Government for the whole of India, including the States." Federation is the only solution.

The authors make illuminating and instructive comparisons with other federal systems—the U.S.A., Imperial Germany, Australia, Switzerland, and others. Comparison with Russia is hardly possible, as there no rights, private or communal, exist outside the will of the Central Junta, whatever paper Constitutions may say. Germany is the nearest analogy; like India, its States are vastly different in size and vary in origins and history. Unfortunately it is not a very encouraging comparison. The Holy Roman Empire has been the world's greatest political failure, and Germany's relations with neighbouring nations have usually been as

aggressor or aggrieved. Federal India starts with a good working Constitution. Its weak point is the absence of an independent tribunal to enforce, *inter alia*, the rights of individual States against the Central Government. This is a real grievance, and our authors bring out with force and clearness the necessity for a Supreme Court, above the Executive, for this if for no other purpose. Such a Court, indeed, is actually at hand in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

What is specially to be commended in this book is its conciseness and directness. There is so much loose talking and thinking about India's political future that it is well to focus attention on individual problems like those of relationships with the Princes. The authors have performed this task admirably.

GULAB SINGH: FOUNDER OF KASHMIR. By K. M. Panikkar. (*Martin Hopkinson.*) 7s. 6s. net.

(Reviewed by L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

Mr. Panikkar has the pen of a ready writer, and the tale of his books is remarkable. But whether he produces a historical monograph, a political essay, or a new constitution, he is always readable and not infrequently illuminating. In the present work he has been so fortunate as to fill a distinct gap in the history of India; for Gulab Singh, though playing no inconsiderable part in the drama of his time, has so far lacked a biographer. Plenty of material has for long been available, and the only conclusion to be drawn is that hitherto no one has been sufficiently interested to undertake the task. It is true that the early nineteenth century is a depressing period in the history of the Punjab; yet during that time great events were in the womb of the future, the understanding of which depends in no small degree upon a knowledge of the circumstances of their conception. Gulab Singh was destined to occupy a position near the centre of things; and, accordingly, the record of his career is well worthy of study.

The author of this book, although no hero-worshipper, seems to me to have been infected in some degree by the partisan spirit of biography. True, he makes no attempt to depict Gulab Singh as a saint, but he finds palliation for the inexcusable in local circumstances. But is there no distinction between eminence and greatness? Eminent Gulab Singh certainly was; he excelled in just those qualities which in his day and hour were the prerequisites of success. Yet to be great, a man must measure up to the standards of greatness; and these are less dependent upon the form momentarily assumed by the struggle to survive than upon certain moral attributes. The historian is no judge, that he should condemn or acquit on the strength of the evidence before him: that is the task of the moralist. But equally should he refrain from condoning actions by referring them to standards of conduct of themselves indefensible.

Mr. Panikkar has performed his task efficiently, and has, I hope,

exploded for all time the myth of the "sale" of Kashmir. In his pages Gulab Singh stands out as a competent general, a subtle diplomat, an intelligent administrator, and a successful *arriviste*—in all four capacities well worthy of the study which Mr. Panikkar has made of him. But I do not feel I know Gulab Singh much more intimately than I did before I read the book; I only know in more detail what he did. This, it is true, is worth knowing, and I thank the author for telling me.

TALES FROM THE PANCHATANTRA. Translated from the Sanskrit by Alfred Williams. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell.) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by Miss O. NEWBOLT.)

Pathetic interest attaches to this fine translation of the fables of the Panchatantra, for the author, Mr. Alfred Williams, died in tragic circumstances shortly before the volume went to press. His life-history is one of extraordinary interest. Born of humble parentage, he worked as a blacksmith in a village near Swindon. Endowed with remarkable intellectual gifts and a delicate sense of the beauty of poetry, he studied the Classics to such good purpose that his translations into English verse earned the praise of some of the greatest scholars of the day. He was entirely self-tutored; his books were bought with what money he saved, and his only time for study was after work at the forge was ended.

It was during the war, when, having volunteered for military service, though physically unfit, he served as a gunner in India, that his interest in Oriental literature was aroused. All the keenness and energy that he had given to the study of Greek and Latin he now applied to the study of Sanskrit, and it was attended by the same measure of success. The present volume is the outcome of the labours of Mr. Williams in this field.

Had it not been for his sudden death in April, 1930, Mr. Williams' name would have appeared in the Civil Pensions List for the year, in fitting recognition of the fact that he had given himself freely so that the country might benefit by his intellectual gifts.

The Panchatantra, though one of the most famous books of all times, is not well known in England. Its original source is Indian, and it shares in common with all tales from the East the drawback, in Western eyes at least, that its character is too involved and complex to hold the interest of the reader. Each fable has an inserted and apparently disconnected inner fable which is in itself a thing complete, and these are joined up by verses and quotations which to the Western mind divert attention from the main theme and detract from the interest of the book.

Mr. Williams has surmounted this difficulty by detaching each fable from its framework and presenting it as a tale in itself. In his modest preface he frankly confesses that he has used the pruning-knife liberally;

but the pruning is so skilfully done that it in no way disfigures the original narrative.

His selection is wide and varied, and his phrasing in every case happy in its discrimination. It is easily understood how, through translations, the Panchatantra exercised such a great influence on the literature of Western Asia and mediæval Europe. Though their Oriental setting, carefully preserved by Mr. Williams, makes the tales, at first sight, unfamiliar, yet on closer examination they may be found to be the same as some of the best-known stories prevalent in Europe. For example, the fable of the mongoose has points of close similarity with the story of Gelert the hound, while neither the tale of the Geese and the Tortoise nor the Mouse and the Elephant is wholly unknown to the folklore of Europe. Each fable has its moral, though the author kindly refrains from pointing it, and each deals with human nature in all its aspects, making us realize how very much alike we are now and two thousand years ago.

It is difficult to be discriminating with so much excellent material from which to choose, but some of the wisest and most dramatic tales are told of animals. Among the best of these is the story of the Grateful Beasts and Thankless Man.

The book is further enhanced by the sympathetic illustrations in black and white by Miss Peggy Whistler. The Panchatantra in its new form is, in fact, such an attractive volume that it should become a popular favourite with the new generation as it has been for many generations in the past.

A HISTORY OF THE FINE ART IN INDIA AND CEYLON. By Vincent Smith. Second edition revised by K. de B. Codrington. (Oxford: *The Clarendon Press*, 1930.) Price £3 3s.

(Reviewed by K. M. PANIKKAR.)

The cultural and æsthetic value of Indian art was until recent times denied total recognition in Europe. The opinion was frankly expressed that no fine art worth the name existed in India. In fact, so eminent an authority and one who knew the life and character of the people of India so intimately as Sir George Birdwood declared not many years ago that sculpture and painting were "unknown as fine arts in India." Another authority declared that "the debased quality of Indian sculpture deprived it of all interest as a phase of fine art." If, with regard to the sculpture, painting and architecture of Hindustan, a different opinion is now held, that is due to the persistent efforts of a group of artists and critics who have attempted to study sympathetically and with discrimination the various aspects of Indian art and to expound its qualities with enthusiasm to the European public.

The pioneers in the field of Indian artistic research were in the main specialists. The archæologist studied the ancient monuments, classified

them, and by photographs and drawings made the work of the Indian architect available for study and appreciation. Similar was the case with paintings. The result was that a comprehensive description of the different aspects of Indian art was not available to the general public. The value of the present volume lies in this fact.

Mr. Vincent Smith was essentially a historian, whose main interest lay in the collection of available material and in its presentation in a chronologically consecutive form. This method of dealing with the art-history of India is open to many defects, but it has the great merit of relating the artistic achievements of a country to its political history, and thus of making it more intelligible to those who are not familiar with the history of India.

When the first edition of this work was published in 1911, many fields of Indian art which are now well known were still practically unexplored. At that time very little was known of the Hindu sculpture and architecture in Siam, Kambhoja, and Java. The cave paintings of Bagh and the archaeology of the South had not been taken up for detailed study. But Vincent Smith brought together from the point of view of the historian all that was known at that time, and made the results of half a century of desultory but important archaeological studies available to the general public.

The present revised edition tries to preserve the great merit of Smith's original volume, which was that it presented a conspectus of India's fine art rather than a detailed description of it. The technical analysis of the different arts and styles—of sculpture, architecture and painting—was not attempted by him. That is a work for the specialist, technically qualified in each of these branches. Vincent Smith kept strictly to the descriptive and historical treatment of his subject. Mr. Codrington has wisely preserved this characteristic of Vincent Smith's work.

In other respects the revision has been radical and thorough, and it has been done with great skill. Mr. Codrington has substantially reduced the size of the volume by eliminating a great deal of repetition which marred the interest of the original volume. Such repetition was perhaps inevitable owing to the separate treatment of the history of sculpture from the history of architecture. A more important and welcome improvement is the rearrangement of chapters and the discarding of dynastic periods as the basis of division. The rearrangement and the necessary rewriting have been done by Mr. Codrington in a manner which will elicit unstinted admiration. The changes in the text have also necessitated changes in the illustrations; their positions have been altered, and they have been placed in such a way as to help the reader better to appreciate the description. The large number of new illustrations add to the value of the book.

The editor is careful to state that the portion dealing with Indian paintings is intended only to be introductory and general. That may explain the inadequate space devoted to the description of the Bagh caves in Gwalior. The artistic importance of the paintings in the Bagh caves have only recently attracted due attention. Another and more important

point of criticism is the inadequate attention devoted to the portrait sculpture of South India. It is now known that the South Indian temple sculpture was remarkable for its magnificent portraiture of historical personages, especially the great Chola and Madura Kings. There is an allusion to the contemporary brass image of Krishna Deva Raja, but it is astonishing that no mention is made of the remarkable group of statues of the Naick Rulers of Madura. On the whole, Vincent Smith is less than just to South Indian art, both architecture and sculpture. Few who have studied the best examples of South Indian sculpture will endorse the view of the author (which evidently is accepted by Mr. Codrington also) that, though "remarkable for its enormous quantity, fantastic character, often degenerating into grotesque and marvellous elaboration, rarely, if ever, exhibits the higher qualities of art." It may be hoped that when another edition of this classic work is called for, these deficiencies will be removed. On the whole, however, it may be said that Mr. Codrington deserves every congratulation for the successful manner in which he has performed his delicate and difficult task of revising and bringing up to date a work which in spite of its defects had found acceptance among all who are interested in the study of Indian art.

MAURYAN INDIA (L'INDE AUX TEMPS DES MAURYAS). Par Louis de la Vallée Poussin. Tome VI., Histoire du Monde. (Paris: Boccard.)

(Reviewed by K. M. PANIKKAR.)

The object of the series of which the book under review is the sixth volume is to provide a compendious history of the world, written by recognized authorities on each period and country, and assimilating as far as possible the latest researches of specialists. The project is undoubtedly encyclopædic in conception, but its value depends greatly on the merit of each independent volume more than even on the general plan. Monsieur Eugène Cavaignac has been fortunate in securing the collaboration of eminent scholars, whose authority to write on the periods they have chosen would not be denied by anyone.

In the present volume Professor de la Vallée Poussin deals with the history of India from the time of Chandragupta Maurya to that of Kanishka; that is roughly 400 years (325 B.C. to A.D. 75). Of all the periods of ancient Indian history, this is perhaps the best known. In addition to the foreign sources available from the writing of Megasthenes and other Greek writers, the historian of this period is fortunate in possessing the great edicts of Asoka, and a generally reliable Buddhist tradition preserved in Pali texts. Besides, the discovery of the Arthashastra of Kautilya has helped the historian to understand the social and political organization of the period.

The period in itself is important from many other points of view. It witnessed the spread of Buddhism all over India, and the surprising missionary activity which carried the religion of the Enlightened One to the Western countries, and to Ceylon and Burma. The stupas at Sanchi and Amaravati and the great Asokan Pillars proclaim the great artistic

impulse which we associate with Buddhism. Nor was the period exclusively Buddhist in its interests. The *Bhagavata* and the *Pasupata* religion come into great prominence at this period. More important perhaps than these is the process of unification between the North and the South, which stamps this period as the most important in Indian history. It is doubtful whether in the time of Asoka Aryan influence had spread to any extent to the South. By the first century A.D. South India had definitely taken its place in the general social and political organization of India.

Monsieur de la Vallée Poussin has made full use of all available material in reconstructing for the general reader the political and religious history of India during this most important period. His work begins with a discussion of the date of Panini, which tends to be inconclusive. The argument of European writers about Panini is based on the fact that the word *yavana*, meaning Greek, occurs in the grammar. One school of writers have held that this is conclusive proof that Panini could not be earlier than Alexander, whose raid on the Punjab took place in 327 B.C. Against this point of view it is argued that the Greeks were known to India long before Alexander, and the word *yavana* itself is an adaptation of the Persian form, and was indiscriminately used for all foreigners coming from the North-West Frontier.

Monsieur de la Vallée Poussin is on firmer ground when he deals with political history. The chapters devoted to the Maurya Emperors are exhaustive both from the point of view of narration and of a discussion of bibliography. But the author is at his best on his own familiar field of Buddhist ecclesiastical history. The disquisition on Buddhism in the epoch of Asoka is an erudite and masterly survey of a very difficult subject, and will be considered by all students as the most valuable portion in the work.

Post-Mauryan political history is enshrouded in darkness, and the author makes no attempt to construct a consecutive narrative out of it. Any such attempt must largely be based on hypotheses of doubtful value. The Puranic lists of the kings who succeeded the Mauryas is discussed; but, as the author rightly remarks, the period is important not for its kings, but because it is the period "*des grands constructions bouddhiques par les dons des bourgeois et des corporations.*" The stupa of Sanchi, which is the great monument of this period, is of the highest importance both to the student of Indian art and to the historian of Buddhism. As Monsieur de la Vallée Poussin points out, the historian of Buddhism learns many things from Sanchi, notably that Buddhism was not exclusively monastic.

The chapters dealing with Barbarian invasions and of the penetration of the Greeks of Bactria are also of supreme interest. There is an excellent map which adds greatly to the value of the book.

DAWN IN INDIA. By Sir Francis Younghusband. (*John Murray.*)
10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.*)

The subtitle of this book, "British Purpose and Indian Aspiration," plainly reveals its scope and intention. It is designed to explain to readers unfamiliar with the technical details of the Indian problem the fundamental elements necessary for its appreciation. Sir Francis divides his survey into two principal portions. The longer of the two comprises twelve chapters, which deal broadly and humanly with the rise of Indian nationalism out of the conditions produced by British rule, as well as with the difficulties, communal, political, and military, which must be dealt with before the national movement can achieve its aspirations. The second and shorter portion of the book consists of seven chapters, treating of those elements necessary to complete the picture in certain respects. At first sight, there would appear but little in common between chapters devoted successively to Indian spirituality, to Tagore, to Gandhi, to Indian women, to Radhakrishnan, and to Sadhu Sundar Singh, just as there would seem little reason, in a book devoted so largely to an estimation of moral values, to name the first portion "Political," while confining the title "Spiritual" to the second portion. But the author has a definite ideal behind this somewhat elastic arrangement, which comes to light plainly in the last chapter. He discerns, in the connection of Britain with India, the purposeful working of a great world-process, having for its object the union of all that is best in the East and in the West for the creation of spiritual conditions more perfect than those which now exist.

"England and India," Sir Francis writes, "both think that they have a mission from God. But this does not mean that either one or the other must be wrong. Both may be right. They may clash at times, but the clash will only result in a purification of motive and a higher aspiration. Both may have a mission from God. And they may unite. British purpose in India may combine with Indian purpose in India. And both may be harmonized with that Divine purpose which is actuating the universe. Both may be making towards the Kingdom of God."

It is this lofty conception that underlies the main purpose of the book, which is an appeal for comradeship between the peoples of the two countries. Sir Francis does not minimize the difficulties that will have to be faced and overcome before a better understanding between Britain and India can be established; but he emphasizes a truth which is hardly to be repeated too often—namely, that the present unhappy alienation of sympathies depends far more upon spiritual than upon material factors. He believes, and I think he is right in believing, that the hard and indeed brutal facts of which we hear so much can only be mitigated if Britain and India jointly determine neither to evade them nor to be mastered by them, but to subdue them to a common purpose. If once the spirit of comradeship, which still today fortunately unites

so many individual Indians and Britons, can be extended from the sphere of private relationships into the realm of public life, it is certain that difficulties now apparently insoluble can be attacked in a manner which will reveal them for what they are—elements, and formidable elements, in the problem, but not the problem itself.

It is only necessary to say of this noble book that it is likely to contribute more directly than anything else as yet written to the achievement of this purpose.

AN INDIAN PLAY IN LONDON: THE TOY-CART.

The story of the love of a rich courtesan for a poor but upright Brahmin is one of the most popular themes in India. The *Mrichakati* of King Sudraka, translated for the English stage as *Toy-Cart*, by Arthur Symons, owes its popularity to the touching simplicity of the episode and the charm and personality of the characters in the story. Of all the Indian classical dramas, the *Toy-Cart* is undoubtedly the most suited to the English tastes, and Arthur Symons' translation keeps in an extraordinary degree the beauty of the original.

Its presentation at the Lyric by Sir Nigel Playfair (in conjunction with Franklin Dyall and Arthur Hardy) left nothing to be desired from the point of view of reproducing on the English stage the atmosphere of the period with which the play deals. Franklin Dyall as Chamdatta and Arthur Hardy as Maitreya seem to have caught the spirit of Brahminhood; and their interpretation of the characters was not merely convincing, but altogether in tune with the whole conception of the play. Miss Madeleine Carroll in the rôle of Vasant Sena played that difficult part brilliantly, and the success of the play was mainly due to her exceptional talents.

We hope that the crowded houses which witnessed the performance and the large measure of popularity it achieved during the week it was performed will persuade Mr. Franklin Dyall to produce it again at an early date in a West End theatre. A play like the *Toy-Cart* deserves wider appreciation, which it would no doubt receive if produced on the London stage.

K. M. P.

THE KEY OF PROGRESS. A Survey of the Status and Conditions of Women in India. (*Oxford University Press.*)

(Reviewed by J. A. RICHEY.)

People in England and America who read "*Mother India*" must have felt the need of a more detailed and dispassionate presentment of the facts. They will be grateful to the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, and to Miss Caton and her collaborators for the production of the "*Key of Progress*." This book presents an authorita-

tive statement of the position of women in India today, drawn partly from published material, partly from answers to a comprehensive questionnaire which has been widely circulated in India. It deals in separate chapters with education, health and sanitation, women in public life, home and marriage, women in rural life, women in industry, and social evils. Each of these chapters has been written by or in collaboration with recognized experts. Each chapter contains a description of the present position, supported by statistics, and constructive proposals for improvement. The final chapter summarizes these proposals, and there are two appendices dealing with the dependants of Indian soldiers and the Report of the Simon Commission in so far as its recommendations affect Indian women.

The book is carefully documented, and contains an excellent bibliography for the use of those who wish to study different aspects of the problem.

In a book of this size there is no room for the description of particular cases or for appeals to sentiment, but there is no lack of vivid writing, and Miss Caton has succeeded in avoiding the pitfall of the bluebook style.

Lady Irwin in a foreword writes: "I am profoundly convinced that the future of that great country largely depends on the education and welfare of the women of India, and I have found that this view is widely shared by both men and women in India."

This survey establishes clearly that the chief obstacles to progress are the weight of social tradition, reinforced among large sections of the people by religious sanction, and the lack of adequate public funds to develop the social services. The very antiquity of the forms of Hindu civilization, of which Indians are justly proud, adds enormously to the strength of those conservative forces which are opposed to social reform. It is no easy task to uproot a custom, such as that of early marriage, which has persisted untouched by political and economic changes for more than two thousand years. About 9 per cent. of Indian girls are married before the age of ten and 50 per cent. before the age of fifteen. Again, "poverty is the most fundamental and widespread of India's problems." The poverty of the Indian peasant is proverbial, and 87 per cent. of the population of British India live in villages. "The value of India's average yield per acre has been computed to be half that of Italy, two-fifths that of France, one-third that of Egypt, and only a quarter that of Japan." The significance of these facts is apparent when it is realized that land revenue provides the bulk of the local and provincial funds from which the education and health services are maintained. In the past the available resources have been chiefly devoted to meet the more insistent demands for boys' education, but the Hartog Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission has definitely recommended that "in the interest of the advance of Indian education as a whole, priority should now be given to the claims of girls' education in every scheme of expansion."

This authoritative pronouncement is of happy augury for the future.

Another hopeful sign, to which frequent reference will be found in this book, is the emergence of a body of enlightened Indian ladies, voicing in the Press and on the platform the claims of Indian womanhood. "The women's movement does not lack leaders at this stage, and their influence is great in proportion to their numbers; it is to be hoped that these will continue to be forthcoming as the scope of activities widens. Perhaps the most fundamental need is that of spadework. The education, health and welfare of Indian women, urban and rural, depend ultimately on the service of members of their own sex."

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

BY SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.

[“The Government of India have invited Sir Arthur Salter, the Director of the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, to visit India in order that they may consult him.”—*Times*, December 2.]

ECONOMIC conditions in India call for most anxious attention, as just now the phenomenal slump in world prices for all commodities has seriously lowered the value of India's agricultural exports, and simultaneously a civil disobedience movement, prompted by political considerations and aimed at the destruction of British trade, has damaged and is still actively damaging the whole economic organization of the country. As the financial member of the Governor-General's Council said in August last: “At a time when India would have suffered in any case from the restriction of her export market, she has to bear the additional paralyzation of her home market. This double shock must have effects which may last for a long time.” Nor is this all, for the difficulties of the present and future are aggravated by the unemployment, or scarcity of remunerative employment, which hangs like a heavy cloud over dense populations in certain areas and has long depressed the educated middle class. “Everything in short,” write the Linlithgow Commission, “that we have advocated for the material advancement of the people will merely postpone the effects of the growing pressure of the population on the soil.” So much for the rural masses; and Professor Coatman's “India in 1928-9” tells us that unemployment among the educated classes constitutes a problem which is becoming more and more serious every year. “Higher education is still predominantly of the literary type, and the majority of graduates look either to the law or to some form of clerical employment for a livelihood. Probably nine graduates in ten of Indian universities look to Government service in the first place for a living; and if they are disappointed in their hopes in this quarter, their outlook is not a very promising one. Every year the universities, colleges, and high schools turn out many thousands of educated youths in excess of Government or public jobs available. Among the members of what we might term the educated middle class there is undeniably severe distress on account of unemployment,

and in very many cases, even when employment has been found, its remuneration is very meagre and often less than that obtained by the higher classes of artisans.

"Obviously new avenues of employment are needed; and the growth of Indian industry and the rise of new forms of industry in this country ought to provide these openings in future."

Let us take the case for the masses first. In their chapter headed "*Rural Industries and Labour*" the Linlithgow Commission show that from the agricultural point of view the problem is to lessen the pressure on the land, and more especially the extreme pressure in Bihar, in the deltaic areas of Bengal and Madras, and in four divisions of the United Provinces. There is no reason to expect that large-scale industry will develop in these areas to an extent capable of offering agriculturists an alternative of permanent industrial employment. Some development of industries concerned with the primary processing of agricultural products may be expected, but will be seasonal in character, and will therefore only afford part-time occupations for a small number of cultivators. The essential condition for relieving the pressure on land is mobility, and the question arises how far the free movement of populations is impeded by Government regulations, defective communications, or their own inertia. No impediment is offered anywhere in India to a labourer migrating on his own initiative and at his own expense; but there are statutory obstacles to recruitment for the Assam tea-gardens which, the Commission think, might be withdrawn. They observe that, although communications in India by road, rail and river are now sufficiently good to secure for labour full mobility over long distances, and travelling is cheap enough to allow labour to move with ease every year between North Bihar and Calcutta, Orissa and Calcutta, Bombay City and the rural districts, from the uplands of the Madras Presidency to the rice lands of the Kistna and Godaveri deltas, and more permanently between Madras and Burma, and from the Chota Nagpore plateau to the tea gardens of Assam and the Bengal Duars, permanent migration does not take place to anything like the extent which might have been expected, in view of considerable seasonal migration and of the congestion of rural populations in various parts of the country. This inertia is due first to the reluctance of cultivators to leave their holdings, however small, even though they may have to supplement their incomes by working as labourers, and

next to their indebtedness to village money-lenders who for obvious reasons put every possible obstacle in the way of emigration. "Then too," say the Commission, "there is the important factor of ill-health. A population which suffers extensively from chronic malaria and hookworm cannot be expected to display that energy which would accept and triumph over the risks incidental to the pioneer. . . . In certain areas migration is impeded by malaria or want of water. Such conditions should be investigated and improved and definite schemes of colonization should be introduced."

It is obvious, however, that no schemes of colonization of waste lands or disafforested areas can be worked in India without considerable State expense, and that any scheme can only prove effective if the particular people concerned are likely to make good emigrants. In capacity of this kind Indian populations vary considerably.

Skilled or unskilled labourers who can pay their own way can leave India when they please. But since the passing of the Act of 1922 the emigration overseas of assisted skilled or unskilled labour has for political reasons been so strictly controlled by the State that for the purpose of relieving congested populations it has ceased to count. On this subject the Linlithgow Commission comment at length from the point of view that every possible avenue to a better life should be freely opened to the labourer. They further note the increasing fragmentation of the holdings of agriculturists and the desirability of providing subsidiary employment in the villages. Mr. Gandhi's prescription is the universal use of the spinning wheel and the revival of the wear of "khaddar" (hand-spun and hand-woven cloth). This, he contends, not only affords the simplest and quickest means of utilizing idle manpower, but can solve the problem of "the educated youth wandering aimlessly in search of employment." Unfortunately, however, spinning attracts neither the average peasant nor the educated youth. The hand-loom industry is still of great importance to the national economy, but is unremunerative, and fails to supply wear which can on its own merits compete in popularity with factory products and foreign fabrics. The whole question of subsidiary or home industries is fully discussed by the Linlithgow Commission, who make useful suggestions.

We come now to the old and difficult problem—how to provide for "the educated youth wandering aimlessly in search of employment." On January 28, 1926, this question

was fully discussed in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi on the motion of a private member. The Government was enjoined to "grapple with the evil." Instructive speeches were made by Mr. Calvert, Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab, and by Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, a veteran Bengali politician. The former pointed out that in all factories in India for every 100 persons employed, 3 held superior posts, 26 represented skilled labour and 71 unskilled labour. There was practically no unemployment among skilled labour, and in the Punjab, at any rate, a sufficient supply of unskilled labour could not be found within the boundaries of the province. If it were desired to find further employment for persons who aspired to hold superior posts of direction and supervision, capital, enterprise, confidence, and labour, skilled and unskilled, must be procured and got together. The potential capital was there. Only the other day the financial member of the Governor-General's Council had told them that there were about 22 crores of rupees ($16\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling) in the post office savings bank which might be directed to industrial enterprises *if there were more confidence*. In the last forty years, too, the amount of gold absorbed in India was 484 crores. If only a portion of this had come into the country in the form of machinery for industries, there would not have been this complaint of unemployment. The capital in Government investments in railways and canals approached 600 crores, whereas the total paid up capital of all joint stock industrial companies was only a little over 100 crores. So the Government was the largest employer of labour in India. What was needed in the country was not merely search for employment, but *resolution to find work by personal enterprise*. The idea of foreign capital being invested in India and providing employment there was disliked. But if local capital hung back, why should foreign capital not come forward as, in fact, the opportunities for local enterprise were limitless? New industries were springing up in Punjab villages, but when you saw a small village foundry, or a flour mill or oil engine driving a chaff-cutter, you found that the person in charge was not a college youth, but an ironsmith or a carpenter. The real problem was to get together capital of which there was plenty, enterprise which was not so plentiful, skilled labour of which there was a marked scarcity, *and the confidence of the investing public*.

Various speakers attributing unemployment to foreign rule and to defects in the existing systems of education

charged the Government with "utter disregard of this vital question." The late Lala Lajput Rai said that, although the standard of comfort and life had risen, the masses were not so prosperous as they were supposed to be, and the educated classes in particular were suffering a great deal from lack of employment because they had been brought up under a system which unfitted them for any practical work in life, taking them away from their old occupations, but not fitting them for new and economically profitable pursuits. A different note, however, was struck by Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal. The middle class, he said, was that class which had engaged itself for generations past in literary or quasi-literary pursuits. Middle class unemployment was not only an economic but also a political problem, as a discontented, disappointed middle class caused unrest lower down and created revolution. The problem in India was largely due to the mentality of the middle classes themselves. "The young man," he said, "who is turned out of our colleges and universities does not wish to engage himself in hard manual labour; he wants to be the head of other labourers; he wants to be a boss of labour, and not a real labourer himself. . . . Unless you are able to change the mentality of our people, unless we change the entire social system which is not democratic or socialistic in the sense in which these things are understood in other parts of the world, it will not be possible to solve this question."

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal and Mr. Calvert between them take us to the root of the trouble, to the hereditary predilection of the middle classes for an arts or literary education, to the general ambition for Government service or a career at the Bar, to the lack of enterprise in Indian capital. The avenues to Government service and to the legal profession have long been thronged. So too is the Bar itself, particularly in Bengal. In 1913 its overgrowth not only at all districts, but also at subdivisional headquarters, was deplored by the Bengal District Administration Committee as creating a large section of unhappy and discontented persons. This state of affairs has not improved with time, and, combined with overcrowded colleges and Anglo-vernacular schools, goes far to account for the gradual extension of Bengali revolutionary propaganda. It is idle to blame persistently the British Government for defects in the educational system. From 1854 it was foreseen that, to quote from Sir Charles Wood's famous despatch, success or failure must rest with the people themselves. Long before 1921 the Government's earnest

desire and effort was to raise standards, to broaden instruction, to enlist non-official co-operation; and since 1921 education (general and technical) has been a transformed subject directed by universities and by ministers responsible to the provincial Legislative Councils. The results can be gathered from the Interim (Educational) Report of the Indian Statutory Commission published in September, 1929. Hereditary tendencies, pointed out by Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, largely maintain their power. Attention has been paid by ministers in the major provinces and by the Central Government to the pioneering of industries; and partly with the view of opening fresh careers to the English-educated, the Central Government in 1923 assented to political demands for a frankly protective tariff policy, despite their own grave doubts as to its suitability for Indian interests generally. Yet in spite of all these efforts, unemployment among the middle classes remains a running sore which has now been seriously inflamed by the economic results of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

So far we have referred to Government publications. But this year has produced "*Rusticus Loquitur*," or the Old Light and the New, a diary by Mr. M. L. Darling, I.C.S., Registrar of Co-operative Societies, of a tour in eleven out of the twenty-five districts of the Punjab. In its vivid pages the peasant, the "pir" (religious teacher), the landholder, the educated matriculate, the graduate, the ex-soldier, the country doctor, the village elders, and others speak for themselves and give us their views regarding the problems that interest them. We see the old ideas struggling with the new. Too frequently, in spite of voluminous blue-books, we can only guess vaguely what the country people think about well-meant efforts to lighten their burdens; but now we hear voices, we are given pictures. Mr. Darling writes of a village in the Attock district: "In conclusion, we asked the tenants what they knew about their rulers. The first said he knew the patwari (village accountant) and the Kanungo (inspector of patwaris), but beyond that *nothing*. Another could go as far as Lahore; a third admitted that he did not know who was King. 'I do not even know his name.' The best informed knew the whole official ladder and took in a vernacular paper." "Interest in politics is," says an ex-soldier, "confined to the few who read the vernacular papers; the rest neither know nor care about the outside world." The peasant votes to help a friend or support his community, but he looks on the effort as a day lost—for what good does

he get from it? "Far more important to him than politics is 'guzara'—his means of livelihood." This occupies his mind and his body.

Mr. Darling observes that even in the more prosperous areas the peasant is hard put to it to live for any time in comfort, and in congested parts most families sooner or later find themselves with too many mouths to feed. As a result, there has been a continuous stream of emigration from the central districts; about 4,000 went in 1926-7 from Hoshiarpur and Jullundur, and far more would go if the doors of the more attractive countries were opened wider. Experience in the Punjab has been that most emigrants return often with considerable capital, able to sink wells, buy good oxen, and shake off the money-lender or even become money-lenders themselves. On the whole the verdict of the countryside is that emigration makes a man more intelligent, keener on clean surroundings and on education, and a better neighbour. The returned emigrant often employs new methods in cultivation. Before the war the United States was the first choice of the virile energetic men who went from the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. Australia was the second choice. But now that these outlets are closed, more have been going to Kenya and Fiji than elsewhere.

Another outlet for Sikhs, Rajputs, and Muhammadans in this province is military service; and experiences in the Great War have impressed on old soldiers the importance of co-operation and combination. In the eastern portion of the province the new light that has come with the spread of irrigation, the improvement of communications, education, the lessons learnt through emigration and service abroad, and, above all, with the self-help taught and fostered by the co-operative credit and "better living" movements which owe so much to the drive and initiative of Strickland, Calvert and Darling, as well as to that ardent crusader Mr. Brayne, burns more brightly than it does in the western districts. But even there "dwellings are cleaner and their carefully ordered interiors often show a feeling for beauty expressed in the Attock peasant's remark that a man who found nothing beautiful in a house would leave it spitting." Nowhere, however, can it be said that higher education and the matriculate's career are regarded with favour by the rural population, for the matriculate, as a cultivator, is a failure, and a large proportion of these unfortunates spend their time in playing cards and loafing. One village indeed of 2,200 inhabitants

has thirty-five matriculates and four graduates who have all found employment, but elsewhere many have been driven back to their fields by sheer necessity. The view seems to be commonly held that a boy is spoilt for agriculture unless educated only up to the lower middle standard, simply in the vernacular. Less than this is time wasted, for a boy who does not go beyond the primary classes soon forgets to read and write.

"*Rusticus Loquitur*" proves that the grip which fatalism has so long exercised over the peasant's mind has been loosened in the Punjab. Wise and generous government can assist the process. A darker side of the picture is the fact that "old courtesies between the two great communities are being undermined by the communalistic tendencies of the time." A Muhammadan landlord reproaches the Government for introducing Council elections: "If you give your vote for one side you are accounted an enemy to the other; even if you drink tea with an acquaintance it is the same. The Government has done a bad think to bring this in, and in doing so has not thought of the landholder."

In other provinces where climates and traditions are less bracing, populations do not contain such enterprising and hardy elements as those which are conspicuous in the Punjab. Fatalism and prejudices against manual labour are more difficult to overcome. In a remarkable closing chapter on "*Religion and Economics*" Mr. Darling explains the vast importance of the co-operative movement to which he has rendered such devoted service. It contains the seeds of progress in many directions. We venture to express the hope that Sir Arthur Salter's attention will be given not only to the special difficulties of the present, but also to the permanent anxieties of the future. He will certainly understand these better if he reads Mr. Darling's book.

GREAT BRITAIN AND INDUSTRIALIZATION IN INDIA

BY JOHN DE LA VALETTE

BOTH immediately and potentially India is the country which offers the greatest scope to British industry and financial enterprise. With a foreign trade of nearly 450 millions sterling, she ranks sixth among the nations of the world, being surpassed only by such highly-developed countries as Great Britain, the United States of America, Germany and France, as well as closely approaching Canada. If her problems are squarely faced, if the trends of her development and the tendencies which are shaping her destiny are carefully read, if in moulding her future both politically and economically men on all sides will be guided by the wisdom which comes from knowing the past, and inspired by the energy which flows from believing in the future, India will be a factor of immense strength in the affairs not only of this country, but of the British Empire, nearly three-fourths of whose people live within the vast sub-continent that is India. Low though the average standard of living of her people may as yet be, the aggregate needs of 320 million human beings must count materially in the economy of the world. Thus an average daily expenditure of barely one halfpenny per head accounts for India's total consumption of imported goods of some 190 millions sterling. Every farthing added to this average means almost another 100 millions a year! In what other country, except China, do we find anything approaching these possibilities? And China—for who knows how long?—is out of the running. Let us then begin by appreciating that in any process towards the recovery of British prosperity, her economic relations with India must be a factor of capital importance. The problem is to decide in what direction the possibilities can be realized.

We went to India to trade; as traders we remained there, and it is instinctively of trade that we think as soon as we start considering our economic relations with India. So far as the past is concerned, this was not unreasonable. Apart from the plantation industries, which were, after all, but a gradual expansion of our trading interests and are still largely controlled by trading concerns, it is mainly in the

jute industry that British interests have an appreciable stake in the production processes of India. What we must ask ourselves is whether we can afford to continue such an ill-balanced business policy, and whether, even if we desire this, we can thereby maintain our position in India's trade.

The fact is that since fifty years and more our share in India's imports has been declining. Up to that time it was always over three-fourths of the total. Just before the war we were still accounting for 64 per cent. of the aggregate. Since the war the decline has been accentuated until in 1928-29 we only supplied 44.7 per cent. Thus, whilst between 1913 and 1929 India's imports grew in value from 137½ millions sterling to almost 190 millions, the value of British goods imported into India actually declined in absolute figures from 87¾ millions to 84¾. On the other hand, during the same period the imports from all other countries rose from not quite 50 millions to 105 millions. To this result our principal industrial competitors—Germany, the United States of America, Japan, and Italy—contributed materially by increasing their aggregate share.

Nor is the picture any more encouraging if we review the principal items of our export trade to India separately. Between the years 1913 and 1929 our share of the *Iron and Steel* trade dropped from about 70 per cent. to 64½ per cent., while Belgium's proportion rose from 11½ to 20 per cent. In *Machinery* we came down from 90 to less than 77 per cent., whereas the United States raised their contribution from 3.3 to 11.3 per cent., and Germany regained her pre-war position. Among *Hardware* suppliers our share of more than 57 per cent. was reduced to 36, the United States increasing hers from 9.7 to 11.7 per cent. and Germany hers from 18 to over 32. Perhaps the most glaring instance is to be found in the trade in *Motor Vehicles*. In 1913 we accounted for more than 71 per cent. of India's imports of motor vehicles. By 1929 our proportion had dropped below 21 per cent. America's share during this period rose from 15 to 47 per cent., and American branch industries in Canada supplied an additional 25 per cent., thus bringing the aggregate for American cars to 72 per cent. of the total. We shall refer to this point again. In regard to textiles we have been no more successful. Of the supply of *Cotton Goods* we held at one time a virtual monopoly. In the last pre-war year our share was still over nine-tenths of the total. Since then it has steadily shrunk, until last year we supplied no more than 71 per cent. Against this Japan improved her

position from less than 2 to over 18 per cent. In *Silk Manufactures* our modest 9 per cent. of the trade was reduced by two-thirds, while China and Italy improved their aggregate from 27 to 37 per cent. Similar instances might be given of the Paper trade, of China and Glassware, and many another item of our Indian trade. One and all they illustrate the indisputable fact that over a long range of years, though more markedly since the war, our export trade to India has been declining.

The problem which this country has to face is: Can this decline be arrested, or are the causes such as must needs accentuate the process? In such case, are we to accept the position, or is there a way in which we can obtain compensation for such further falling off in trade as may be inevitable? So far neither of these questions has been considered by those most interested in their solution with that cold, detached judgment which alone will enable the real answers to be obtained. It is time they did so, for the rest of the world is not waiting for us to find out our mistakes, but is briskly taking advantage of them.

Unless there is direct interference with foreign imports, as in Russia, or practical obstacles hamper trade, as in China, there are only two reasons why other countries do not buy the goods we are so anxious to sell them: either people do not want our goods, or they cannot pay for them. That they should not, or no longer, want our particular goods can only be due to one of two causes: they no longer desire these, or they can obtain similar goods cheaper elsewhere. Of the former we have a clear example in the motor trade. There can be little dispute that in recent years British motor manufacturers have outdesigned and outbuilt both their Continental and American competitors in the production of cars specially adapted to the road conditions of this country and its existing forms of taxation on the use of motor-cars. So far, however, none of them has designed a car which is precisely suitable to the road and general conditions obtaining in overseas countries. The time when we supplied nearly three-fourths of the motor vehicles imported in India were the days when cars were a luxury. High prices were no obstacle, and the limited range of use enabled our products to gain a well merited supremacy. The Americans, having to some extent similar conditions in their own country as obtain in the British Dominions or India, have built to these requirements. Apart from price, their type of car was bound to oust ours. In cotton goods, apart from such local and temporary effect as the political

vagaries of a small part of the Indian population may exercise just now, we have been losing trade on the ground of price. Our cost of production has been, and is increasingly becoming, excessive compared to our principal competitors. In iron and steel, machinery, paper, glass or chinaware and a number of other items, our quality is highly approved, but our prices are not competitive. India's population is poor. I have mentioned the half-penny per head per day it spends on imported goods. To supply its masses the cheap article is essential.

Britain's high cost of production is the main obstacle to our success in exporting to India. Even if we reduce the quality of our products, can we meet the competition we have to face? That competition is twofold: it comes from other industrialized countries and from India's increasing domestic industry. Compared with both, this country is handicapped by burdens which our competitors do not have to shoulder. Foremost among these are: Crushing national and municipal taxation; ill-considered interference with the conduct of industry through a needless multiplication of rules and regulations; and, not least, a growing disproportion between rates of wages and rates of production per head.

No one will deny that taxes and rates in this country are in excess of those in any other country. In competing with America, Germany, Japan, Italy, Belgium, and all our other industrial rivals, the leaden weight of our excessive national expenditure is a crippling handicap.

Compared with the crushing burden of excessive taxation, the strangling entanglement of industrial rules and regulations, with their concomitant host of controllers and supervisors, may seem a small evil. Yet in its hindering of the most economical conduct of business it places a serious strain on British industry in its competition with less harassed countries. When margins of competitive superiority are being pared down to a minimum, these additional burdens may tip the scales dead against us.

In regard to wages, it is all to the good of the country as a whole that during the past forty years the average rates of weekly wages should have risen more than the cost of living. What is less satisfactory is the rise in money-rates of wages compared with the rise in wholesale cost of goods. There are few manufactured goods produced in this country which nowadays command prices more than 50 to 80 per cent. in excess of pre-war figures, and many cannot do as well. It is with this level that we have to compare the rise in money-

wages to get at the effect it has upon our export trade. The weekly pay of unskilled labour has on an average increased 130 per cent., and that for skilled labour 106 per cent. At the same time, the average working hours per week have gone down by 15 per cent., or nearly one whole day out of six working days. Taking this into account, the cost of labour weighs upon the total cost of production to an extent of something like 121 per cent. for skilled and about 150 per cent. for unskilled labour in excess of pre-war conditions. We have only to a limited extent followed the American method of building up high wages on increased output per man by intensified mechanization.

In this connection British industrialists have been reproached with not being sufficiently up-to-date in their equipment and production methods. In some cases the reproach may be deserved. But in a general way, are they to blame? When earnings are drastically reduced by excessive and non-productive taxation; when the accumulation of capital is not merely penalized, but rendered almost impossible by confiscatory death duties; when the continuance of measures designed to safeguard threatened industries and proved effective as such is made doubtful by the interplay of party politics—how can we expect industrialists to have the courage or financiers to find the means with which alone the bases of certain industrial undertakings can be relaid?

In any case, there is a limit to the compensation which can be afforded by increasing output in order to escape the burden of inflated wages. That limit is reached when over-production begins, or, as some would prefer to style it, under-consumption—consumption, that is, limited not by cessation of wants or needs, but by ability to pay. When that point begins to be approached the true remedy is not a further increase in production, but a reduction in cost of production without increase of output. And then one of the principal items to be cut down is the cost of labour. Will the Trade Unions of this country show any clearer understanding of stern necessities than they have displayed in the past? There are no signs of it. In Germany the position is different. The leaders of the people have realized the urgent need for economy; and, temporarily short-circuiting Parliament, the German Government has taken the lead in a series of drastic and most unpopular reductions of national expenditure, all other sections of the community being forced to follow suit. As Sir Philip

Dawson, that great expert on Continental industrial affairs, recently remarked* in dealing with the various measures in this respect which Germany is now taking: "Their result will be to bring down the cost of production in Germany, and industry fully understands that it must also reduce home selling prices. German industry will thus be placed in a far better position to compete in the world's markets than it is to-day." Where do we find any approach to this outlook in this country? What prospect is there of our adopting anything like these heroic remedies?

In the meantime countries with lower levels of wages and a lighter burden of taxation, including India herself with her growing domestic industries, are enabled to cut deeply into our export trades.

Is there no way in which we can obtain some compensation for our inevitable loss? Yes, there is a remedy. Since India can no longer afford to buy British wares made in Britain, let us assist India in building up by co-operation between British and Indian capital, between British and Indian management, and with so much British labour as India may need, those industries which, being based upon the natural advantages of India, are bound sooner or later to grow up in that country. At the recent Imperial Conference Sir Geoffrey Corbett stated very clearly the tariff policy which India is following to stimulate her natural industries. "Our policy of 'discriminating protection,'" he said, "has been aimed solely at increasing the wealth of our people, and increased wealth means increased purchase power." And that discriminating policy, Sir Geoffrey went on to point out, was based upon a very sound foundation: "First the industry must possess natural advantages, such as an abundant supply of raw material, cheap power, a sufficient supply of labour, or a large home market; and, secondly, the industry must show that it will eventually be able to face world competition without protection. . . . It has been possible for us, entirely in our interests, to adopt a system of differential duties which adequately protects our own industries, and at the same time enables British goods to compete on better terms with foreign goods in the large market that remains to them." Could anything be clearer? Could any hint be broader as to the direction in which Britain should develop her economic relations with India?

By helping India—with British capital and British indus-

* "The Economic and Political Position of Germany," by Sir Philip Dawson, M.P., *English Review*, December, 1930.

trial and financial experience—to develop the industries which can be built up in India on natural advantages, we achieve three definite results: (1) We maintain an interest in those industries in which we should otherwise gradually lose all stake; (2) we raise the level of production in India; with it we raise the standard of living directly among the industrial population and indirectly among the agriculturists who supply the former with many of their requirements, thus increasing India's purchasing power; and (3) we establish such reciprocal relations with India that we are bound to benefit as compared to our foreign competitors in the supply of all those goods which cannot profitably be manufactured in India.

Elsewhere* I have drawn attention to the advantages which the British export trade to South America has reaped from the close ties which exist between several of those countries and England by reason of our great stake in their industries and enterprises. We can do the same with India and on a much safer basis. If in developing her industries India has the support of British capital and British financial and industrial experience, if Englishmen and Indians co-operate in the control and management of those industries, what more natural than that the requirements in plant, machinery, equipment, and maintenance will, for preference, be purchased in Britain? What more natural, too, than that in such case India, in framing future tariff and industrial legislation, will, after her own needs, consider first of all this country? Thus we shall build up a privileged position in regard to the supply of all those goods which an enriched India will require, but cannot produce at home.

It would appear advisable, then, for British industrialists and financiers to look in future upon India, not primarily as a country to which we desire to export, but as one the natural industries of which it is our duty and our interest to develop to the fullest extent possible in wholehearted co-operation with Indian interests.

And let us bear in mind that we are not discussing what British industry might prefer to do. It is Hobson's choice that lies before it. We can, of course, refrain from taking part in the inevitable growth of Indian industrialization. But that will not preserve our trade in those branches in which it is already threatened. If we refrain from assisting Indians in the aim which, with the full support of the British Indian Government as well as of the Rulers and Govern-

* "The Economic Prospect before the Indian States," by John de La Valette, *Papers on Indian States Development*, East and West, Ltd., 1930.

ments in the Indian States, they have set themselves—namely, to develop those industries which enjoy natural advantages in India—they will apply to others, less short-sighted than we. Those others would reap according to their sowing. So should we. Our assistance in building up Indian industries would speed up development in India. But our abstention would not prevent the inevitable growth of such industries. For the loss of goodwill and friendly co-operation which the latter course would entail, the slight retardation in the progress of India's industrialization would be scanty compensation.

American industries have been faced with similar, if less vast, problems. They, too, have had to decide whether they would lose certain export trades to foreign competitors or manufacture abroad. They resolved upon the latter course, and they have correspondingly benefited. We need not imitate their mistake in ignoring the value of co-operation with national elements, but we should not despise the general principle upon which they have acted. If we close our eyes to facts, the Americans will do what we might have done.

Even without such assistance Indians will achieve their object. They have the example of Japan before their eyes, and they start with greater advantages: with a much more highly trained personnel; with an ampler supply of raw materials; with an existing nucleus of several industries which need only be expanded to assume substantial proportions; and, not the least, with a home market of 320 million people. We may then conclude by saying that India can greatly benefit by our aid in developing her industries, if that aid is promptly forthcoming. But even without it she will advance towards her goal. It is of the highest importance that the process of building up India's future as a producing country should be shaped in such a manner as to consolidate rather than to weaken the strong ties which link India with Britain, not only in the interest of both countries, but of the British Empire as a whole. That is why Britain should foster India's industrialization.

WHAT BRITAIN HAS MEANT TO MALAYA

BY HUBERT S. BANNER, B.A., F.R.G.S.

(Author of "Romantic Java," "A Tropical Tapestry," "Red Cobra,"
"The Mountain of Terror," etc.)

DEALING in generalities for a start, it may be broadly stated that Malaya offers in a concise, easily-grasped form a model example of the benefits British civilization can confer upon an alien people when administered by men of tact and wide sympathies. And how highly necessary those qualities are in Malaya is evident when we remember the cosmopolitan nature of the population, which consists for a great part of such widely divergent elements as Malays, Chinese and Tamils, with the addition of considerable numbers of Europeans of various races, Anglo-Indians, Punjabis, Sikhs, Siamese, Japanese, Arabs, Sinhalese and Javanese, not to mention the tribes of aborigines who lead a nomadic existence in the forests in certain districts.

Perhaps a few words about these different constituents of the population may be in place here.

The earliest inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula, so far as can be ascertained, were the Semang, a Negrito race displaying marked affinities with the Betas of the Philippines, and of these the last census, taken in 1921, revealed the existence of some two thousand. The Semang are certainly Malaya's most primitive surviving race; they practise no agriculture whatever, live on fruits and the flesh of wild animals—monkeys, for a large part—and know no religion save a form of nature-worship, paying allegiance to personifications of the great mysterious forces of nature amid which they have their being. The other chief people among the aborigines is that known as the Sakai, a race inhabiting the mountain ranges from Kuala Kangsar southward to Selangor. Primitive they certainly are also, though indisputably superior in culture to the Semang. The usually accepted theory of their origin, resting mainly on linguistic grounds, is that they belonged to the Mon-Khmer group, and were driven southwards from Indo-China by the conquering Thai peoples. Then there are, in Negri Sembilan and Johore, folk known as Jakun, or Biduanda, whose speech bears certain close resemblances to Malay. Though not properly to be classed as aborigines, these people must distinctly be reckoned as "primitives,"

and the best classification for them seems to be that of Proto-Malays.

The origin of the Malays themselves is a moot question, since they have no reasonable explanation to offer of themselves beyond that they had their beginnings in the two Sumatra districts of Palembang and Menangkabau, whereas to a trained eye their facial characteristics seem to point indisputably to the presence of both Mongolian and Aryan blood. The theory most generally held, therefore, is that the modern Malay is descended from a Proto-Malay or Indonesian race which inhabited Borneo and Sumatra before they became separated by sea, and that this Indonesian race still survives comparatively pure in the Toalas and Torajas of Celebes, the Tenggerese of Java, the Gayos of Sumatra, the Veddas of Ceylon, and certain tribes of the Philippines.

Practically all the immigrant Chinese in Malaya belong to one of the five peoples known as Hokkiens, Cantonese, Tiechius, Khehs and Hailams. The Hokkiens engage extensively in agriculture; they also compose the majority of the trading and shopkeeping class. Large numbers of Cantonese are engaged in planting, and this people, too, together with the Khehs, supplies the bulk of the labour on the tin-mines of the Federated Malay States. Hailams are chiefly found in domestic service. Whatever their race, however, Chinese are the predominating race in the Malayan towns, excepting in Kelantan, Trengganu and Brunei. In the Straits Settlements they are nearly twice as numerous as any other race, in the Federated Malay States they almost equal the Malays in number, and it is no exaggeration to state that their indomitable energy and admirable qualities of thrift have made them the very backbone of the Peninsula's commerce. There are records in existence, moreover, which state that Chinese came to Malaya as early as the fifteenth century to work the tin-deposits, and it is interesting to remember that our first intervention in the affairs of what are now the Federated Malay States was due, indirectly, as will later appear, to the presence of Chinese tin-miners.

Among the Chinese of Malaya none are better educated, more intelligent, or more successful in business than the "Babas," or Straits-born Chinese, whose home in particular is the historic old town of Malacca, but who are also found throughout the Peninsula. There seems every reason to believe that they are descended from Hokkien immigrants who in the early days married Malay women. It is not at

all infrequent to find a Baba with no knowledge at all of the Chinese language; indeed, his usual conversational medium is the pidgin Malay, which serves as a *lingua franca* from end to end of the Straits and Federated Malay States.

The majority of the Indians who migrate to Malaya—Tamils, Telugus and Malayalis—are of the labouring class, and come to work on the rubber plantations. It was mainly the development of the Malayan rubber industry, in fact, that brought them to the Peninsula in any large numbers—numbers which steadily grew until today they form about 69 per cent. of the entire estate population.

The circumstances in which Indian labour migrates to Malaya deserve especial mention, particularly in view of the inaccurate picture of their conditions of work which is at times drawn by some political speakers and writers.

Emigration of Indian labour to the Malay Peninsula, then, is purely voluntary, and is strictly supervised by the Immigration Fund System which was inaugurated in 1907. Under this system a Committee is empowered to levy upon employers an assessment on the amount of work performed by all labourers from the Madras Presidency. The resultant funds are administered purely in the interests of the immigrants, and form no part of the general revenue. Their purposes, carefully defined in the Labour Code, include the maintenance of homes for decrepit and unemployed Indian labourers and their dependants—two homes exist, one at Kuala Lumpur, one at Penang—and repatriation of and assistance to Indian labourers in need of relief. The Labour Code, moreover, provides for the placing of the contract between employer and labourer on a purely civil basis, for compulsory establishment of schools for labourers' children, for the payment of maternity allowances to female labourers, and, in the case of Indians, for the introduction of the standard wage principle.

I have referred in passing to the circumstance that British intervention for the first time in the affairs of the interior of Malaya had an interesting connection with the presence there of Chinese miners. What actually occurred was this. At the opening of the nineteenth century there were British establishments only in the Straits Settlements—to wit, Malacca, Penang, with Province Wellesley, and Singapore. These were Crown Colonies pure and simple, and our policy so far as the rest of the Peninsula was concerned was one of the strictest non-interference, though the Sultan of Perak had conceded permission to trade with his State. In 1825, however, it was a British arbitrator

who settled the boundary between Perak and Selangor, and no later than the following year the independence of those two States was established by another British-made arrangement, the Burney Treaty. But it was not until 1873 that really far-reaching developments took place. In that year disturbances originating in the rivalry of two powerful parties of Chinese miners in the Larut district of Perak assumed such formidable proportions that intervention was at last decided upon, the Chinese stockades were destroyed, and the State of Perak came under British protection. The treaty of Pangkor, signed in 1874, which embodied the arrangements, provided for the maintenance of a British Resident and Assistant Resident, whose advice, it was stipulated, was to be followed in all matters other than of religion or custom.

In the same year British protection was accepted by the neighbouring State of Selangor; the nine small States which now comprise the State of Negri Sembilan followed suit at various dates, becoming united in 1898, and a British Resident was appointed in 1888 to Pahang also. The Treaty of Federation, by which these four States became united under the title of the Federated Malay States, was made in 1895. By its provisions the Federation is administered by a Federal Government, situated at Kuala Lumpur, and legislation is enacted by the Federal Council, of which the rulers of the States were until recently active members.

It only remains to add that the remaining States of the Peninsula—all those, that is to say, which did not come into the Federation—accepted British Advisers at different subsequent dates. And thus it came about that Malaya acquired the three separate governmental systems—the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States and the Unfederated Malay States—which even today prove so bewildering to a considerable section of the public at large.

The history of Malaya, ever since the administration of the country was placed upon this footing, has been a story of phenomenal success in all spheres of activity. Never in its past had the Peninsula had the opportunity of knowing the prosperity attendant on a stable and disinterested Government. In the old days piracy had been a recognized occupation; tyranny and oppression had been rampant; the lives and property of the common folk had been constantly at the mercy of petty chiefs' caprice, and almost the sole justice within their reach had been the precarious justice of the *kris*. Now, however, in startling contrast, dawned an era wherein justice, strictly impartial, was ever

at the disposal of weak and strong, of poor and rich alike, of the humblest peasant no less than of the most puissant chief: an era of adequate policing, of quickened communications and, by consequence, of stimulated commerce. In short, the real history of the Malay Peninsula now began.

It is a commonplace that the prosperity of Malaya rested of old upon the tin-mines, which even now, and in the face of the new competition from both Bolivia and Nigeria, continue to produce one-third of the world's supplies of tin. But in the fourth quarter of the last century a new source of wealth was added in the shape of the plantation rubber industry, and the story seems sufficiently romantic to be worth recapitulating. It was in 1876, that Henry Wickham—later Sir Henry—obtained in the jungles of Brazil a few seeds of the rubber-tree. These, after surmounting almost incredible obstacles, he conveyed to Kew Gardens, where they were planted in specially prepared beds. A certain proportion germinated. The resultant seedlings were sent out to the Far East, and the plantations of to-day—they comprise some 31,000,000 trees—have been built up from that small nucleus. The area under rubber cultivation in Malaya is at present something over two-and-a-half million acres, supplying upwards of one-half of the world's raw rubber.

While the new industry went forward by leaps and bounds, it is not to be supposed that progress in the older matter of mining was at a standstill. Indeed, it is interesting to see, in modern times, some of the most primitive mining methods imaginable operating in juxtaposition with the most up to date. For Malay and Chinese women still win tin-ore by the ancient process of "dulang-washing" in the streams, undeterred by the proximity of the huge pipelines, which supply the modern mines with water for hydraulicing, or giant electric dredges capable of cutting 125,000 yards of earth a month and digging to 120 feet below the surface.

Malaya, fifty short years ago covered for a great part by virgin jungle, is today one of the earth's fairest and most fertile gardens. For encouragement has been given to every conceivable branch of agriculture as well as to rubber, and the future holds out rich promise to such ventures as the pineapple-canning industry and the comparatively young African oil palm industry. Of these, together with progress made in transport, in education, in hygiene, and in many other spheres of endeavour, I shall have much to say in later articles.

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as those of the individual contributors.

THE INDIAN SETTLEMENT

By J. S. WARDLAW-MILNE, M.P.

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formerly Chairman of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. The
views expressed in this article are the author's and not necessarily
those of the Unionist India Committee.)

THERE never was a time when clearer thinking was required in connection with Indian matters than today. On the one hand, we find certain sections of the Press denouncing the Government and political parties for following a course of action which it is said is certain to result in the loss of India to the Empire; and, on the other, the public being strongly advised to bring a wide outlook to bear upon India's problems and to realize that its future government requires new ideas and a broader view than that taken in the past. The truth, as ever, lies halfway. The problem is not a new one, but it has new aspects. There is grave danger in going too fast, but there is almost an equal danger in going too slow. It is more than ever necessary, therefore, that we should examine the position, basing our views neither upon the excited and preposterous demands of a certain section of very vocal Indian leaders, nor entirely on the basis of what has happened in the past as being necessarily the best guide for us in the future.

One thing is perfectly clear, and that is that what would have satisfied political India a few years ago will not satisfy it today, but this is not necessarily a matter for regret or apprehension. In some respects it is a matter for congratulation. Our duty, however, very definitely, is to realize that our responsibility remains for the vast masses of the Indian people who take little or no part in agitation, and who are only anxious to be allowed to pursue their daily avocations without disturbance and in the manner to which they have been so long accustomed.

It is foolish to ignore the fact that the whole outlook of the nations of the world was entirely altered by the Great

War, and India is not insensible to the demand for self-determination which spread so rapidly at that time. Our declared policy is not in conflict with this demand and with this movement. The only real question is the rate of progress. But there is one matter which, before we discuss the rate of that progress, should be clearly and definitely decided. It is a clear definition of the goal at which we are aiming. Let us have that plainly declared and let it be known what the objective is. If both Great Britain and India can agree upon the destination towards which we are moving, then we shall be able to consider, with a much better chance of agreement, at what rate we should travel along the road.

I cannot help feeling that, in the maze of conflicting views expressed regarding the immediate details, we are losing sight of the clear statement of policy set out by the Declaration of 1917 and the Act of 1919. Put shortly, it was then stated that it was the intention of this country "to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration, and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the empire." I do not think these words from the Preamble to the Act of 1919 can be too often quoted or too clearly borne in mind.

I would therefore lay it down quite definitely that, our aim being the future self-government of India within the Empire and the association in that government with us of Indians, we shall make better progress when India definitely understands that this is our objective, beyond which we have no intention whatever of going, and joins with us in making steady progress towards that goal.

But there is another sentence in the Preamble of the Act which is to be remembered: "Whereas the action of Parliament . . . must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility." The rate of progress, therefore, is not dependent entirely upon us, but is definitely to be determined by the amount of co-operation and the sense of responsibility we find in India.

It is perhaps not fair to say that diarchy has been a failure. It may be said to have served its purpose, troublesome and difficult as a form of government as it has proved to be in actual practice. It may well be that there was no

other means of beginning the work of associating Indians with the responsibilities of government. However that may be, the Simon Commission was set up two years before the final date laid down in the Act of 1919, and the report of that Commission will long prove to be the most authoritative document regarding conditions in India, and regarding the problems we have to face there, that has ever been prepared.

When the Viceroy, in November, 1929, made his well-known declaration, using the words "dominion status" as the eventual aim, this was immediately seized upon in India as a change in the objective, inasmuch as it was claimed that the proceedings of the Imperial Conference in 1926 had made it clear that for the future "dominion status" included the right of secession from the Empire altogether. A certain section of Indian political opinion promptly used this as an argument in support of their demand for the entire independence of India, and even argued that by this utterance Great Britain was committed to a course which would have given India the distinct right, if she so desired, to separate entirely from the partnership of nations which forms the Empire. Subsequently, however, it was clearly stated by the present Prime Minister, in reply to a letter from Mr. Baldwin, that no change whatsoever had taken place in the position or in the intentions of Parliament as laid down in the Preamble of the Act which I have quoted above. It is unnecessary, therefore, to enter into any controversy as to whether or not the proceedings of the Imperial Conference really did confer the right of secession upon any part of the Empire. That is a matter of opinion, and I sincerely hope it is a matter that will never require to be raised.

Arising out of the suggestion of the Chairman of the Simon Commission the Round Table Conference followed, although it is fair to remember that the Conference which he evidently had in view was a quite different body from that which subsequently met. The principle of an all-India federation, which became the outstanding feature of the discussions of the Conference, was, however, clearly outlined in the Simon Report itself as the ultimate goal at which we should aim; but whereas the Commissioners had not looked for any immediate development of such a scheme, the attitude of the Princes at the Round Table Conference brought it at once into the forefront of the picture for immediate discussion and with the possibility of adoption at an early date. It is true that the Conference

dispersed without in any way dealing finally with the details of such a proposal, but the mere fact that something which the Simon Commission had looked upon as only possible in the distant future of the government of India had become an immediate question, altered the whole position of affairs, and forced both Great Britain and India into an examination of problems which neither side had ever seriously examined.

It is, of course, true that the Congress party were not directly represented at the Round Table Conference; but I fancy it is not unlikely that certain of the delegates were well aware of the attitude of the Congress leaders and had not been without consultation with them before they left India. The return of the delegates to India, and the complete change in the outlook which had come about during their visit to London, enormously influenced the situation in India. I cannot help thinking that Mr. Gandhi's attitude when they left to attend the Conference probably was that while he would take no part in the deliberations he would welcome any concessions that India received, while expecting that such would only be an infinitesimal portion of the changes he had declared to be necessary to satisfy himself and his followers. But the results of the Conference threw Mr. Gandhi, like most other people, out of his stride. While it is true that nothing had been definitely settled, and while neither the Government nor any political party in this country was definitely committed one way or the other, the door of discussion had been widely opened, and a vista had been unfolded which made it impossible for even the most advanced Indian politician to turn his back, unless, indeed, he was to declare himself as merely interested in destructive politics and in prompting disorder and unrest. It was impossible for any to say that there was not a completely new outlook in Indian affairs, and possibilities of a scheme going as far or farther than any demands India had ever really hoped to have accepted.

For the past year or more Mr. Gandhi has promoted and encouraged a system of civil disobedience and law-breaking which has been doing infinite harm. He was aware, however, that its indefinite continuation was impossible. The returning delegates, far from having failed and being discredited, had brought back definite fruits of their co-operative discussion and examination of the problem in London. India was not prepared to ignore this or to put aside their advice and guidance. What, then, was to be the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and his followers? Were they

to say: "We will have none of this; our claim once and for all is definite independence and complete control of India, and nothing else will satisfy us"? I fancy Mr. Gandhi well knew that although this would be the cry of a certain section of Congress, it was not one which he could maintain against the definite results of the more moderate and reasonable line of action which the Conference members were able to put before their fellow-countrymen. Mr. Gandhi may or may not be a saint, but at any rate he is a very shrewd politician. He is as well aware as anyone else that although many may follow his advice and guidance in matters of non-co-operation, boycott, and the like, it is not possible to promote these movements without suffering being caused to the people themselves and subsequent revolt on their part. There is no boycott that does not affect traders of some kind. There is no disturbance which does not have some effect adversely upon the prosperity of the people. A national movement of this kind may last a long time, and it may be very widely spread, but after a time there is the very human revolt against continual interference with one's own affairs. Had the Round Table Conference resulted only in a proposal for a small extension of responsibility at some distant date, it might well be that Congress could have carried on for long the process of non-co-operation and civil disobedience. But the prospects opened out by the Conference swept all that away. The delegates who had returned were able to explain to India the possibilities which lay in front of her own sons and daughters, and there was considerable risk of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress losing very rapidly the hold they had upon Indian public opinion. Mr. Gandhi therefore chose the wise course of asking for an interview with the Viceroy to discuss possible lines for future co-operation. These conversations were carried to a length and over a period of time which naturally caused considerable disquietude and alarm. Many regarded the whole idea of the representative of His Majesty sitting in private conversation day after day with a rebel leader as one which was bringing the whole prestige of the Government of India down to a level never hitherto heard of. Others feared the effect upon other and loyal sections of Indian opinion as a result of the tremendous advertisement and consideration given to a single section of political opinion. That there was much in these arguments cannot possibly be denied. There was distinct danger, I think, in the very protracted nature of these negotiations, but the settlement which

emerged as a result of them was a complete justification for the course which the Viceroy had taken. At the same time, this is not, I think, to be taken as indicating that there is not a large number of matters dealt with in that settlement which most of us would rather have seen expressed differently.

In the first place, there was the effect upon loyal Muhammadan opinion. It must have seemed to many of those who have so long co-operated with the Government that they were being ignored, and that the whole of the Viceroy's efforts were being directed to making peace with people who were worthy of no consideration. There was probably also a natural anxiety as to what was going on, and whether any agreement made would result in some damage to Muhammadan claims. The publication of the terms of the settlement undoubtedly did much to dispel some of these fears. But the question of the Muhammadan demands and the position of minorities remain for consideration and settlement. It is clear that the next step must be, if possible, to reach a satisfactory arrangement with the leaders of Muhammadan opinion, which will result in giving them that security without which their co-operation and assistance in the future government of the country cannot be obtained.

The calling off definitely of civil disobedience is a tremendous step forward, if, to put it very bluntly, Mr. Gandhi can really deliver the goods. When one reads the speeches that have since been made by himself and some of his principal lieutenants, it is a little difficult to believe that peace has really been secured. In spite of some of these rather doubtful declarations, it is right to assume that Mr. Gandhi means what he says, and that it is his intention to co-operate loyally in future on the lines laid down in the document which he signed. But how far can he carry Congress with him? This, I think, is a very doubtful point, and only time will show whether his influence will enforce upon his followers a course of action to which certainly one section of them, at any rate, is strongly opposed. There is little hope, I fear, of some of the more extreme branches of the Congress falling into line, and it is almost certain that the Young India movement will refuse to be bound by the settlement. If this proves to be the case, and we shall know it very soon, there will probably be a complete split in the Congress party, which would probably be one of the best things that could happen, as it might result in the isolation of those who are the declared enemies of progress

on the lines upon which alone development is possible. This, of course, will only come about if Mr. Gandhi stands firm to the agreement, and can definitely associate himself with the more moderate portion of his followers. It is not impossible, of course, that in the event of such a split, and his influence being insufficient to secure unanimity, he may think it desirable again to retire into that contemplative seclusion that he has already expressed a preference for and experienced in the past.

The wording of the clause in the settlement in regard to the preposterous demand for an enquiry into the conduct of the police is both unfortunate and objectionable, and to many of us it seems a pity that a definite statement was not made that under no circumstances would Government agree to any such suggestion. On the other hand, it is well to remember that "face-saving" is an operation thoroughly understood and practised in India, and it is unlikely that even the far too polite negative given will mislead any of the leaders of Indian political thought as to the real attitude of the Government.

It is difficult to understand the reference to the incidence of the salt tax, as this question had really nothing to do with the demands made. It was not the size of the salt tax that interested Mr. Gandhi, but the fact that there was a tax upon salt at all. Actually the salt tax is no hardship, provided one assumes that there must be taxes of some kind, and the amount of it, per head of the population, is under 4½d. per annum, which is not a heavy burden, even upon the very low rate of individual income in India. But the concession to sea-coast residents to make salt will undoubtedly be taken as a symbol of victory on this point for Mr. Gandhi, and possibly of weakness on the part of the Government. The concession in itself is of no moment financially, as the salt so made is dirty and unsaleable, and only used by the very poorest classes. This, again, may be taken as a concession to Mr. Gandhi for the purpose of "saving face"; but it is a dangerous move in some respects, and may have repercussions beyond those presently appreciated.

The wording of the provisions calling off the boycott of British goods appears satisfactory, and the clauses dealing with objectionable forms of picketing seem fairly drastic. Officially, perhaps, it is not possible to quarrel with any suggestions of an entirely peaceful and non-obstructive character intended to encourage the purchase and use of Indian-made goods. India has long enjoyed tariff auto-

mony, and a preference given to Indian-produced goods has been a measure advanced and promoted by the Government itself. Having once conceded the right to India to manage her own affairs in this connection, we have no more reason to quarrel with Indians for forwarding the use of Indian goods than we would have with our own people for pressing the purchase of British or Empire produced articles. But if this policy is in any way directed against British trade in particular, then the matter assumes quite a different aspect. It is a definite and clear provision of the settlement, as I read it, that there is to be no differentiation of any kind against British trade. If the measures taken to secure a preference for Indian goods are accompanied by voluntary action of a peaceful character against all goods imported from abroad, we have no cause for complaint. But even in this case the action taken must be entirely unobjectionable in its character, must contain no compulsion, and none of the intimidation and boycott which has previously characterized the movement. Again, I say, we can only wait and see what happens. Peaceful picketing, as we know it in other spheres of industrial activity, is really a misnomer, and picketing, when carried on at all, soon ceases to be peaceful. Nor am I hopeful that the extreme elements in the Congress party will be content in this matter with any such proposals as those which have been signed and agreed to by Mr. Gandhi. If I am wrong, then not only will picketing cease, but there will probably be an end to any movement against foreign goods. At present and probably for a long time to come India cannot live without foreign importations. She certainly cannot clothe herself from her present production. If the boycott is dropped, the regular course of trade would probably soon reassert itself. I fear, however, that the extreme wing of the Congress movement is more likely to repudiate Mr. Gandhi, in which case the boycott of British goods is likely to continue, for a time at any rate, to a greater or lesser degree, in which case picketing is most unlikely to continue peaceful.

The release of prisoners and the repeal of certain measures to ensure internal security is the natural corollary of the settlement, and a gesture of this kind, if one assumes a settlement at all, was almost certainly essential in India. If, as against the concession regarding the manufacture of salt, the release of prisoners and the possibly dangerous effect of the long-drawn-out conversations upon loyal Indian opinion, the Viceroy has secured a real peace, co-

operation instead of opposition, and a complete cessation of the anti-British movement in the country, then indeed he has achieved a miracle. Only time, however, will show what are the real results of the settlement.

If Mr. Gandhi can deliver the goods and can bring his followers into line, then a further Conference will undoubtedly be necessary to try and fill in the details of the picture outlined at the Round Table Conference. But it is useless to hold such a further gathering until the position of the minorities has been dealt with, until British interests are safeguarded, until the Muhammadans and others are satisfied as to their security, and until India fully appreciates the goal which we are aiming at and the steps we propose to take to lead us to it.

It has been laid down most carefully, and in a manner admitting of no uncertainty, that the safeguards which we require in any scheme for the future of the government of India are to be real and operative. Without going into details, one may say that the principal points are those which are essential in the view of any person who knows the conditions of India itself. The defence of the country must remain in the hands of the Viceroy; he must consequently have control of the forces which constitute that defence. He must have absolute power to secure the financial stability of the country and to prevent any possible interference with its credit. There must be no discrimination of any kind against any race, creed, or sect. The position of the minorities must be secured, and it is well in this connection to remember, when we speak of minorities, that if these are all classed together, they constitute a larger number than the purely Hindu population of the country. There must be no discrimination in trade, and particularly against British trade, to which India owes so much of her progress and development. These are the essential safeguards which form the basis of our proposals for further negotiation. We have made our objective clear; we have stated definitely the points upon which there can be no giving way, and there is no political party in Great Britain which seriously differs from these views. The question is, will India show her readiness to co-operate on these lines, or will her leaders once again plunge her into chaos and disorder? Nothing can be worse for India than that there should be any doubt as to the situation here at home. It seems to me that any doubt there could have been has now been removed. We have made our offer—a full and a generous offer—what is India's response?

FIELD-MARSHAL SIR WILLIAM BIRDWOOD'S COMMAND IN INDIA

BY R. THARLE-HUGHES

(The author has been for thirty-five years in India, and long served in the Army Department of the Government of India as Establishment Officer)

BACK from the East Indies came just recently an English gentleman known affectionately to millions throughout three continents as "Birdy," otherwise Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood, Baronet, of Anzac and of Totnes, County Devon, lately Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Land Forces in India. Since the Mutiny, England has sent many notable sons to hold India's chief military command. Some of them, and indeed most of them, have returned with proud records of work in the betterment of India's defence and the welfare of her soldiery. In the main, these distinguished men have had the fortune to continue their labours in the Empire's military service long after bidding their last farewell to India. Some of them, in their subsequent career, have attained the highest military rank open to the soldier; one of them, but only one, has entered the peerage for services rendered to India herself. That was Roberts of Kandahar.

Alike with many of those who preceded him, Sir William Birdwood assumed his high post with a name already made, one, as in the case of Kitchener, with which to conjure. It was a name as well known in the Antipodes as it was on the Indian Frontier, in London, or in Simla. He had already earned in India itself a reputation of no mean order. He had been one of the little band of unusual men who formed Lord Kitchener's Indian headquarters staff at Fort William and in Simla. He had held the Brigade Command at Kohat, had been Quartermaster-General, and, on the outbreak of the Great War, was Secretary to the Government of India in the Army Department and Member of the Indian Legislative Council. All these posts he had held with hands which told immediately the reins were touched. He had served with the Hazara Expedition of 1891, with the Isazai Expedition of 1892, in the Tirah Campaign of 1897-1898, and in the Mohmand Expedition of 1908, the last bringing him the D.S.O.

followed by the C.I.E. in the same year. Fighting on the Indian Frontier, he had been present at the actions of Chagra Kotal and Dargai, he had seen the capture of the Sampagha and Arhanga Passes, had taken part in the Bazar Valley operations, and had been in action at Kargha. But not only in India had he served and seen fighting. He had been in the South African War of 1899-1902, and was present at the battles of Colenso, Spion Kop, Vaal Krantz, Tugela Heights, Laing's Nek, Belfast, Lydenburg, and Pieters' Hill. He was at the relief of Ladysmith, had been severely wounded, mentioned in despatches many times, and had gained the brevets of Major and Lieutenant-Colonel. By the end of 1911 he had been honoured with the C.B. and C.S.I. and had attained the rank of Major-General. But these services, then covering a period of some twenty-eight years, while bringing promotion, honours, and a considerable reputation, pale before the great part taken by him in the grim business of the Dardanelles—the landing on the Gallipoli beaches and the still more historic evacuation of that bleak spot.

The Gallipoli Campaign at an end, Sir William Birdwood served as Commander of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps for some two years in France and Belgium. Then, on the reconstitution of the 5th British Army, he was placed at its head. Rushing down from the north, it was he, with his Anzacs and other troops, who drove the Germans through Merville, Estaires, La Bassée, and on over the Aubers Ridge and out of Lille, forcing the Scheldt and reaching as far as Ath. The battle of Villers-Bretonneux, the turning-point in the German offensive, had found the 5th British Army taking one of the most important parts. It is on record that the last batch of prisoners taken by this Army was at 10.57 on November 11, just three minutes before time. The last phases of the war found Sir William Birdwood with his reputation enhanced and still the idol of his men.

Hostilities having ceased, Sir William Birdwood went out to the Commonwealth as commander of their military forces, much to the gratification of the people "down under." While in Australia, he was again called to India, after an absence of more than five years, mainly on the battlefield, to assume the Northern Command, its area roughly coinciding with the Punjab, the home of the Sikhs, and the N.W. Frontier Province of traditional turbulence. While holding this command he went to Simla to act as

Commander-in-Chief during the temporary absence of Lord Rawlinson in 1924.

Such, then, was the record of Sir William Birdwood up to 1925, when, while on leave in England, it was announced that he was to succeed Lord Rawlinson as Commander-in-Chief in India.

Sir William Birdwood stepped ashore at Bombay on August 6, 1925, with an honour unique in the history of the Army, a Field-Marshalship coincident with his selection for the Indian Command. Never before had the batteries in India saluted a new Commander-in-Chief with nineteen guns, nor, for that matter, had they ever fired that number for one on departure. No one but Sir William Birdwood had ever arrived with the Warrant of Command under the Royal Sign Manual, together with the baton of a Field-Marshal, and no one else has ever left having first won that rank.

The financial state of the country had been declared as critical, and the Indian Army Estimates for 1925-1926 had been decreased, a decrease only made possible by his predecessor through the disbandment of regiments and the removal of British units from the Indian establishment. Still, there was much encouragement to be got from the belief that the situation on the Frontier, where troubles always loomed, showed signs of improvement and the fact that Afghanistan could not, at the moment, be said to contain more than the usual food for anxiety. Then, again, there was satisfaction to be derived from the state of the Indian Army, which, under his predecessor's régime, supported by his own efforts when holding the Northern Command, was not ill-trained. Nevertheless, there was much ahead to combat, improve, and to overcome. The Indian Army required modernizing, that was clear, and it meant mechanization. That meant money. Clamorous efforts had of late been made in the Legislature to force upon the military authorities still further measures of alleged economy, which, if acceded to, were likely not only to impair efficiency, but, in the view of soldiers, to bring about disaster. There were many problems connected with the organization of the Army which required the most delicate and tactful handling.

These, and other matters of no less weight, all faced the new Commander-in-Chief as he assumed the reins of office. There were other matters too, matters of quite a different nature, which, to Sir William Birdwood, came so easily, making the prospect of his next five years one of

unabated pleasure. These related to the friends he was to meet again, the friends whom he loved and who loved him. Those over whom he would watch and guide and whose welfare and contentment he regarded as greater than his own. Such strange friends, some of them. Fierce fellows with homes across the border, homes surrounded by mud walls, loop-holed; some whose homes were in caves somewhere near the Khyber. Some had homes boasting grandfathers, white of beard and bent, knowing, and well known to, the new *Jangi Lat Sahib*, back in the times when they were proud young sepoy, havildars, or naiks. Others, tall and straight, hair longer than a woman's, tied away in turbans and with beards curled about the face as only a Sikh knows how. Then those quaint little flat-faced friends, hailing from Nepal, sturdy of limb and smiling. Then, also, those from the burning sands of Bikanir, the Rajputs who rode on camels. And, as well beloved, the friends of lighter hue, once gold-diggers down around Coolgardie, now still digging, but in the fields of Kolar, yielding gold, or in the mines at Namtu, yielding silver, mostly old friends who had faced the Turks at Anzac and been at the gates of Lille. And what of those of the Indian Cavalry, the old sillidars, those tent-peggers who rode as no other men could ride, many of Probyn's Horse, whose great-grandfathers had known him as a subaltern down at Nowgong, back in the middle eighties? All these, and many others, were to be seen again, taken by the hand, spoken to in their own mother tongue, each addressed by name. What mattered then if the files at Simla did give trouble, what mattered if the clouds gathered grey or black? Nothing could matter, with all these friends.

With these pleasant prospects in his mind, the new Commander-in-Chief set himself to work. Within a month he was to be found facing the Legislative Assembly to make his first speech. Significantly enough, it was to oppose a Bill, moved by an Indian member, to regulate the use of firearms in dispersing unlawful assemblies. The case for the Government, supported by the Commander-in-Chief's speech, was lost, but not before one of the chief Indian spokesmen, that notable barrister Mr. Jinnah, admitted that the Field-Marshal had put his case with the precision of a soldier and the logic of a lawyer. It is undoubtedly unfortunate that the Commander-in-Chief in India should be inveigled into political controversy. Sir William Birdwood, however, while not altogether escaping the bitter tongues of political adver-

saries, made himself one of the most popular figures in the Legislature, as well as one of its most able speakers. Moreover, he frequently demonstrated his ability to exercise a marked influence on opinion when the Opposition was deaf to all other appeals for reason and patience.

The Inchcape Committee, which reported in Lord Rawlinson's time, had recommended certain specified economies, and then, in expectation of lower prices, advised acceptance of a 50 crore grant to be established when things grew cheaper. Lord Rawlinson, not without anxiety, reduced expenditure and risked the consequences because of India's financial state, described to him at the time as critical. From that date onwards each Budget debate has been the occasion for a clamorous demand, amounting now to a parrot-cry, for the 50 crore standard. It has long ago been held by Lord Rawlinson as impossible without impairing efficiency and hazarding the safety of India. He had further issued the warning that when the financial position had been restored, the Government must again spend more on the Army if it wished the country to be safe. It was the task of Sir William Birdwood to reiterate these sentiments to the point of tiresomeness and to explain each year to unwilling ears that the 50 crore standard was a pious aspiration, not based on expert military advice and unaccompanied by recommendations showing how it could be reached. Fortunately for the Army in India, the military budget is not at the mercy of the Legislature, which has no power, under the Constitution, to refuse supplies other than those for the civil administration. Consequently the Army looks to the Government of India alone for its needs. These, at the time Sir William Birdwood assumed command, were far greater than the Government's limited exchequer could afford to meet.

Sir William Birdwood was not one to sit down placidly with insufficient means. There was the lesson of Mesopotamia, and it was not to be forgotten, let alone ignored. It was plain to him that India could no longer go slow. Something had to be done to bring the motor transport up to date, something had to be done for the Royal Air Force. In fact, something had to be done for the better equipment of the forces from top to bottom. Nothing short of a standard to keep pace with the rapid developments of foreign armies and the Army of Great Britain would do for him. But how was this to be accomplished with the services smarting under the effects of the Inchcape

Committee's accepted recommendations? How was it to be done with a purse half empty? He was an economist himself: no one hated waste more than he, and he was the last to embark on extravagant ideas. But more than this, he was a man of ingenuity and resource. He drew up a comprehensive programme for reorganization, re-equipment, and mechanization. He then unfolded a plan whereby the improvements could be effected and the cost met within a fixed period without additional burdens to the State. The plan was a novel one, it had unorthodox features. As such it was to be condemned by many, scoffed at by some, or regarded even with pity by others. But this was not the first unorthodox scheme devised by Sir William Birdwood. There had been others. One, for instance, in Gallipoli, about which all the world had known and applauded. And so with this. It must be got through; the struggle might take time, but get it through he must. And he did. It was called the financial contract system, and allowed of freedom, to an extent never before permitted, in the matter of transfer from one account head to another. By its means savings were encouraged, since they could be utilized for other purposes or carried from one financial year to the next and expended in any directions chosen by the military authorities themselves. It allowed of purchases otherwise impossible, it enabled them to see ahead, and it gave direct interest in conserving finance to the high staff officers at headquarters. The saving, on the whole, was immense, and it stabilized the Military Budget for a period of five years at a figure far lower than the 1924-1925 standard. It produced results impossible of attainment under the normal system, and this despite the fact that the Military Budget had been loaded with expenditure, to an extent not far short of a crore, which, previously, had been carried by other departments. This was one of the signal triumphs of Sir William Birdwood's command. It was a notable contribution to the welfare and efficiency of the Army in India, possibly the most notable of his tenure.

The matter of military expenditure had not been alone as a favourite object of attack in the Indian Legislature. The question of education for Indians desirous of entering the Army with King's commissions has run it close, sometimes beating it. Sir William Birdwood, a strong believer in the paramount value of tradition, consistently refused to listen to the pleas for the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. In this matter he saw eye to eye

with his predecessor, Lord Rawlinson. The Field-Marshal fully recognized that the ultimate aim was an Army of the same character as the Dominions Armies, organized on a national basis and officered by Indians holding their own distinctive form of commission. But the time was not yet, and any other entry but through the gates of the British Sandhurst was fraught with danger and difficulty.

Sir William Birdwood left India with his views unshaken on the point of an Indian Sandhurst.

It requires much beyond the compass of a short article to explore the various channels through which the Field-Marshal wended his way, during five and a half years, in the interests of the Indian Army. It must suffice to say that the complex problems of modernization had been faced with infinite courage and skill until at the end of his command the Army in India, together with the Royal Air Force, had never before been in such a state of efficiency and preparedness for war, and never before had India received such value for the money spent.

No reference to Sir William Birdwood would be complete without tribute to his influence, and the magic of his name, on the rank and file of the Indian Army. It was well known that persistent efforts had been made to seduce soldiers of the Indian Army, mostly when on leave, or by pressure brought to bear on their families to induce them to forget their calling and to undermine that loyalty which has been their pride. Yet, with all this, the Indian Army had remained unmoved. For this full acknowledgment must be given to British officers of Indian regiments for their share in fostering that mutual friendship and respect which exist in all units between the officer and his men. At the same time, there is no doubt whatever that loyalty in the Indian Army had greatly been maintained by the personal contact of the Field-Marshal and the strange influence he has wielded over most men, be they Indians or not—the same influence which held in Egypt, in Gallipoli, and in France.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION AND RESEARCH UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION

By SIR PHILIP HARTOG, K.B.E., C.I.E.

THE four biggest problems for the future of India are those of (1) education, (2) disease, (3) agriculture, (4) social reform; and progress in the last three depends essentially on progress in education. I have added to education the question of research, because research in India on any large scale is of comparatively recent growth, and its development and nurture are also essential for the intellectual and material progress of the country.

We all know that in 1919 the Government of India handed over completely both the control of educational policy and the responsibility for educational finance to the provincial Governments, under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

There was loss as well as gain. I do not think that anyone reading the major statements of educational policy from the great despatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854 down to the Education Resolution of 1913 could fail to realise the breadth of vision and the wisdom in detail of those responsible for central policy. If that policy had been carried out with any approach to completeness, the condition of education would have been far more advanced than it was found by the Auxiliary Committee of the Simon Commission over which I had the honour to preside in 1928-1929.*

* I have made free use in this paper of the material contained in the Report of that Committee given in the Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission (1929, Cmd. 3407). Reference should be made to this Report to supplement the present sketch on many points.

PROBLEMS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

I do not propose to go into details or to try to allot responsibilities. But there is one legacy of policy of great political importance which was bequeathed by the Government of India to the provinces in regard to primary education.

I think it is generally admitted by all parties that the organisation of primary education in such a way as to provide an educated electorate is one of the greatest tasks that the new India will have to face.

I believe the first steps towards compulsion were taken in Bombay. But it was that great man, G. K. Gokhale, who in 1911 first introduced a Bill into the Imperial Legislative Council which would have made compulsory primary education permissive—that is, subject to the consent of local authorities and local governments. The Bill was opposed, but Sir Harcourt Butler, the Education Member, hinted that the introduction of measures of compulsion in local legislatures would be the natural course. The Government of India was not indifferent, for between 1913 and 1917 it distributed education grants from imperial funds amounting to Rs.329 lakhs non-recurring and Rs.124 lakhs recurring.

The Government of India have taken effective steps to ensure that their wise recommendations with regard to primary education and upper primary education, wastage, training schools, middle vernacular schools, rural education, were carried out in the expenditure of the grants. My Committee expressed their regret that they did not do so. But by the end of 1918 the Government of India had formulated a scheme of expansion for the whole of India by which there would have been a general compulsion on all local bodies throughout the country to provide facilities for the extension of primary education, so as to double the number of pupils in primary schools within ten years. It was proposed that the Imperial Government should provide

one-third of the cost, provincial Governments one-third, and local bodies one-third; the cost of training additional teachers was to be divided between the Imperial Government and the provincial Governments. I have spoken of a legacy of policy, but I do not know how far the provincial Governments were actually aware of this policy. The Reforms, at any rate, made it impossible of execution in its original form, and placed the responsibility on other shoulders.

It must be recognised that while the provincial Governments have fallen a good deal short of carrying out the programme outlined by the Government of India (except in the Punjab, where it has been exceeded), the Ministers for education have been enthusiastic in their efforts, and the legislatures have willingly granted all the money asked of them.

MISDIRECTED EXPENDITURE

The total expenditure in respect of recognised institutions from all sources including Government contributions has been as follows (in lakhs of rupees):

1917.	1922.	1927.	1928.
1,129	1,836	2,458	2,582

And it should be added that the increase from Government funds has been far greater than that from local funds or other sources.

Corresponding to that increase there has been a vast expansion in the number of pupils in recognised institutions. The numbers are as follows:

1917.	1922.	1927.	1928.
7,207,000	7,742,000	10,528,000	11,160,000

The increase in the decennium 1917-1927 in the primary stage is from 6,404,000 to 9,247,000—only about half the increase contemplated by the Government of India, but, in view of financial stringency, perhaps as much as could be expected. Indeed, if the results were what they appear

to be there would be real cause for congratulation. Unfortunately, about 60 per cent. of the money spent on primary education at present is wasted, according to the calculations of my Committee, owing to stagnation and wastage, resulting in the failure of the vast majority of the primary pupils to spend the four years in a primary school necessary to attain literacy under present Indian conditions. Of 100 pupils (boys and girls) who were in Class I. in 1922-1923, only 18 were in Class IV. in 1925-1926. The wastage in the case of girls is far greater than for boys. Of 534,000 in girls' schools in Class I. in 1922-1923, only 56,000 were in Class IV. four years later.

Wastage, so far from diminishing, is actually increasing in Bengal, the province which is more willing to spend money from its private pockets than any other in India. The proportion of expenditure on education from fees is over 40 per cent. Only one other province supplies as much as 20 per cent. from fees, and the Central Provinces only supply 11 per cent. Nevertheless, with all this enthusiasm in Bengal, an enthusiasm which added 11,000 to the number of schools and 355,000 to the number of pupils in the decennium 1917-1927, there was actually a falling off of 30,000 in Class IV.

It was dinned into my ears in Bengal that "a bad school is better than no school." I believe the cultivator may be beginning to find out the truth, that it is much worse.

A Primary Education Bill has just been passed in Bengal with the object, I understand, of providing compulsory primary education for all boys in ten years. A strange manifestation of Hindu-Muslim differences was the fact that the Hindu members of the Legislative Council walked out when the Bill was passed.

May I quote from the report of my Committee?—

"Without a real effort to eliminate waste and ineffectiveness, by means of a courageous and well-directed policy, there can be little hope of improvement in the future. There is a common impression that success in extending education is merely a question of spending money. It is not so; money is no doubt necessary, but

the expenditure of money, without the resolute, consistent, and continuous execution of policy will do little or nothing."

We were not content with generalities of this kind, but have explained in detail what steps in our view should be taken to give them a concrete interpretation.

You cannot have a well-devised and directed policy without a proper administration. It will be necessary for the new régime to overhaul and strengthen the whole educational agency—the thinking and acting organisation both at the centre and in the provinces; and though secondary and university education will be affected as well as primary, I shall deal with this question of administration first for the sake of convenience and while both the deficiencies and the importance of primary education are fresh in your mind.

REORGANISATION OF PROVINCIAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES

I take first of all provincial administration, and will enumerate the reforms that in my judgment are essential in the provinces.

The headquarters staff needs strengthening. Except perhaps in the Punjab it is inadequate, and yet in one respect redundant and slow-working. The often changed Secretary for Education, a member of the Indian Civil Service, is mostly a fifth wheel to the coach. The only pleas I have heard for his retention are: (1) that he gives financial advice, (2) that the Director of Education may not be a good administrator, (3) if the Director acts as Secretary he cannot be a touring officer. The replies are simple: (1) It is the business of the Finance Department to scrutinise estimates—I have never heard of any Finance Department that failed in this duty. (2) and (3) If the Director of Education is not an administrator, he is not fit for his office, and the selection has been badly made, probably owing to over-regard to seniority. The Director of Education should be made Secretary for Education, as

in the Central Provinces, or Deputy Secretary, as in the Punjab, where the arrangement has worked admirably. An absurd arrangement was made once in Bengal, when the two officers were combined in one person, and the Director acting in one capacity wrote to himself as Secretary acting in another. No wonder the arrangement proved unsatisfactory.

The saving of the Secretary's salary will enable important additions to be made to the headquarters staff, which will not only allow the Director to tour, as he does in the Punjab, but will strengthen it in other ways.

One of the most important members of the staff should be a Directress or Deputy-Directress of girls' education. In my own personal opinion the Directress should have direct access to the Minister. The education of the mother is the supreme necessity if we are to conquer illiteracy in India, where only two per cent. of the adult women are literate. It is of incalculable importance, and my Committee and the Simon Commission have both put this question in the forefront. The policy in the past has been boys' education first, and if there is anything over, give it to the girls. We said, in effect, spend now first everything that can be effectively spent on the extension of girls' education, and spend the remainder on extending and improving education of boys. It is in the interest of the boys as well as of the girls to do this.

INSPECTION

I now come to the inspectorate. By some persons the inspectorate is regarded as an unnecessary luxury. It is an absolute necessity if the schools are to be efficient and not to involve a shocking waste of money. The higher inspectorate is totally inadequate for its purpose. My Committee have shown that it is hardly greater for British India than for England and Wales, one-twentieth of the area.

The sub-inspectorate, which inspects the primary

schools, is still more inadequate in most provinces. In Bengal there is only one member of the subordinate inspecting staff to 172 schools, in Madras one to 142 schools, whereas in the Punjab there is one to 40 schools, and in Burma one to 29 schools. The colossal waste in Bengal is easily explicable. The inspectors and sub-inspectors ought not only to inspect schools, but to inspire the villagers to send their children to school—when there are schools worth sending them to. This is the Punjab policy.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES

I now come to the role of the District Boards, to which increasing powers have been given under a series of local Acts since the Reforms. Underlying these Acts is a policy first enunciated in Lord Ripon's time, and emphasised in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. "The accepted policy," says that Report (p. 95), "must be to allow the Boards to profit by their own mistakes and to interfere only in cases of grave mismanagement." This was supposed to be a democratic policy. It was welcomed as such by the advanced party. But the result under the new régime has been the very reverse of democratic. It has meant the spending of money voted by the legislative councils with an entire loss of that control by Ministers which Parliament so jealously keeps in England over money voted by that body. In the Poona district there is now only one assistant inspector of Government for 900 schools. If all went well it would not matter, but the tale of mismanagement by District Boards comes from province after province. As I said recently in another place, you have handed over your most precious baby to an inexperienced girl without supervision so that she may learn to be a nurse; little wonder that the baby has suffered. Not only the pupils have suffered, but in many cases the teachers, transferred at election times for political purposes in dozens or hundreds, to suit a politically-minded chairman.

It is essential to keep the educational work of District

Boards under the supervision of a central department, as it is kept in England, where the central inspectors work on the whole amicably with local bodies. Those local bodies in England keep a well-trained and expert staff of their own in addition to that of the central body. That is rare in India. I do not for a moment say that all District or Municipal Boards are incompetent. Some are quite competent.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

I turn now to problems of secondary education. In primary education, both quality and quantity had to be considered. In dealing with secondary education, the question of quality is, on the whole, more important than that of quantity. It may be pointed out that for most provinces the middle vernacular schools, though they cover part of the secondary stage, are the schools which produce the primary school teacher, and they must be considered as an essential factor in the primary problem. Probably money spent on the middle vernacular schools is at the moment more profitably spent than on any other part of the pre-university stages.

For the secondary schools, what is mainly needed is improvements in the training colleges, though by no means in all; there are some admirable ones, well known in India.

I have often remarked a want of real enthusiasm in the teachers, recognised by my Indian friends as well as myself. A little while ago one of them said to me that many of the younger teachers began well, but after four or five years they lost interest. I asked why, and the reply was that the salaries were small, the position of a teacher at the mercy of a headmaster or an uninstructed committee was precarious, and that he had no social recognition outside the school. I hope that the new India will recognise how profoundly important the schoolmaster is to the well-being of the country, and that it will make him a happier and more efficient person.

We are always told that the secondary school in India (as in England) is being spoilt by being dominated by the requirements of matriculation. I can say positively that, unless things have changed recently, the requirements of matriculation in one province were so small that many decent schools laughed at them. One schoolmaster after another told me that he could no longer use matriculation as a terror for the idle boy. But in other provinces it is still, no doubt, a terror.

I believe that the evil effects of external examinations may be greatly diminished by an improvement in their methods, but that is too large a question to enter upon here. It is one that concerns all countries.

UNIVERSITIES

I come to the universities. There can be no doubt that it would be an immense economy of public money if the vast number of students who enter them with no possible chance of success were kept out, by a stringent entrance test, say at the age of eighteen, and diverted to other careers. An Indian professor at one of the universities said to me, a short time ago, that the number of students in his institution ought to be reduced by half. There are two obstacles in the way, "public opinion" and university finance. Indian fathers with influence are afraid that their own sons might be excluded by more efficient tests, and most Indian universities depend so much on fees that they are afraid of having their budgets upset.

The budgetting difficulty could be got over if other provinces would follow the example given by Bengal in the case of Dacca University, to which a statutory grant has been made under an Act of the provincial legislature.

Nor do I regard the backwardness of public opinion as insuperable. One of the most significant events in university history in India is the drastic and courageous action taken by the Muslim University of Aligarh to set its house in order. I was one of a committee of three appointed

by that most capable lady, H.H. the late Begam of Bhopal, then Chancellor. We reported that owing to maladministration the university was in a deplorable condition, with a staff in many cases under-qualified and overpaid. The Court (entirely Indian in its composition) of its own motion reduced the Executive Council to a body of three, which entirely reorganised the staff and made many other reforms. I doubt whether any other body I know would have taken steps more drastic.

I see by the *Statesman* that Calcutta is doing something to bring order into the administrative chaos of its post-graduate work, which up to the present has been organised very wastefully without any heads of departments. I wish to pay a tribute here to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for his early recognition of the fact that the reputation of a university must depend not only on its teaching but on its power of advancing knowledge. I do not agree with all the methods he used to give effect to his ideals. But it is true that until the Report of the Sadler Commission was issued there was no general recognition of the importance of research in Indian universities. Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in Bombay, Colonel Stevenson, I.M.S., in Lahore, Sir P. C. Roy, and Sir Jagadis Bose in Calcutta, are among the few outstanding exceptions to the rule that professors did not regard it as part of their business to carry on and encourage research.

In the last ten years there has been a great change. The universities now ask for research qualifications from candidates for the post of Professor and Reader, and the volume of original work in India, though still small for the number of its teachers, is greatly increased from what it was in the years preceding 1917.

The recent award of the Nobel prize in physics and of the Hughes Medal of the Royal Society to Sir C. V. Raman will no doubt serve as a stimulus to the younger Indian workers, who are beginning to acquire a reputation outside India.

A university has three functions :

(a) The pastoral function, of which the object is to develop character and individuality in action.

(b) The teaching function, of which the object is to give instruction and train the understanding for useful purposes.

(c) The function of research, of which the object is to extend knowledge, and by example and by the co-operation of teachers and students to develop individuality in thinking.

British educational administrators in the provinces rightly attached importance to the first two functions. I think that they, though not the Government of India, for many years underestimated the great importance of the third, especially important in a country where the traditional tendency is to keep the pupil in leading strings for far too long. I may refer on that point to a critic who will not be regarded as prejudiced, the late Lala Lajpat Rai.*

FUNCTIONS OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

I want now to consider what functions should be exercised by the Central Government with regard to the various stages of education and research. It was argued by my Committee that the Government of India should not be entirely relieved of all responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education, and that it should be constitutionally enabled to come to the relief of necessitous provinces. I have mainly in my mind those of Bihar and Assam. The Simon Commission did not accept that suggestion, but tried to find a way out by means of Sir Walter Layton's central provincial fund. The Government of India does not regard the prospects of that fund as rosy, and in spite of all opposition and difficulties, I adhere to my original view, though I have no space to argue the case in detail. I suggest that India will not be able to *afford* to have provinces backward in education. They will be a drag on the whole country.

* See his striking book, *National Education in India* (Allen and Unwin, 1920), pp. 44-46 *passim*.

I quite acquiesce in the view that the provinces should be responsible for teaching work in their own middle and secondary schools and universities and for the provincial professional schools. But the Central Government have other duties with regard to education. My Committee recommended (and the recommendation was adopted by the Statutory Commission) that Government should re-establish the Bureau of Education, axed by the Inchcape Committee, and that this should serve as centre of educational information for the whole of India and as a means of co-ordinating the educational experience of the different provinces. It should have a first-rate staff and a first-rate library, including the chief educational periodicals and reports of Great Britain, the U.S.A., France, and Germany, and the official educational reports and publications of every Indian province properly indexed for reference.

THE PERSONNEL

My own idea of the staff is that the head should be a man of real distinction in his subject, with a wide range and grasp of it. As he would not be responsible for administration except of his own office, he need not have wide administrative experience. What is needed is a man of ideas, sympathy, and understanding, who would be welcomed as a helper and adviser in all the provinces, though there would be no obligation on them to follow his advice. He should have a capable second-in-command, who might be a provincial Director of Education lent for a period by his province, and who would take charge in the absences of his chief. It would be, not a privilege, but a part of the duty of the Director of the Bureau to take study-leave from time to time to study new developments in other countries for the benefit of India.

The Bureau would be responsible for the Annual Reports and the Quinquennial Reports on Education as before. The Bureau and the provincial Governments would award studentships to members of the higher provincial

educational services and others to study special questions outside their provinces both in India and in other countries. The former Bureau of Education did some admirable service in the past; its work will need extension on a much wider basis.

RESEARCH

I come now to research. The Government of India has certain important research establishments of its own for medical research, agricultural research, veterinary research, and forest research. The recent Committee on the magnificent Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun recommended that a director of research should be appointed. I regard it as urgent that this reform should be carried out at an early date. The present arrangements are not satisfactory. But the point which I wish to urge most strongly is that the Government of India should, following the example of Australia, establish an organisation corresponding in some respects to the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in this country. The Department, which has a budget (gross) of about £700,000 a year, besides being responsible for the Geological Survey, and for the National Physical Laboratory and other research laboratories, which absorb a large portion of its funds, makes grants of two kinds: (1) it makes grants to co-operating industrial research associations, such as the Cotton, Electrical Non-Ferrous Metals and similar associations; (2) it also makes grants to individuals carrying out research in universities and other institutions. The latter grants take the form of payments to research students to enable them to secure training in methods of research; to professors and others to enable them to develop investigations of special timeliness and promise; and, in a few cases, to young research workers who have already shown exceptional capacity for original work, to give them a further opportunity of development. Government also gives £6,000 a year to the Royal Society for grants to

individuals for research. The Society has other funds for these purposes from private donations and the Chemical Society has similar funds. In India there is hardly anything of this kind. An appeal from the Inter-university Congress in 1924 fell on deaf ears, though only half a lakh a year was asked for. Government, I believe, might have been less obdurate if some private donor had promised a contribution for the purpose. In his striking National Lecture on "Biology and Statecraft," recently broadcast,* Sir Walter Morley Fletcher, F.R.S., pointed out the fact that the Council of the Viceroy, unlike our Cabinet, is largely a specialist Council, in which the army, the law, finance, administration, are requested by specialists, but that there is no specialist in it to argue the case for science, which is of supreme importance for the future of India, and especially for India's main industry, agriculture.

It is obvious that a non-specialist pleading the case of subordinates, without a technical knowledge of the case, however enthusiastic he may be, is at a disadvantage in dealing with specialists. And in India there are no powerful expert bodies like the Royal Society to press the claims of scientific research. I agree with Sir Walter Fletcher that at least one member of the Viceroy's Council ought to have scientific qualifications.

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONS

I turn now to less august bodies than the Government of India, but bodies that are exerting and are likely to exert increasingly an influence on education and research. I mean the Public Service Commissions.† The functions of the Central Commission (briefly though not exhaustively stated) are (1) to choose candidates for Government service

* Reprinted in the *Listener* for January 28, 1931.

† The only Public Service Commissions at present are the Central Commission and the Madras Commission, but it was proposed at the Round Table Conference that each province should set up a Commission.

by examination and, in some cases, by selection; (2) to act as a court of appeal (though not with final powers) in disciplinary cases arising in certain important services.

A large number of the examinations deal with scientific subjects, and the great majority of appointments made through the agency of the Commission are scientific appointments. I can remember only one or two in archæology and one in commerce that were not concerned with physical or natural science or engineering during my service on the Commission. I do not think that one scientific representative on a body of five is sufficient to safeguard the interests of science, either in making appointments (even with the help of an assessor), or in dealing with disciplinary cases relating to scientific appointments, in which the questions raised may be highly technical. I am quite prepared to admit that some men whose early literary training has been mainly literary are capable of appreciating scientific questions. The late Earl Balfour, Viscount Haldane, and Sir Frank Heath are cases in point. But it is equally true that others are as incapable of forming a reasonable judgment in regard to scientific matters as a colour-blind man would be of appreciating a picture, or a tone-deaf man a symphony.

There are other points with regard to the composition of Public Service Commissions with which I cannot deal here. I would only throw out the suggestion that it might conduce both to economy and efficiency if under the new Constitution different provinces were allowed to combine in setting up those expensive though necessary bodies.

CONCLUSION

I hope that this paper may not appear to be unduly fault-finding or critical. My object has been to point out those problems to which the new Governments must, in my judgment, direct their attention in order to make the rapid and solid progress in matters of education and research which we all desire.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, February 17, 1931, at which Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., read a paper on "The Future of Education and Research under the New Constitution." Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, K.-I.-H., Member of the India Council, was in the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick, Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Henry Sharp, K.C.S.I., Sir Frank Heath, G.B.E., K.C.B., Lady Scott Moncrieff, Mr. F. Pratt, C.S.I., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, K.-I.-H., Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Mr. George Pilcher, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. J. P. Fletcher, Mr. B. N. D. Roy, Mr. and Mrs. Gray, Mr. S. V. Raman, Mr. J. H. Lindsay, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Dr. Lanka Sundaram, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mrs. Barns, Miss Margaret Brown, Miss Corfield, Miss Curteis, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mrs. John Nicholson, Mr. M. Nazir, Mr. F. Grubb, Dr. A. Shah, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have this afternoon the interesting programme of an address by Sir Philip Hartog on education and research in India. Education is perhaps the most fundamental problem, because on proper progress therein depends progress in other matters, political, industrial, social and hygienic, and we cannot have a better person to speak on this subject than our lecturer this afternoon. Sir Philip Hartog, after a very distinguished career in various departments of education in this country, has had a wonderful experience in various aspects of education in India. He first of all acted as a member of the Commission under the presidency of Sir Michael Sadler, and their very voluminous and interesting Report is perhaps one of the most fundamental pieces of educational literature in India. After that he was for five years Vice-Chancellor of the newly-founded University of Dacca, and he has placed it on the lines on which it is very successfully working now. After that he was a member of the Public Services Commission in India, which also has very great influence over the educational systems in all parts of the country. In the meanwhile he was also a member of the Aligarh University Commission, to go into the matters connected with that University, and, lastly and most recently, he was the Chairman of the Committee to consider the progress of education in India in connection with the Simon Commission. With all this varied experience I think there can be no more suitable person to speak about education before this East India Association than Sir Philip Hartog, and I have very great pleasure in asking him to give us his paper. (Applause.)

(The Lecturer read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN : I am sure we have all listened with very great interest to the masterly address of Sir Philip Hartog. It raises many problems, but I will only refer to one or two of them. In the first place, there used to be a feeling among Indians, which is not altogether unjustified, that education had been completely neglected by Government, and that it had not been considered as something that is a necessary part of administration, but somewhat of a luxury. That opinion has now altered, particularly owing to the growth of public opinion in India. My late teacher and leader, Mr. Gokhale, was one of the very first to bring forward the question of compulsory education in a Bill, which was rejected, and its rejection, as usual, was accompanied by words of blessing which did not mean anything. In any case, since education was handed over to the Provinces under the Montagu Report, the Legislative Councils have always been ready to do what they can in voting money for educational expenditure.

When I was for some time in charge of education I found, as our lecturer has mentioned, that there was a very great deal of wastage of the monies voted for education. Among my first duties as Minister of Education in Bombay I went very carefully into this question of wastage, and I obtained a number of statistics as to the percentage of students in various stages, from infants to the fourth and fifth standards, and I found that the wastage was very great. I said that was one of the fundamental reasons why compulsory primary education, which would keep the children for at least four years in the schools, must be introduced, and that increasing the schools without some such measure was likely to increase the wastage. The policy followed of devolving the administration of education on the local bodies was recommended, in the first place, by Mr. Montagu in his Report, and also it was recommended by a very strong committee which I appointed, under the chairmanship of Sir Narayan Chandavarker, on compulsory primary education. It was thought we could hardly do it without taking local opinion fully into confidence and making the local bodies do the compulsion rather than getting it done by purely governmental agencies, and that is the reason why in Bombay, at any rate, the administration of compulsory education was handed over to the local authorities. Of course, that is an experiment, and I do not know whether that experiment will finally succeed or whether we shall have to take a step backwards. I might perhaps mention that the idea that was in my mind and in the minds of the administrators in the early days has not been perfectly fully carried out. My intention, at any rate, was that the local educational authorities should be comparatively big bodies and not any small municipality, as has been allowed to be the final administrative authority in many parts of the Bombay Presidency, but that is a detail. At the same time, we do not consider that that is the final course, and it may perhaps be necessary to revise that step of handing over the detailed administration of education to the local bodies, but it was done with good intentions and one can revise those intentions with the results of experience.

In Bombay, at any rate, we know that education has been hampered by the enormous stringency of finance. The first thing that was prominent in educational administration was the miserable pay of the teachers in all parts of the country. In Bombay the salaries are somewhat better than in other parts of India, and I think the scale that we have laid down and of which the first step has been actually put into operation would have made the situation somewhat similar to the Burnham Scale in this country, but the excessive financial stringency in the Bombay Presidency on account of various causes did not allow that to be done. Even now, however, the scale of salaries in our Presidency is somewhat better than in other parts of the country.

There is another point which Sir Philip Hartog mentioned—namely, the relation of the Central Government, under the new reforms, to education as such, and I fully agree with the recommendations that his Committee have made, that the Government of India should have some voice at least in directing and co-ordinating the progress of education all over the country. The provinces must have the detailed administration in their own hands, but the Central Government must have a directing control, or at any rate a co-ordinating voice in the matter of education. I wonder whether it would be possible in the new Government of India Act to make the progress of education and the expansion of education as much a duty of the provincial Governments as the preservation of law and order. I do not know whether that is possible, but if somehow or other that could be done I think it would be a good thing.

I fully agree with the lecturer that girls' education is perhaps even more important than boys' education, and in this connection I might refer to an incident which happened at Poona about twelve years ago, when there was a question of introducing the Act which had been passed in the city of Poona. It was suggested that it should be applied to Poona, and some of us thought it should be applied simultaneously in the case of boys and girls, but one party said it should be applied in the first place to boys alone, and then, if money was available, it should be applied to girls. But we thought that if it was adopted partially on these lines it would never be extended to the girls at all, and we thought that the Act should be simultaneously applied to both boys and girls, and I remember one speaker at a public meeting who was on our side said that the education of girls was more important than the education of boys, because an educated woman would never allow her children to remain uneducated, whereas an educated father might.

Coming to the question of research, I quite agree with the lecturer that research has been comparatively neglected in India by people engaged in educational work. I should like to say that for over fifty years almost all the higher places in the educational world had been taken by members of the Indian Educational Service, and it is the standard set by them and the ideas derived from them that Indians have followed. It is not too much to say that with very few exceptions the officers in the Indian Educational Service were certainly not of such a calibre that they would add to the

growth of knowledge. It had always been the grievance of Indians that the standards set before them by the Indian Educational Service were not sufficiently high, and, after all, if the standards were not high they could not be expected to go beyond their teachers except in very exceptional cases. There were a few exceptions, such as certain professors of Sanskrit and such subjects, but generally the idea of research was not supposed to be an essential part of educational advancement, and it is only in very recent years that Indians have thought that research must form a part of their educational work. Also the teachers in the colleges are so very much overworked by mere mechanical teaching that they have insufficient time, and often less energy, to spare for conducting research. In other countries I think that the University professors and readers, whose mechanical teaching work is comparatively small, do a great deal of research. In India such places were non-existent twenty years ago, and are very few in number even now. We hope there will be more such places available in India, and that Indians will be able to take their share in advanced research. The work that has been done by men like Raman, Bose, Ray and others is very encouraging, and we hope there will be more.

In Bombay there are several small scholarships, and the amount of money given for these endowments is something like 20 or 25 lakhs of rupees. If all that money had been used for endowing research, a great deal would have been done. I noticed the other day that at Cambridge there are more than fifty endowed professorships available to people conducting research. In Bombay there are only two. Having regard to those conditions, it is not right to blame the Indians for not going in for research, but I hope at no distant date there will be many opportunities for research. I fully appreciate the very instructive nature of the lecturer's address, and I am sure that the address will take many of you to the masterly Report for which Sir Philip Hartog is responsible. About that Report there is certainly a unanimity of opinion in India that it is an epoch-making document in the educational literature of India.

Sir FRANK HEATH said he felt very shy about speaking on the subject of the lecture, because, although he had twice been very near to working in India, unfortunately he had never seen that country, and he felt that he ought to apologize for taking part in the discussion. It was rather like beginning the erection of a building with the roof instead of the foundations. He had, however, been very deeply interested in and connected with Indian affairs in England. For many years he was Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the selection of officers of the Indian Educational Service. He could not speak as to recent years, but he agreed with the Chairman that the men sent to India at that time were not, taken as a whole, men who were likely to add to knowledge. He wished to remind the meeting that England only began to realize the importance of research as a national matter less than twenty years ago, so that there could be no question of blame either on one side or on the other. It behoved them to do their best to put their house in order as quickly as possible. For some considerable time the Research

Department, of which he had been until recently the administrative head, had published yearly every advance made by India in connection with research, and as Editor of the Universities Year Book he hoped in the forthcoming issue to give a really satisfactory and more nearly complete account of the research work that was going on in India than had ever appeared in a single publication in England before.

There were three points that he would like to mention. The first was that fundamentally the Chairman was right when he said that unless they had a satisfactory educational system they could not build up a satisfactory research organization, because the breeding-grounds for men with original minds were the Universities, and unless the Universities produced those men it was impossible to build an effective research machine, but having regard to the needs of India, he hoped that the governments would not use that as an excuse for waiting to begin that organization until the Universities had produced a sufficient supply of men. The need was urgent and the question ought to be attacked from the very beginning. While they must not be afraid of big schemes, they must be prepared to begin on a small scale. That was the secret of organization.

The next matter that he wished to mention, merely as an independent outsider, was that in his opinion the model for an educational scheme in India should be that which had been adopted in Australia rather than that which had been adopted in England. While they could never transplant a scheme from one country to another, India, like Australia, was really a continent, at any rate in size, importance and variety, and it was impossible to organize a vast continent in the same way as a comparatively small country like England. Therefore they must look to countries like Australia and Canada for suggestions rather than to England.

His third point was that it was only fair to the Government of India to say that they had been interested in this question of scientific work for some considerable time. Lord Curzon had appointed the Indian Science Board, but the trouble was that there was no driving force behind it, although he was told it had done very good work. The mistake had always been made that the problem was handled in parts and had never been looked at as a whole. For instance, some years ago Professor Joscelyn Thorpe, a very distinguished chemist and research worker, travelled in India on the invitation of the Government of India and saw all the chemical research that was going on, and put forward a very valuable Report, but personally he was unable to say what the result had been. More recently Sir Walter Fletcher went to India to look into the question of medical research, but again he personally was unable to say what the results of his visit had been. It was useless to attack the problem piecemeal. What was needed was a comprehensive view of the different influences and interests which existed in the different districts and the formulation of a general scheme. It was impossible to do as was done in England, to have a tripartite division of research into agriculture, industry and medicine. It was necessary to have a co-ordinated view of the whole problem. As they were aware, many problems of agriculture

were affected by problems of medicine, so that there would have to be a comprehensive view of the whole problem. If it were possible to find a man sufficiently wise who knew at first hand the different steps that had been taken in different parts of the world to handle the matter, that probably would be the easiest way of working out a scheme, but failing that, he suggested that the authorities ought to begin by appointing a small commission of three men, one capable of speaking on medicine, one on agriculture, and one to handle industrial subjects (one of the three should understand administration), and ask them to work out a scheme. It was important to secure the active support of the provinces. (Applause.)

Sir HENRY SHARP said he wished to join with the Chairman in congratulating Sir Philip Hartog on the admirable lucidity of his paper. After a long experience, which perhaps had been rather different from that of Sir Philip Hartog, he heartily agreed with about nine-tenths of what had been said in the paper. He particularly agreed with the lecturer's remarks as to the necessity for having a proper educational staff in the provinces, and he was delighted to find that the lecturer shared the view which he expressed when he was an inspector of schools in the nineties of last century that among our educational systems there was none that was more valuable than middle vernacular schools. He proposed to confine his remarks to the tenth part of the lecturer's paper, on which he wished to offer a few criticisms. The first criticism that suggested itself to him was as to an historical fact with regard to the action of the Government of India early in the present century. Sir Philip Hartog had said it would have been within the power of the Government of India to drive home their policy of compulsory primary education. The fact of the matter was that the Government of India at that time were giving large sums of money for education, mainly for elementary education, and he himself had tried to force the Local Governments to send in annual returns of how the money was spent, but he was told by higher authority that his action was unconstitutional, and nothing of the sort must be attempted. Of course it was unconstitutional, the fact of the matter being that the subject of education was even then a provincial subject. Sitting in front of him was Sir Louis Dane, who was, at the time he was speaking of, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, whom they all knew as a very kind and gentlemanly man. Supposing the Government of India had insisted on Sir Louis Dane spending exactly ten lakhs, so many thousands of rupees, on primary education in a year, and had said that he must open exactly 452 primary schools annually, that mild-mannered gentleman would very naturally and properly have roared like a lion. He thought that the difficulty with regard to primary education was due to lack of money and also to the fact that a great deal of money was expended on higher and secondary education which ought in the past to have been spent on primary education. (Hear, hear.) He observed from the figures in Sir Philip Hartog's own report that in Bengal of the total sum spent on education 17 per cent. only was spent on primary education, 32 per cent. was spent on secondary education, and 22 per cent. was spent on University education. With

regard to Government expenditure, the Government itself had been forced by the middle class, by their insistence on having money for higher education, to spend a disproportionate amount of money on secondary and University education ; 28 per cent. of Government expenditure on education in Bengal went on universities and colleges, 17 per cent. on secondary schools, and only 15½ per cent. on primary schools. He did not quarrel with Sir Philip Hartog's suggestions with regard to the future when he said that the Government of India should have certain powers over education. Sir Philip Hartog suggested that the expenditure on girls' schools should be a first charge upon the available revenues, but he was afraid, if the education of girls was made a first charge and the education of boys, so to speak, the residuary legatee, they would get a very small inheritance. His own feeling as to the education of girls had always been that they must make a frontal attack, but the front of female illiteracy presented so few points of attack that he was of opinion it was best to make the big effort a flank attack, to educate the males, who would then insist upon the education of the females.

With regard to the question of research, he would like to instance the Agricultural Institute at Pusa, the creation of Lord Curzon. Moreover, when he was Secretary of the Education and Public Health Department, they gave very considerable grants to individual medical researchers in different parts of the country, and they had proposed to found a big central research institute and had managed to collect about thirty lakhs of rupees for it and had promises of further large sums, but the whole thing had been axed since he had left India. He mentioned this merely to show that it was not quite correct to say that nothing had been done for individual researchers in India.

Mrs. J. A. RICHEY said she had much enjoyed listening to Sir Philip Hartog's very able paper. She had never heard the question of the allocation of finance put so succinctly before. She had read a good deal about education, having been forced to do so for family reasons, but she had been really enlightened by the remarks of the lecturer. There were two points she would like to mention. One was a conversation she had had with a young Indian friend who was an inspector of schools, and was in England studying our elementary school system with special reference to the infant departments. He had told her that they would never improve their primary education until they had women teachers for the infants; not only did we need highly trained women to teach our little girls, but we needed highly trained women also to teach our little boys. They would not expect a young Indian teacher to make much headway in teaching the infant classes. In England generally it was the elder women who possessed a motherly instinct who were selected for that task.

Another thing her Indian friend had said was that when he was appointed inspector of schools in a very big province he had succeeded an old gentleman who had been inspector for twenty-three years. This province had very bad communications. It was hot and sandy, and, further, it was Muhammadan. Her friend was determined to make surprise visits, which

his predecessor had not done. The method of getting to the villages was on horseback, and there was plenty of time for swift runners to give information of his coming, and everything would be carefully prepared. By travelling on foot he had been able to pay surprise visits, and in his first year seventy-eight primary teachers had been dismissed. He had found in many cases that for four months the schools had not been open for a single day, and that was in the much vaunted Punjab. They had been told that at the present time there was one inspector to every forty schools, in which case he could properly supervise them, but how could one inspector properly supervise two hundred? Many of the teachers were absentee teachers who did not reside in the villages. It was essential to educate the girls of India, and that proper supervision should be exercised in order to prevent inefficiency.

Mr. J. H. LINDSAY said that as Secretary for Education in Bengal he had supplied Sir Philip Hartog with the figures to which Sir Henry Sharp had referred. With reference to the small amount of money spent on primary education in Bengal, if Sir Henry Sharp had taken figures three years earlier the position would have appeared much blacker. He would like to see some sort of central control of primary education. Up to the time of the Reforms there had been a steadily increasing expenditure on primary education, but after the reforms of University education expenditure had gone soaring up, secondary education expenditure had gone soaring up, while that on primary education remained level. He would like to say a word about the local authorities which Sir Philip Hartog mentioned. In Lord Ripon's time the idea had been to adopt the English way of managing local affairs, but the extraordinary thing had been that they had left out the backbone of the English policy—namely, the auditor who surcharged any person who had improperly spent public money. If in India they had had the system of audit and surcharge, he was of opinion that the history of Local Government would have been different from what it had been. In Bengal the towns had had powers for many years to institute a system of compulsory education, but so far practically nothing had been done, and he was of opinion that the local bodies would do nothing in the matter, and that compulsion must come from outside.

With regard to the inspectors in Bengal, he thought anyone above the rank of sub-inspector considered it beneath his dignity to go into a primary school, the result being that primary education has been left to the lowest grade and least intelligent staff. He suggested that the inspectorate ought to be so divided that there would be some high officers responsible for primary education. At the present time all information as to primary education came from the lower grades.

In conclusion, he hoped they would not educate the cultivator merely as a voter and so spoil him as a cultivator. (Applause.)

Sir ALBION BANERJI thought they were all in agreement with the views which had been expressed by the previous speakers that they had listened to a most illuminating paper on the subject of education. He had hoped that in the course of his paper Sir Philip Hartog would have given them

some indication of the ideas which he would like put forward when the Federal Constitution was established under the new Government of India Act. In his opinion, the educational problems of India had in the past hundred years been discussed from an administrative point of view rather than from an academic point of view. They had spent a large amount of time in considering what organizations, what staff and what kind of control they should provide in any system of education that India might have. As regards primary education, secondary education and University education, they had had several Commissions from time to time and numerous investigations, but when the history of India came to be written he thought the future historian would point out the sharp differences in the lines on which education had been treated in British India as compared with some of the more advanced native Indian States. Twenty years ago a Bill had been brought forward for compulsory education in British India, but it was more than twenty years ago that the Mysore State passed a Bill for compulsory education in that territory.

With regard to education in Federal India, he wished to mention two points. If there were to be separate units under a Federal Constitution, it was a matter for very serious consideration to what extent the Central Federal authority should have the power of control of expenditure on education in the provinces. He agreed with Sir Philip Hartog in all he had said with regard to the function of the Central Government and the necessity for organizing adequate research, but he felt that if research work was to be extended in India it ought to be done on their own lines and not by means of Government machinery. That, in his opinion, would make for greater educational progress. He remembered that a small Board of Industrial Research was appointed in Mysore, consisting of the most efficient professors of the University of Mysore, but they could not do much because they could not get funds from Government to carry out their investigations. Unless more could be spent on all grades of education he did not see how there could be any chance of substantial development either in research or in compulsory primary education, which is the greatest need of the country. He joined issue with Sir Philip Hartog on one point—namely, that the local bodies had not always done their duty with regard to the spread of education. He had been President of eight Local Boards when he was collector of the districts in question, and he could assure Sir Philip Hartog that the local administration, to whom was entrusted the education of the district, performed their duties fairly efficiently, and there had been no abuse either in regard to patronage or in regard to the large sums of money which were granted to the local authorities.

Sir Philip Hartog had not mentioned the Tata Research Institute at Bangalore, which had not been established by the Government, but by the endowment of Jamsetji Tata. That was a remarkable example of what could be done in India.

Education must be transferred to non-official agencies to a larger extent, and then only could it expand on national lines suited to the needs of the country. (Applause.)

SIR PHILIP HARTOG, in reply, said that Sir Albion Banerji seemed to think for a province to spend 20 per cent. of its revenues on education would be something remarkable; but Bengal spent 16·3 of its total revenue in 1922 on education. It was quite true that in 1927 the percentage was only 14. The United Provinces in 1927 spent 17·2 per cent. He had not referred in his paper to any research institutes except those of the Government of India. The Tata Institute at Bangalore had done and was doing admirable work. He did not recollect any complaint as regards District Boards in Madras at all, and he knew that some of the Madras District Boards were doing very well. The complaints had come from other provinces. He entirely sympathized with Sir Albion Banerji's desire that more money should be allotted for research by Government; and he would like to say that the allotment for research must be made by specialists and not by administrative officers. It was quite impossible for an ordinary administrative officer to decide what was a suitable sum of money to be spent on buying a standard of electrical resistance or a spectroscope. He agreed with Mr. Lindsay that they must first of all make the peasant a better cultivator; but since he was to be a voter, they should also try to give him the power of exercising his vote intelligently. He also agreed with Mr. Lindsay that the inspection of primary schools should not be left to the subordinate staff. Mr. Lindsay, as Secretary for Education in Bengal, had not been the fifth wheel to the coach but the motive power. He was exceptional; and it was much to be regretted that India had lost his services.

He thanked Mrs. Richey for her kind remarks and for her admirable contribution to the discussion.

Sir Henry Sharp had made some interesting remarks about the provincial administrations, but he could not help thinking that he had been a little "spoofed" by the provincial Governments. The Government of India had the right to give orders to the provincial Governments up till 1919. Up till that time there had been no delegation of power, though in practice it may have been inconvenient for the Government of India to interfere with them. He thought there was no doubt as to the constitutional position—namely, that the Government of India had the right to give orders to a provincial Government on any subject until 1919.

He was very grateful to Sir Frank Heath for his suggestions. He knew how valuable was the result of his visit to Australia and he hoped the new Government of India would be able to take advantage of his ripe experience.

SIR LOUIS DANE said that Sir Henry Sharp had made him feel that he must be listening to a performance of *Midsummer Night's Dream*. He had likened him to a roaring lion. He was not aware that his methods of dealing with the Government of India were so violent but, whatever may have been the constitutional theory at that time, there was no doubt whatever that every Lieutenant-Governor tried to preserve a proper degree of internal autonomy, and when he thought the Government of India was wrong from the point of view of his province he did not hesitate to say so.

When he took over the Government of the Punjab the balance was something under 2 lakhs of rupees and the revenue was $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores. There was enough money to pay the establishments, but nothing to pay anything else or to do anything. He had had to deal with the Government of India in the matter, and, after a long and temperate discussion, on his part at any rate, of the points, he had succeeded in convincing Sir Fleetwood Wilson of the justice of his case for a more equitable division of the revenues of the province, and, when he left the Punjab, he had raised the revenue in five years from $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores to 4 crores a year, and instead of 2 lakhs of rupees, he had left behind a balance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores. He believed that he had thus laid the foundations of success of the Punjab in various branches of the administration, more particularly in regard to education, and he ventured on behalf of his old province to thank the lecturer for the bouquets that he had tendered to it. He was very pleased to hear that the Punjab had been taking a prominent part in the educational advancement of India. The difficulty was that there were not as many men of wealth with the desire to make large endowments for research and education as there were in England. In India Government had to do everything, and so the Indian administration had been a great successful experiment in State Socialism as long as this constitution of affairs existed. It was no use talking about cutting down taxation to a minimum, because the result of that would be that the whole country would stagnate.

In conclusion, on behalf of all present he tendered a very cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman and to Sir Philip Hartog for the extremely interesting lecture which he had given. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting, on behalf of Sir Philip Hartog and himself, the proceedings terminated.

A SUPREME COURT FOR FEDERAL INDIA

BY SIR AMBERSON MARTEN, LL.D.

(Formerly Chief Justice of Bombay)

LAW is to many an unpopular if not forbidding subject. And lawyers themselves are sometimes regarded in the same light. "The law is a ass—a idiot" we often see quoted or misquoted in the public press, both in India and England. Notwithstanding Mr. Bumble's dictum, and however unpopular law in general may be, Englishmen, nevertheless, take a shy pride in their judicial system, and I think that my subject today may well appeal to many a thinking citizen. It is, at any rate, for him or his legislative representative to consider how the present Indian Constitution should be altered, if at all, as regards its all-important judicial system.

The proposed Supreme Court for Federal India, or, as suggested, the limited States of India, conjures up great possibilities. It will have jurisdiction over more people than any supreme court in the world, apart, of course, from the Privy Council. The Indian citizens affected by it will number well over 300 millions, drawn from many different races or castes, speaking many different languages, and firmly attached to many different religions. As regards area, an express railway journey from north to south may require four to five days, and from east to west some two days, and it would take the traveller through many varieties of lands, scenery, and climates. An enormous seaboard with fishermen and sailors plying their ancient callings, and on or near that seaboard, at long intervals, nearly two days' railway journey apart, come the great cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. In the interior vast lands, mainly given over to agriculture, and peopled

by a simple folk living humbly in countless small villages, most of whom know nothing of cities or even of the sea.

What I have just said would be true of British India alone, but today I must also take into consideration the great territories governed by the Indian Princes, which with British India will make up the Federal India I am speaking of. I rejoice that at the Round Table Conference their Highnesses had the courage and the foresight—if I may respectfully say so—to make their proposal for a federated India. This great ideal, as it seems to me, has already revolutionized the whole discussion of India's future.

I lay stress on these preliminary facts. They are only in outline. The details are mostly in that fine State paper, the first volume of the Simon Commission Report. But unless the English elector and his representative in Parliament can appreciate them, they will, in my opinion, be groping in the dark over the solution of any important Indian problem. Let it be realized, then, that we are dealing with a country the size of Europe, but with a greater variety of races, religions, and languages. And let it also be realized that amongst those religions the clash of Hindu and Muhammadan may be compared to that of Protestant and Roman Catholic in Ireland, which the politician has so far found insoluble, and which has led to the breaking in two of the government of that island. And let it be realized that no one language is understood throughout India. In the Bombay Presidency alone there are some six leading languages. The average man will probably only know one, and then only to speak, for over 90 per cent. of the population are illiterate.

THE REIGN OF LAW

I also wish to lay stress on this, that the Indian High Courts and their subordinate Courts are a vital prop in the good government of India. England may well be proud of the work she has thus done in enabling the humblest

peasant to obtain justice. To us in England it seems a commonplace to be protected by the Criminal Courts against malefactors, and by the Civil Courts against civil wrongs. But in India it used not always to be so. May I quote the following from a judgment of mine in 1922 :

"The investigation of the case has led us to explore the somewhat misty history of the borderlands of Kathiawar in those pre-British days when might was right and no man's life or property was secure. *Jama* or tribute used then to be collected by the annual excursions of armed bands led by one who apparently had a financial interest in the amount recovered for the Peshwar. But a receipt or free pass (*parwana*) was given for the amount collected, and this apparently protected the local inhabitants from further exactions for the year in question. Failure to pay, however, led to extensive ravaging. Apart from the Peshwar—the then paramount power—one also had to reckon with the hostility of one's neighbours. And in the present case each of the contending parties alleges that it was by the force or fraud of his opponent's ancestors that his own ancestors were obliged to give up those lands or rights which his opponent now enjoys. . . . A good deal turns in this case on the significance to be attached to the *chauth* which the dependents thus get. Literally *chauth* means a quarter of the income of a village. But sometimes it has been used to designate a form of blackmail which was levied in the old days as the price paid for forbearance to ravage."

In these parts of India this condition of disorder continued down to 1805 or later, when British power first began to intervene. British rule has since changed all this, although the time allowed for doing so has been none too long. The present senior High Courts were only started in 1862. But as my dear friend and brother Judge, the late Sir Lalubhai Shah, used to tell me, the High Court is now one of the strongest supports of Government, because the peasant knows that it will protect him if necessary from the *zulum* (oppression) of high and low alike. The adversaries of Government appreciated this well enough when about 1921 they tried to boycott the Law Courts. That boycott hopelessly failed. During the last unhappy ten months there has been talk of a similar attempt or else of independent lay Courts being started. So far that also has come to nothing. And one reason is I think that our High Courts are really a striking example of Indian and

English co-operation and harmony, the Bench partly Indian, partly English; the Bar mainly Indian; the office staff nearly wholly Indian. And as every litigant knows, the High Court is quite impartial as between him and Government, or as between different religions, castes, or factions. So what has he to gain by risking either his fortune or his liberty with some new lay body? As regards the Law Courts, at any rate, Indianization is largely an accomplished fact. May the past era of peace in those Courts be a happy omen for the future of the whole country!

THE BROAD PROPOSAL

The present political turmoil is therefore mainly directed against the executive branch of Government. And this doubtless explains why the question of a Supreme Court, although mentioned in evidence before the Simon Commission, finds no place in the published dispatch of the Government of India, and was only touched on in the Reports of the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conference. Except that Federal India is to have a Federal Supreme Court, everything is left open in this respect, so I understand from the report of the Round Table Conference. But the ground is cleared to this extent. As the result of the Conference I shall assume for the purposes of this paper that the new Indian Constitution will be a federal one, in which the States of the Indian Princes or some of them will join, and in which the present Provinces of British India will obtain the maximum of self-government. Further, Burma will not form part of the new Federal India, and may therefore be omitted from my subject-matter.

I have, therefore, to consider a Federal Supreme Court for both British India and the States of the Princes. I have also to consider whether this Supreme Court should be merely a Federal Court or whether it should also be a final Court of Appeal from the various High Courts in British India and from the Courts of the Princes' States, subject to certain powers to be reserved to the Privy Council.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM

What, then, is the present position as regards the ultimate Courts of Appeal in British India? The six major Provinces have High Courts situate at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Allahabad, Patna, and Lahore. There are also Judicial Commissioners Courts in the Central Provinces, Oudh, Sind, and the North-West Frontier, which for certain purposes have the powers of a High Court, but which for the sake of brevity I will not deal with separately in this paper. As regards the six High Courts, those of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay have an extensive original as well as appellate jurisdiction. The other three have mainly an appellate jurisdiction. By "original," I mean cases originating in these cities. So, speaking very generally, the contrast between original and appellate jurisdiction is between city and country cases. All six High Courts have a large number of subordinate Courts subject to their judicial and administrative supervision. These are mainly in the up-country districts, but Bombay and other great cities have large subordinate Courts corresponding to Metropolitan County Courts and Police Courts to deal with the minor civil litigation and the bulk of the criminal work.

The litigation, both civil and criminal, runs into enormous figures. Taking the Bombay Presidency alone, the statistics for the year 1926, for instance, show that an aggregate of 5,670 suits, cases, and appeals, and 3,090 insolvency and other miscellaneous matters were disposed of by the Bombay High Court on its original and appellate sides, civil and criminal. The mofussil or up-country Civil Courts disposed of 128,575 civil suits and 4,600 civil appeals. And the mofussil Criminal Sessions Courts disposed of 708 criminal cases and 1,710 criminal appeals. The above is irrespective of 35,137 civil suits disposed of by the Small Causes Court, Bombay, and of a very large number of criminal matters tried by the magistrates in Bombay and in the mofussil. The figures show, indeed, that no less than 266,237 persons were charged in these subordinate

Criminal Courts. But large though these figures are, they must be multiplied many times over to ascertain the total volume of litigation in the whole of India. Thus the Report of the Rankin Commission on delays in Indian litigation opened with these words :

"In the year 1922 there were just over two and a half million original civil suits for trial in the regular Courts of India."

As regards a large proportion of the High Court litigation, the decision of each High Court is practically final. But in civil cases, rights of appeal exist to the Privy Council where the subject-matter exceeds R. 10,000 (say £750), and there is either a difference of opinion between the High Court and its subordinate Court, or there is a substantial point of law involved. In certain special cases special leave to appeal may be obtained from the Privy Council and occasionally from the High Court itself. As regards criminal cases, the power of the Privy Council to give special leave is only exercised in the rarest of cases. Apart from the Privy Council, there are certain rights of appeal within the High Court itself—*e.g.*, from a single Judge exercising original civil jurisdiction to a Bench of two or more Judges, or where a Bench of two Judges differs in opinion.

Turning next to the States of the Indian Princes, they have their own judicial systems and administer their own laws. No appeal lies to the Privy Council, and though British Indian law and procedure are often applied or adopted, this, speaking generally, is a matter for each individual State to decide.

APPEALS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL

That being the present general situation, it may be asked, What need is there for any new Supreme Court as an appellate body? It would be generally conceded that as regards British India the Privy Council has over a long stretch of years proved a highly efficient final Court of Appeal. Its independence and entire freedom from par-

tiality and bias has won the confidence of the litigant. And the lawyer knows that the Board has the assistance of some of the best legal brains in the Empire—both on the Bench and at the Bar—and, moreover, that the Board, hearing appeals from all over the Empire governed by many varying systems of law, has the advantage of a wide and wise experience. Another advantage is that for climatic reasons the working life of the Judges is much longer than in India, where the present practice is to retire by sixty. Consequently their legal experience is a longer one.

No doubt there are cons as well as pros. There is a certain body of Indian opinion which wants all Courts for India to be located in India. Moreover, apart from grounds of sentiment, the distance of Whitehall from India and the questions of delay and expense are factors to be considered. But Delhi itself is over a day's journey from either Calcutta or Bombay, and much more from Madras. As regards delay, I doubt whether there would be much difference between a hearing in London and a hearing say at Delhi. My experience is that any existing delay in Privy Council appeals is mainly due to the time occupied by the litigants in preparing and printing their appeal paper books. So too, as regards expense, I doubt whether there would be any substantial saving in the average case. The preliminary and printing expenses would be about the same, and as regards counsel, the fees of leading counsel in India run into large figures, particularly if they are asked to leave their normal Court for one up-country.

THE PROPOSED FEDERAL COURT

If, then, no question of federation had arisen there would seem to be little practical advantage in substituting for the Privy Council a Supreme Appellate Court in India. The wisest policy might therefore be to leave well alone. But this new proposal of federation, provisionally adopted at the Round Table Conference, seems to me to alter the whole situation. At that Conference it was taken for granted that

the new Federal State would require a Federal Supreme Court, just as the Dominions of Canada and Australia and South Africa have such a Court in addition to the Courts of the individual Provinces or States. And one can understand this, for, for one thing, new litigation will arise which a Supreme Federal Court is perhaps better suited to dispose of than the High Courts of any individual Province or State.

Thus questions may arise between the Federal State on the one hand and a Province or State on the other hand. Or between States *inter se*, or Provinces *inter se*. Or again between a State and a Province. In Canada and Australia, for instance, questions of *ultra vires* or as to the respective powers of the Federal State and the individual Provinces frequently arise. In British India similar questions seldom occur, but this is because under the existing constitution the powers of the Central Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures run concurrently in many respects, as has been pointed out by the Simon Commission. At the Round Table Conference the Legal Sub-Committee of Sub-Committee No. 1 advised in favour of giving both Central and Provincial Legislatures wide concurrent powers of legislation as regards civil and criminal law and procedure with certain exceptions. But this will hardly meet the whole difficulty, and in particular, I do not at present see how it is to be applied to the States of the Princes.

APPEALS TO THE FEDERAL COURT

On the whole, then, it would seem that a new Supreme Court will be desirable for Federal matters. But a particularly difficult and important question is whether this Court should also be made the final Court of Appeal in India from the various High Courts, and thus relieve the Privy Council of the bulk of the Indian appeals, and the English taxpayer of part of his burdens. As regards volume of work, it may be doubted whether there would be enough

Federal cases to keep a Supreme Court wholly occupied. But I should anticipate that if appeals from the High Courts were added, the new Court would be fully occupied. The Privy Council has generally to sit in two divisions nowadays in order to cope with the Indian appeals. The official statistics for 1927, for instance, show that out of 165 new appeals entered that year 120 came from the Indian Courts, and only 45 from the rest of the Empire. Further, the Privy Council sat in two divisions on approximately two out of every three working days.

DIFFICULTIES

There are, however, three primary difficulties to be faced in constituting this new final Appellate Court—viz., (1) its location, (2) its Bench, and (3) its Bar. As regards (1) *prima facie* the Supreme Court should be in some central spot, with a climate in which Bench and Bar could work in reasonable comfort all the year round, or nearly so. Calcutta, Madras and Bombay are not central, and therefore on that ground alone would seem to be ruled out. Moreover, there would be strong opposition in the rest of India to the Supreme Court being permanently located in any one of these three cities. Delhi is central, and has a good winter climate, but its summer climate bears an unenviable reputation for excessive heat. Nor would it be a satisfactory solution for the Court to follow Government up to Simla during the summer months. This would, I think, be a hardship to litigants, and be disliked by the Bar, and probably by the Bench as well.

An alternative would be for the Court to sit at Delhi during the winter and at some good southern centre—say, Bangalore—during the summer. Bangalore has a good climate all the year round, and it would be convenient for Madras, and also for the large States of Hyderabad and Mysore. Probably in this way there would be a natural division of the appeal litigation—that from Northern India going to Delhi, and that from Southern India to Bangalore.

A MOVABLE COURT

Australia has solved this difficulty by making its Supreme Court (there called a High Court) a peripatetic one—that is to say, the Court travels to each State in turn. This would not, I think, do for India with its tropical climate. I attach great importance to the Bench there being allowed to do their work in peace and quiet, and with their own law libraries close at hand. To journey throughout the year all over India, with its bewildering varieties of climates and conditions, would be a serious physical strain on the judges, and would probably result in an abnormal amount of illness.

I am aware that subordinate judicial officers are often moved at short intervals from one post to another, and that in their early days they may often be on tour for weeks at a time. But that is owing to the exigencies of the public service, and it often involves hardship on the individual. Thus as Chief Justice I have had cases where a Judge has his home and family say in a Kanarese-speaking district, and it is proposed to transfer him some hundreds of miles away to a Gujarati-speaking district. In such a case, is he to keep two homes, or is he to transfer his family to a district of strangers with an unknown language? In the latter case, the education of his children may be seriously handicapped, because they may be unable to understand the teacher in the Gujarati schools, and may therefore suffer in important examinations. But these subordinate judicial officers are comparatively young men, whereas presumably the judges of the Supreme Court will be elderly if not old men. And in India it must be remembered that at fifty-five an Indian is usually regarded as an old man. It seems to me, therefore, that it may be quite difficult enough to induce the best judges or advocates to leave their own districts and accept an appointment to the Supreme Court involving residences at Delhi and Bangalore without adding the disadvantages of a peripatetic court.

THE BENCH

As regards the Bench itself, its constitution will require the most careful consideration. It should be appointed by His Majesty on the advice of the Secretary of State, as is the case at present with the High Court Bench. And if under the new Constitution the existing duties of the Secretary of State are to be transferred, it would seem preferable that the Viceroy should take his place in this respect, at any rate during the early years of transition in the political world. It will be particularly desirable to keep these high judicial appointments as free as practicable from political or other pressure. The only safe rule will be to appoint the best available men, irrespective of caste or birthplace. No doubt in practice this will be difficult. There will be a natural tendency for each leading caste and for each province or State to demand a representative on the Supreme Court. The great commercial communities of Calcutta and Bombay will be uneasy unless one member, at any rate, of the new Bench has a complete familiarity with mercantile transactions. The provinces with special land laws, like the Punjab, may ask that the Bench should include an expert in land systems. Common sense will show that there will not be nearly enough judges to satisfy all such demands, and that the nation's needs will best be served by appointing the best available man, and not the man with the strongest influence. And even the best man will not be a specialist in all branches of the law. If, however, in making appointments, the Bench be regarded as a working unit, each individual judge contributing some special knowledge, that will, I think, produce the best results. The cultivation of the team spirit will be a real help to practical success.

As regards the qualifications for those recruited from British India, they might be similar to those now required for High Court Judges. But I would make it clear that all advocates under the new rules should be eligible pro-

vided they have attained a sufficient seniority, and that a call to the English Bar should not be requisite. Similarly, these advocates should be eligible for the Chief Justiceship. The fixed proportions of one-third barrister judges and one-third I.C.S. Judges at present existing in the High Courts should not be applied to the Supreme Court; but I hope that I.C.S. Judges will still be eligible. I have found their work of the greatest assistance in Bombay; and in particular, owing to their early training, they have a practical knowledge of Indian village life, which the city lawyer does not always possess. I may also note that, under recent facilities given by the Government of India, I.C.S. judicial officers can now go to London and be called to the English Bar after reading in an English barrister's chambers. To my knowledge several officers have taken advantage of these facilities, and I have no doubt that they have largely benefited thereby.

As regards the qualifications for those to be appointed from the Princes' States I cannot usefully say anything definite today. Examination of their various judicial systems would be bound to show many differences in the highest judicial courts and in the qualifications for them. So there is no one common qualification as there is for the High Court Bench in British India. And any new common qualification would first require the careful consideration of their Highnesses, and due respect being paid to their existing judicial officers.

As regards numbers, the Supreme Court Bench can hardly be less than five if it is to have the power to reverse the decisions of the various High Courts. And in hearing those appeals, these five judges will have to be men of sufficient ability to challenge comparison with the existing final tribunal, the Privy Council. Lawyers of that standard are not easy to find, particularly if they are all to be under sixty, the existing High Court age limit. Further, the leaders at the Bar can earn such large incomes in India and enjoy such freedom as to holidays and other matters

that an appointment to the Bench often presents few attractions to them, even though it should involve no change of residence. I realize that a patriotic spirit may be prepared to make sacrifices in this respect, but I think it would be sound public policy to make these appointments as attractive as possible, and to minimize the discomforts that will be caused by changes of residence and climate. As regards precedence, salary, pension, and furlough, a valuable guide exists in the present conditions for High Court Judges. What exact improvement should be made for the Supreme Court Judges will be a matter for future discussion.

THE COURT BUILDING

I propose therefore to indicate some of the practical conditions which will assist the Supreme Court Judges in their arduous work. In the first place the Supreme Court must have a good building of its own, with an adequate court room and with separate private rooms for the judges. There should also be a good general law library, and in addition each judge should be given the use of a separate set of all the Indian authorized law reports published in India, and also of the Indian appeals published in London. I say this because proposals may be made to house the Supreme Court, temporarily at any rate, in part of some existing law court, and with the joint use of some other court's library. But "temporary" conditions in India are apt to last for years, particularly when expenditure of money is required for a judicial branch. And in actual practice I am sure it would be most inconvenient for the Supreme Court to share a law court with some provincial body. Something of the sort was attempted in Australia, but from what I saw there as a traveller it was not a success, and their highest Court has now its own building, in Sydney at any rate. Similarly it will be necessary to provide proper Bar rooms and a proper library for the Supreme Court Bar.

Another practical question will be that of providing residential accommodation for the judges. In many parts of India the problem of finding bungalow accommodation

has proved an acute one during the last fourteen years, and in places rents have soared beyond even Mayfair figures. The Bombay Government have greatly assisted their High Court Judges by allotting them Government bungalows at the maximum rent of one-tenth of their salary—a concession which many Indian Civil Service and other executive officers already enjoyed. But without that concession, rents as high as £1,700 per annum might have been demanded in Bombay. On the other hand, hotel life is not an adequate substitute. Nor are good hotels easy to find in India in my experience.

I lay stress on these domestic matters because they are of the utmost practical importance in India. Theories are no use which will not work in practice, and one must therefore pay particular attention to the difficulties which the size and climate of India will cause in practice. With the existing Privy Council these practical difficulties are minimized or do not exist. But with a final Court of Appeal in India they will arise. I would accordingly suggest that Government bungalows should be reserved for the Supreme Court Judges at reasonable rents, and perhaps also with a reasonable supply of heavy furniture. The latter would save each judge the alternatives of expensive purchases, or else of bulky transport over perhaps hundreds of miles.

THE BAR

As regards the Bar, it will be essential for the success of the new Supreme Court to have leading men practising before it. Bench and Bar go hand in hand in this respect. With a weak Bench or a weak Bar the standard of legal work is likely to suffer. On the other hand, the principal leaders at the Bar practise at present in the various High Courts, and those Courts are far away from Delhi, Simla or Bangalore. But in the public interest it is to be hoped that some leaders will decide to practise regularly before the new Court when its location is settled. It is possible also that some leaders who combine politics with law may

find time to practise at Delhi during the Legislative Sessions at any rate.

RIGHT OF AUDIENCE

Another matter for consideration will be the right of audience. This has been a much vexed question of recent years in the High Courts. It has involved subsidiary questions between barristers and non-barristers, and between advocates and vakils and attornies; and as to the continuance of the dual system of counsel and attorney which prevails on the original sides of the High Courts of Calcutta and Bombay, and to some extent of Madras as well. As a result of the Chamier Commission and subsequent legislation, all High Court counsel are now called advocates, but an advocate of one High Court has not necessarily a right of audience in another High Court. In Bombay, for instance, the right of audience is confined to advocates of that High Court, except by special permission of the Chief Justice and Judges, which is very rarely given. Further, on the original sides in Calcutta and Bombay, although an advocate need not have been called to the English Bar, the dual system still prevails, and consequently he must agree to abide by it before he is admitted to practise on the original side.

To the lay mind the dual system often seems objectionable, but it is the system which has stood the test of time and experience in London, and personally I am a strong believer in it in great commercial cities such as London, Calcutta and Bombay. But this is not the time and place to discuss the dual system in principle. Its relevance lies in this. At the hearing in the Supreme Court of an appeal from the original sides of either the Calcutta or Bombay High Courts, will the right of audience be confined to counsel entitled to practise on the original side of such High Court, or is it to be extended to all other advocates of that High Court, and also to the advocates of all other High Courts as well?

A SUPREME COURT ROLL

In dealing with this question, the benefit of the public is the primary consideration, as it is on many other points I have touched on. It will be for the benefit of the public to have a strong Bar practising regularly before the Supreme Court. But leading counsel can hardly be expected to migrate to Delhi or Bangalore if in High Court appeals they can only appear in cases coming from their own High Court. On the other hand, there is at present no all-India Bar for very good reasons which are referred to by the Chamier Commission. But the new proposal for federation has changed the situation in this respect also. The federal jurisdiction of the Supreme Court will be a new jurisdiction exercised by a new Court. A new right of audience has therefore to be created. Accordingly, one method would be for the Supreme Court to have its own roll of advocates, for which all High Court advocates in British India would be eligible. Provision would also have to be made for enrolling advocates from the Princes' States. And it would make for simplicity, at any rate, if any advocate on the Supreme Court roll could appear in any case before the Supreme Court whether in the exercise of its federal jurisdiction or its appellate jurisdiction.

Similarly, I would suggest that the Supreme Court should have its own roll of attornies. I should be very sorry to see the latter class of practitioner swept away. Their help particularly in heavy cases was of the greatest advantage in the administration of justice in Bombay. On the other hand, in the Supreme Court I would suggest that the dual system should be permissive only, and not compulsory.

If then the Supreme Court has its own roll, it should then know its own practitioners, and be in a position to enforce proper professional conduct. I do not think that its only remedy should be to report any malpractice to the High Court which enrolled the advocate complained of. This was one objection felt by some High Courts to giving

a general right of audience to advocates of all High Courts, for the aggrieved High Court could only report, and even that would be confined to correspondence, as in practice the distances between these respective High Courts would prohibit the tender of oral evidence.

BAR COUNCIL

To complete the picture: I would also suggest a Bar Council for the Supreme Court Bar, and that the recent Bar Councils Act should be extended to it, so far as suitable. If the Supreme Court has its own Bar, it should also, I think, have its own Bar Council, just as each High Court now has.

APPEALS FROM THE PRINCES' COURTS

Turning next to appeals to the Supreme Court from the Courts of the Princes, I think this question cannot usefully be discussed until it is known whether their Highnesses propose to give the necessary jurisdiction. At present there is no appeal to the Privy Council as there is in British India. Consequently, an appeal to the Supreme Court would involve a new right of appeal, whereas in British India the Supreme Court would be largely in substitution for the Privy Council. It may be that in such appeals as can now be carried to the Secretary of State in Council, the Princes might prefer a decision by the Supreme Court, but if in any such cases political considerations are relevant, there would be a difficulty in a purely judicial body such as the Supreme Court dealing with it. On the other hand, as regards purely federal matters, I take it that the Supreme Court will be the final Court of decision in India.

CREATION OF THE COURT

As regards the machinery by which the Supreme Court will be created, I take it that past precedents will be followed, and that the enabling Act will give power to His Majesty in Council to create the new Court with certain

main conditions therein specified, and that many of the details will be left to the Charter or Letters Patent actually creating the Court. Among those main conditions will presumably be found provisions for security of tenure and salary. There should also be some safeguard for the payment of the salaries of the Court staff. Under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, difficulties arose because the Indian Provincial Legislatures, although unable to attack the non-votable salaries of certain high executive officers, could nevertheless deprive them of any office staff, as the expenses of the staff were votable. I think also that, as in the High Courts, the office staff should be appointed by the Chief Justice and be under his control: and also that the Court fees to be levied should be primarily fixed by the Chief Justice and judges but be submitted to Government for approval.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY

This leads me to a matter on which the Simon Commission took evidence and made a finding as regards the High Courts—viz., whether for administrative as opposed to judicial purposes they should all be under the Government of India, or whether the existing plan by which each High Court (except Calcutta) is under its own Provincial Government should continue. The Simon Commission reported in favour of the former scheme. The Government of India in its published dispatch gave no opinion, and stated that the matter would first require detailed consideration.

If, however, the present proposal for federation is carried out, then I take it that in this respect at any rate the situation will be simplified, and that while the Supreme Court will be under the new Federal Government, the various High Courts (except Calcutta) will remain under their respective Provincial Governments, more especially as the latter will, *ex hypothesi*, be mainly self-governing.

As regards the Calcutta High Court, although nominally under the Government of India, yet its expenses are actually paid by the Provincial Government, who accordingly have to be consulted on many administrative matters. This leads to a triangular correspondence and other drawbacks which the Calcutta High Court have already pointed out. And no doubt in due course that Court will indicate the best way of dealing with it for administrative purposes, should federation be adopted.

In this connection I take it that the High Courts of the various Provinces will remain separate independent units, and not be merely branches of a new unitary Court for the whole of India. The Senior High Courts derive much of their jurisdiction from that conferred on their predecessors (called Supreme Courts) by Royal Charter. The Supreme Court of Bombay, for instance, was founded by a Charter of 1823, which set out with meticulous care the Court's future powers and procedure which were largely derived from the English Courts. This old jurisdiction is well understood in Bombay and should be retained.

As regards what subjects are to be Federal, a provisional list is given in the Report of the Round Table Conference. Customs, railways, and ports seem to be among the more important. In this connection it should be remembered that, under the existing constitution, the High Courts have no jurisdiction in revenue matters, except such limited jurisdiction as is specially conferred on them by Statute. Thus under the Income Tax Acts and the Stamp Acts they are given jurisdiction to decide points of law submitted to them under certain conditions. But it may be that the new Provinces or States may prefer all Federal disputes to go before the Federal Court, including revenue disputes. And if this is so, some machinery will have to be devised whereby some such disputes may be decided on the spot or at any rate at some place much nearer than Delhi or Bangalore. At present, for instance, an infringement in Bombay of the Customs Acts can be punished by a Bombay magistrate.

It would be absurd to take such a case to Delhi and occupy the time of a Supreme Court Judge over it.

APPELLATE JURISDICTION

As regards the right of appeal to the Supreme Court from the various High Courts in India, I take it that the conditions might be much the same as those at present governing appeals to the Privy Council. I see no adequate reason to lower the existing valuation minimum of Rs. 10,000, already referred to.

But a question was raised before the Simon Commission, though not reported on, as to whether in criminal matters there should not be some further right of appeal than that nominally existing to the Privy Council. Testing this by the most serious crime—murder cases—the bulk of the cases come from the country districts. And no man can be hanged unless he has first been convicted by a Sessions Judge sitting with assessors or a jury, and unless also the conviction and sentence have been confirmed by the High Court, which in Bombay always sits as a Bench of two Judges for criminal appeals. In such cases it seems to me that no further right of appeal is requisite in the interests of justice. The convict's case has already been tried by three judges in the aggregate.

Murder cases originating in Bombay are tried by a High Court judge and jury, and in those cases there is no appeal apart from a limited remedy corresponding to that existing in the English Court for the consideration of Crown cases reserved prior to the days of the present Court of Criminal Appeal. Speaking generally, this remedy is confined to points of law as certified by the Judge or the Advocate-General. This limited remedy might, I think, be extended so as to give a convict much the same rights of appeal as he would have in England from a conviction before a High Court judge and jury. Summings-up are not infallible in India any more than they are in England. And I see no practical difficulty in such appeals going before

a Bench of two other judges in the same High Court. It would be quite unnecessary to incur the expense and delay of an appeal to Delhi or Bangalore.

In the result, therefore, I would not give the Supreme Court any larger appellate powers in criminal matters than the Privy Council already exercises in actual practice. If the Supreme Court were to be turned into an ordinary Criminal Appellate Court from all over India, it would be swamped with work, and the expense and delay involved would be out of all proportion to any advantages likely to be gained.

ACCESS TO THE KING IN COUNCIL

Last, but by no means least, comes the question, What rights of appeal should still exist to the Privy Council, notwithstanding the creation of a Supreme Court? I think it clear that the Privy Council should retain their discretionary power to give special leave to appeal. And I would also give a similar power to the Supreme Court. But I should be disposed to leave matters there, except perhaps as regards certain Federal cases. It is undesirable to multiply the rights of appeal in India. They are already, perhaps, too numerous if those from subordinate Courts are also taken into consideration. And the foregoing discretionary powers should be able to meet the exceptional cases of great general importance. But these powers of appeal should be made quite clear in the new constitution; and, in particular, I should not advise the construction of the Australian Acts being adopted—viz., that a litigant has in effect the option to appeal from his own State Court either to the Supreme Court or to the Privy Council.

In this paper I have purposely kept to what seems to me to be practical points affecting India, and I have not attempted any analysis of the constitution and jurisdiction of the existing Supreme Courts of the Dominions. The latter will be for the draftsman of the constitution when the main outlines are decided upon. And in any event

what may suit, say, Australia or Canada, may prove quite unsuitable in India, with its vastly different conditions. But the broad conclusion I would adopt is that for a Federal India a Federal Supreme Court is desirable, and that this Court should also be a final Court of Appeal from the various High Courts in British India, subject in very exceptional cases to a further appeal to the Privy Council by special leave.

The views I have expressed must necessarily be tentative at the present juncture, for we do not know for certain what the future constitution will be. And if some may think those views are expressed too positively, I would plead that it seemed to me more useful to endeavour to give definite answers than to say this and that was doubtful. Even in my student days my revered master in the law, the late Lord Parker of Waddington, used to teach his pupils to give definite answers to the questions raised by solicitors in cases for opinion, and also to make one's own humble attempt at a difficult clause in a draft, and not to leave it with a blank and a query for one's master to solve. Anybody can say a thing is doubtful, he used to tell us; what is wanted is a solution. So here I trust that some of the things I have said may at any rate prove useful as a basis for discussion by others.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, London, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, March 10, 1931, at which a paper was read by Sir Amberson Marten (late Chief Justice of the High Court, Bombay). Professor J. E. G. de Montmorency, M.A., LL.D. (Quain Professor of Comparative Law in the University of London), was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present:

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., the Right Hon. Sir George Lowndes, K.C.S.I., the Right Hon. Sir Dinshah Fardunji Mulla, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Ewart Greaves, Sir Henry Sharp, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles and Lady Fawcett, Lady Marten, Sir Maurice Hayward, Sir John Heaton, Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., Sir Louis Stuart, C.I.E., Lady Bennett, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. B. Dube, K.C., Mr. A. Montgomerie, C.S.I., Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. W. S. Lamb, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. Alexander H. Wilson, Rev. R. M. and Mrs. Gray, Mrs. Barns, Miss Caton, Miss Margaret Brown, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mrs. Ameer Ali, Mr. Waris Ameer Ali, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Miss Gedge, Miss Kitchin, Mr. C. Mackintosh, Rev. E. S. Carr, Mr. R. K. Dhawan, Mrs. Roy, Mr. Alwyn Ezra, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mr. Khalid Sheldrake, Miss C. K. Cumming, Mr. R. Nevill, Mr. Frederick Grubb, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

Lord LAMINGTON expressed his regret that he could not stay to hear Sir Amberson Marten's paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Before calling upon Sir Amberson Marten to read his paper—to which I think everyone here is looking forward—I should like to say that Lord Hailsham and Lord Reading have written expressing their regret at being unable to attend.

SIR AMBERSON MARTEN, M.A., LL.D. (late Chief Justice, High Court, Bombay), then read his paper on "A Supreme Court for Federal India."

The CHAIRMAN: I delay my personal gratitude to the late Chief Justice of the High Court of Bombay because I think it is desirable, and it is the practice here, to have a discussion after the reading of a paper of such importance. After the discussion I propose to thank the late Chief Justice and to add a few words of my own—possibly he may disagree with parts of the discussion—and then we shall have a reply from him of criticism as well as gratitude.

SIR EWART GREAVES (late Judge of the Calcutta High Court) said he had not intended to speak, but as he had been called upon he must say just a few words. He had had an opportunity of reading a copy of Sir Amberson Marten's paper and had read it through last night. He felt that he would much rather have deferred any views he wanted to express until he had given further consideration to the question. When he, Sir Ewart Greaves, was a member of the Calcutta High Court he remembered one of those peripatetic files, that so often went round in India, coming round to the Calcutta High Court with regard to the formation of a Supreme Court; he remembered some very interesting discussions with regard to that, and in the end those who discussed it unanimously turned it down.

But he agreed with Sir Amberson Marten that that position had been changed by the present idea of a Federal Constitution, which

was now before them with regard to the future government of India. He agreed with the lecturer in this, that there must be some Federal Court formed so far as India was concerned.

Then Sir Ewart said he felt a certain amount of difficulty with regard to the constitution of the Court. What he was going to say was only thrown out by way of a suggestion for consideration. Sir Amberson Marten had suggested that there should be a Court of five Judges. It was very difficult, of course, in forming a Federal Court for India to have all the different interests represented, and the speaker thought it was very necessary that there should be an opportunity for people with a special knowledge of difficult branches of land law, and so on, to have an opportunity of sitting in the Court if required by reason of cases dealing with the special branches of the law that might be coming before the Court. That might be so especially so far as the Indian States were concerned. Therefore he threw it out as a matter for consideration whether there might not be some thought given to the principle which at present pertained with regard to the International Court at The Hague. The Statute had been altered but the change had not been made; he thought that Cuba dissented at the last meeting of the Assembly. But in what he might call the old Statute of the International Court there was a provision for so many permanent Judges and for so many supplemental Judges, as they were called. He thought the permanent Judges always sat, and then the supplemental Judges could be called upon if they were required, or if there were an appeal from the country of whose law they had a special knowledge. That provision had been done away with in the new constitution of the Court, which, however, had not yet come into force. The new Statute of the Court provided for fifteen permanent Judges. But he thought it might be useful, so far as a Federal Court in India was concerned, if they had a nucleus of a permanent Court of, say, five, as the lecturer had suggested, and then had a panel of what he might call supplemental Judges for want of a better word. On that panel they would put persons of judicial position and knowledge with regard to some of the larger States and some of the other States which were not permanently represented in the Court. There was a very large field to draw upon in India for a panel of that nature.

Continuing, the speaker said he had always protested in India, and he still protested, against the sixty years rule. He thought it was a great mistake that you should make your judiciary retire at the age of sixty. That did not affect the Judges from Great Britain; they probably went of their own volition at that age or before. But he thought it was perfectly ridiculous that at sixty years of age every Indian Judge in the Court in his own land should be forced to retire from the Bench. In his own experience in the High Court in Calcutta he knew there were several Indian Judges who were forced to retire at the age of sixty but who were in full possession of all their faculties, and who were really a great loss to the Court through having to retire. He suggested those persons might be drawn upon for the supplemental panel, so that different branches of the law and different specialized forms of knowledge might be represented on the supplemental panel of the Court. Sir Ewart said he was not for a moment suggesting that as a final argument, but he threw it out as a suggestion that might possibly be considered by other speakers who would address the meeting.

The speaker confessed that so far as the Federal Court was concerned he was rather appalled at the possibility of the enormous

amount of appeals that might be made to that Court and which would swamp the Court. He thought there was no doubt that at the present time the fact that an appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council involved a considerable amount of delay—which the Judicial Committee always said was due to the High Courts in India—and also distance did deter a certain number of the determined Indian litigants.

He could not help feeling that if they had a Federal Court established in Delhi, or wherever it was established, there would be an enormous addition to the number of appeals that were likely to be made to that Court. That, he thought, was a matter which should have very serious consideration.

The speaker agreed respectfully with Sir Amberson Marten that there should be no appeals to that Court so far as criminal matters were concerned. They all knew in India how every criminal seemed to think it was necessary to pursue his possible chance of getting off his conviction in every possible Court, and then by petitioning the Governors of the different Provinces, and then the Viceroy and eventually the Privy Council; and he thought the Federal Court would be absolutely overwhelmed if they allowed any right of appeal to it in criminal cases. He thought what the lecturer had suggested with regard to Sessions cases in Calcutta and Bombay was right, and there should be a right of appeal in those cases to a bench of two Judges of this Court. That, however, was as far as he, the speaker, would go in that matter, and he certainly would not allow a right of appeal in criminal cases to the proposed Federal Court.

In conclusion, Sir Ewart Greaves said that if he had known he was going to be called upon to speak he would certainly have spent last night in further studying what he would say.

Sir LOUIS STUART (late Chief Judge, Oudh Chief Court) said that as unfortunately he was not at present convinced it would be an advantage to have a Federal Supreme Court as a final Court of Appeal from the various High Courts in India, he thought it only fair (as hardly anyone present knew who he was) to say that he had been connected with the Judicial Department in India for many years. In 1897 he worked first as a District and Sessions Judge, and he entered the Chief Appellate Courts in 1912, retiring only last March; he had also had an opportunity of going round India with what was called the Civil Justice Committee—sometimes familiarly called the "Laws Delay" Committee. (Laughter.) That Committee examined every Court in India and studied its work. He had been in the old Judicial Commissioners' Court of Oudh. Further, he had been a Judge of the High Court at Allahabad, and ended as Chief Judge of the new Chief Court in Oudh. He knew intimately a very large number of members of the Bar. Sir Louis said he introduced these facts in case it might be thought he was a trifle dogmatic. But he did not wish to press his views; he wished to put his views forward mainly to obtain a reply.

In the first place, Sir Louis said that he quite saw that they must have a Federal Court if they were going to have a Federation; but it did not follow that that Federal Supreme Court should be a final Court of Appeal from the High Courts in India. It remained an open question, whether it should be or should not be. He did not see how such an Appellate Court could be other than unwieldy. He did not think they would find that any one of the High Courts in India, or the Chief Court of Oudh, or the Judicial Commissioners' Courts, would be happy unless someone came from those Courts to sit in such

a Supreme Court. He said that from observations extending over twenty years, and he was stating not only the views of the Bench but the views of the Bar.

He thought it would also be found that the old Presidency Courts would not be content with one member; they would want at least two members. So that with Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay supplying six, Allahabad, Lahore, and Patna supplying one each, there would be nine; then Nagpur would want another, making ten; Lucknow would want another, making eleven; and Sind would want another, making twelve. And more would be asked for in time. It would thus be a very large Court. If it were not so, some place would be unrepresented, and an objection would be taken every time an appeal came up from, say, Oudh: "We are not getting a fair hearing; none of these men understand Oudh and none of them understand Oudh law." As a matter of fact, Oudh law was very complicated. Very few understood it, and some of their lordships of the Privy Council knew as much about and sometimes more about Oudh law than any man in India—Lord Atkinson certainly knew more.

Another disadvantage would be in the increase of appeals that would be filed. It was not so much a question of the Indian litigant being desirous to appeal as of the people who egged him on to appeal. Hardly was a case over when there were fourteen or fifteen men at the loser, saying, "Appeal, appeal." Such people often gave that advice because they were making a profit out of handling his money.

As things stood at present, if a man appealed to the Privy Council in England he had to do with a solicitor in London, who would employ counsel. There was not so much to be made out of that by the persons to whom he had referred. He did not mean to say that the people who made a business out of it were members of the Bar; but they had in India a class of nasty person, a sort of human leech, who lived upon litigation and was always in and out in the negotiations, and they would see to it that if they had such a Supreme Court of Appeal in India the number of appeals would increase very largely. Of that the speaker was absolutely convinced, and he thought that everybody who knew the country would agree with him.

Then, again, delays were likely to be greater. It was well known that appeals were heard in London very much faster than similar appeals were heard in India.

The speaker said he remembered an appeal which came from a High Court—which should be nameless, but at any rate it was not Bombay—going to the Privy Council, and counsel were talking about it. He (the speaker) said: "How long do you think it will take?" The reply was: "Well, sir, the arguments lasted thirty-five days in India, so I think it will take at least two days in London."

Then again there was the question of expense. People might think that it would be cheaper to appeal in India than to appeal in England. He did not agree. In England there was a fixed fee; in India they had what was known as a daily fee, and if the arguments lasted thirty-five days and the daily fee were in the neighbourhood of £100 a day for one counsel, it would be cheaper to employ even a fashionable counsel in London and to give him a fee of 2,000 guineas. They could work out for themselves which was the cheaper of the two. From his own experience, he did not consider that the expenses in London were so very great. He had frequently known a fairly large appeal to be run in London for about 500 guineas all in, whereas in India he had known more than one similar appeal on which

thousands had been spent. He could put forward cases in which he had actually seen that. In those circumstances did they really think it was worth while having a Court of that nature, which would not be a final Court? In no circumstances could they prevent an eventual appeal to their lordships of the Judicial Committee. The right of appeal there was a constitutional right; they might make rules to confine it, but in the end every member of the Empire had a right to claim such an appeal, and must, in cases where he could show hardship, obtain permission to file it.

Would the advantages be such as to outweigh the disadvantages? He wished to put his views forward mainly to elicit further opinion, but he could not help thinking that it would be very difficult to avoid the disadvantages he had mentioned. He did not think it would be easy to work, as Sir Ewart Greaves had suggested, with supplemental Judges, unless they were taken off a roster of men who had left the Bench or who had given up practice; and in that case he did not think there would be sufficient for the purpose. Speaking as a former Chief Judge, he would have strongly objected to being asked to send from his own Court a supplemental Judge and thus throw out of gear the work of his own Court until that Judge came back again; he might not come back for months, perhaps for a year.

In conclusion, the speaker said he would like to quote a saying of the late Mr. Bonar Law: "Do not touch anything unless you are quite certain that you are going to improve it."

Mr. DUBE, K.C. (the first Indian practising barrister to be appointed a King's Counsel), said that he had no intention of speaking when he came, and he had to admit that he had not given that serious consideration to the subject which it deserved. However, he was glad to thank the learned lecturer for his paper. The question before them for consideration was: Should we have, or should we not have, a Supreme Court of Appeal in India? In that connection he would draw attention to the words with which the learned lecturer had wound up his paper. With great respect he said that the word "desirable" should be strengthened; in his opinion a Federal Court was indispensable. There could be no system of Federal Government or administration, at any rate within the British Empire, which had not its own Supreme Court of Appeal. Even the last speaker tried to suggest in terms that the Court would be unwieldy and the expense would be very heavy, and that the Chief Justices and the Judges might not like their decisions reversed by the Supreme Tribunal in Delhi or elsewhere. He wondered whether they liked it when it was done by the Judicial Committee here.

SIR LOUIS STUART: I never said that.

Mr. DUBE said that at any rate the last speaker seemed to suggest that they could not for all practical purposes have a Supreme Court of Appeal in India. He did not agree with that. He suggested for their consideration that it was inevitable. There were so many factors. The right of self-government, in his opinion, demanded in fact the existence of a Supreme Court; it was inherent in the very grant of self-government to India. According to that conception there would be provincial autonomous government; there would be Federal States in the Federation, which under some treaty or other—whether with the Federal Government or the Government of India—would enter into a treaty to come into the Federation. All that necessarily involved the interpretation of very difficult questions between the Provinces and the Central Government, and between Indian States and the Provinces, and between one Indian State and another.

It was a matter of great satisfaction to him that morning when he read about Sir Leslie Scott delivering a learned lecture on the law in the British Commonwealth, and especially when he particularly emphasized one aspect of the question which had escaped notice so far—namely, that up to the present time all questions in dispute between an Indian State and the Government of India were decided by the Government of India, either the Provincial or the Central, without any publicity and in any way they liked. In other words, Sir Leslie Scott pointed out that the defendant or the plaintiff in the action—namely, the Crown—decided the case in its own favour without any right of appeal. Surely that was a denial of justice.

Take another case. Supposing that he (the speaker) happened to be a resident in a State and had a grievance against the Rajah. At present he had no relief against him. In the same way there might be questions of policy, of legislation—what was within or what was not within the power of a Provincial Government to legislate. Those were important questions. Therefore, in the opinion of the speaker, the establishment of a Federal Court of Appeal was a vital necessity, and without it no Federal Government was possible to run in the British Commonwealth.

The next question was as to whether the right of appeal of the British Indians to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should be modified, and, if so, to what extent. That also was a question of very great importance. Up to the present time appeals came from India when the value involved was only Rs.10,000. That was an amount which had operated for about fifty years, and in the opinion of the speaker it was too low. Trumpery cases came before the Judicial Committee, and it was hardly conceivable in any system that you could expect such competent and highly qualified Judges to sit on trumpery matters of pure questions of fact—as to whether a person when taking an account owed Rs.500 or Rs.5 to the plaintiff, or whether Rs.10,000 were due to the defendant. Therefore there must be some modification. Quite easy steps could be taken to relieve the Judicial Committee and a right of appeal be given to the Supreme Court of Appeal in certain cases with an option to the appellant. It was obvious that under the English system of constitutional law it was impossible to have a Court in India in substitution for the Judicial Committee; because the right of appeal to the Sovereign always existed.

In regard to a supplemental panel, Mr. Dube did not think it was necessary to have one. There was nothing better than having a fixity of tenure and experience in the same Court for a number of years. A Judge might, of course, be called in to act as an assessor, as in the Judicial Committee, where cases involving maritime law and the like were under discussion. But it did seem to him (Mr. Dube) that there ought to be a Supreme Court of Appeal in India for the purpose of deciding matters in dispute between the Provinces and the Federal Government, between one State and another State, and between a State and the Crown. He supported the learned lecturer's proposal that a Supreme Court of Appeal should be set up in India—of course, in the event of Federation taking place.

Mr. WARIS AMEER ALI (late District Judge, United Provinces) said he would like first of all to thank the learned lecturer for his remarks about the great body of the Judiciary and Magistracy of India, who had passed through, if not as dangerous a time, at any rate nearly as trying a time as the Police had recently, and he hoped that that tribute would be conveyed to them.

As to a right of appeal to the Privy Council, the speaker thought he might quote the opinion of his revered father, who was for nineteen years a member of that body—namely, that the right of appeal to the Sovereign was still a living reality in the East, and especially in India, and that any curtailment of that right would be very greatly resented by the Indian public. He was not referring to special interests in India such as, perhaps, would view with equanimity, or pleasure, the founding of a fresh Court to intervene between the Privy Council and the exceedingly competent Chief or High Courts that now existed; but, speaking generally for the Indian public, he thought they would not like it. He (the speaker) personally thought they would view with considerable apprehension the foundation of a new appellate body within the ambit of Delhi, which was liable to be affected—perhaps would be more liable to be affected in the future—by wafts of political breezes. It was unfortunate that anything which came within the ambit of Delhi was liable to be influenced by political considerations.

Even now there had been one or two occasions on which Judges, who had not been fully brought up in the traditions of the old Judiciary, had, perhaps, allowed their feelings to get a little the better of them—*e.g.*, to destroy the intention of the Legislature in cases where the Legislature had laid down rules and laws for the protection of the agricultural population. Therefore this tendency required the very gravest consideration when, if at all, laying down the rules for the appointment of Judges of, and the procedure for, the proposed Supreme Court of Appeal.

Mr. Ameer Ali added that he was in entire agreement with Sir Louis Stuart in his statement as to the effect on litigation, etc., of granting such a Supreme Court appellate or other jurisdiction. The experience of Sir Louis was unrivalled, certainly in Northern India; the speaker did not think anyone at the present time had his experience of litigation both in the District Courts and in the High and Chief Courts.

Mr. JOSEPH NISSIM (late Secretary of the Legislative Council, Bombay) said that at that late hour he only wished to express his personal gratitude to his friend Sir Amberson Marten for raising a valuable discussion on a most interesting problem—one of the most interesting problems of the day—and for, if he might be allowed to say so, correctly formulating the questions that arose. That was a great service. Sir Amberson Marten had expressed his opinions, and he would no doubt forgive the speaker if he differed slightly from those opinions.

At that hour of the day, when the Round Table Conference had come to an agreement on the question of a Supreme Federal Court in India, in the circumstance of a Federal Constitution for India, it would be idle to dispute that conclusion. Every factor pointed to the necessity for Federal administration with Federal Executive and Federal Legislature, having its own Federal Supreme Court. They could not but agree with Sir Amberson Marten that that Federal Court should have a right of appeal from the High Courts in India; it should be a final Court of Appeal in India. Where his (the speaker's) views diverged from those of the lecturer was in the lecturer's conclusion that it should be the final Court of Appeal in India. The lecturer had stated broadly as his conclusion that it should be in substitution for the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The CHAIRMAN: Not quite.

Mr. JOSEPH NISSIM said it was to be largely in substitution for the

Judicial Committee, with a very restricted right of appeal—that is, with power in the Privy Council to give special leave to appeal, as in the case of Australia and South Africa. They knew what that meant. He ventured to think that that did not follow from the lecturer's own premises, very correctly stated. The lecturer had pointed to the distinguished services the Privy Council had rendered over a long period of years to Indian litigants; he had also pointed out the eminence of the Judges and the competence of the advocates; he had mentioned that London was adapted to work all the year round, and that the expense of litigation and the delay in litigation need not be any more in appeals to London than that which might arise from appeals to Delhi. Surely it was somewhat illogical to deduce from these considerations the idea that it was time for practically replacing the Judicial Committee in London by a tribunal in Delhi.

The speaker said the obvious conclusion, therefore, was that it should be co-ordinated by a well-thought-out scheme with the Supreme Court in India, and he ventured to think that the line of demarcation was not difficult to discover. To the Supreme Federal Court you would naturally take Federal and Constitutional questions; it would be a Court of Appeal wherever a choice had to be made between disputed questions of fact on which the Lower Courts had come to conflicting conclusions; it would also be the Court to which an appeal would naturally be carried where peculiarly Indian law was in question. But he (the speaker) would preserve a right in the High Court, on application by either party, after hearing the other party, to grant leave to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council under conditions such as the following: where the amount at stake was more than 50,000 rupees; where a substantial question of law was involved; and where that question of law was not one of peculiarly Indian law, but one which arose directly or indirectly out of international law, or mercantile law and usage, or English law, common and statutory, or foreign law. They had to remember that there was the dual system of law in India, a large contribution from India from the Indian systems of jurisprudence and an equally large contribution from this country. They had also got to try to keep India as an integral part of the Empire, looking to the same monarch as the fountain of justice. In those circumstances he submitted, in the highly complicated circumstances of India, with a population of teeming millions and with litigation amounting up to several millions, it would be but fair and wise and just in the interests of India itself that there should be co-ordination between the Supreme Court there and the Judicial Committee here.

The second question, the speaker continued, on which he regretted to say his view differed from that of the Chief Justice was that of a Court of Criminal Appeal. In this country we had a Court of Criminal Appeal founded in 1907. In the circumstances of India, if there was one thing of which he was more sure than of another, it was that the necessity for a Court of Criminal Appeal, above the High Courts, was all the greater. Consider for a moment that the majority of the cases were decided by the Judge with the aid only of assessors, and a Judge who could not possibly be expected to understand the peculiar mentality of unfortunate members of so many castes and creeds. He thought it would require a superman to do it, at any rate. In those circumstances, for there to be no general Court of Criminal Appeal in India was anomalous. Of course, there was confirmation of a death sentence by two Judges. The speaker thought the time had come when there should be a Court of Criminal

Appeal in India, and in his humble judgment the strongest argument for establishing a Supreme Federal Court was that it could be endowed with final criminal jurisdiction as one of its powers. Although there was confirmation, difficult questions of law did arise. He was in favour of restricting the right of appeal in criminal cases to a very large extent, and he would only grant leave to appeal to a Court of Criminal Appeal in India on the certificate of the Appellate High Court. That, he thought, would be sufficient, superimposed upon the conditions they knew so well from the English Act of 1907.

On the three minor questions the speaker said he had only a word to say. On the question of the constitution of the Supreme Court, he thought the hint thrown out by Sir Ewart Greaves was well worthy of consideration—namely, that they should have a permanent Lord Chief Justice, Lords Justices, and a panel consisting of the Chief Justices *ex officio* and some other distinguished Judges or lawyers from the major Provinces.

On the question of a Bar Council for practice before the Supreme Court, he submitted that there was no necessity for one. Anybody who had a right of audience in the High Court should equally have a right of audience in the Supreme Court. There was no necessity for a special Roll or a special Bar Council. Any man permitted to practise before the High Court might well be allowed to practise before the Supreme Court.

On the question of the location of the Court, the speaker thought it should be at Delhi and Delhi alone, the seat of the Central Government. The Court should be there, and there should not be an alternative place for it.

The Rt. Hon. Sir DINSHAH MULLA (member of the Judicial Committee of H.M. Privy Council) said that before he came he had made a special bargain with the authorities concerned that he would not make a speech, and he had been given to understand and had been assured that he would not be expected to speak. That being the case, he had not applied his mind to the subject as thoroughly as he ought to have done in order to express any opinion upon the questions which had been raised by the paper.

As regards the desirability of a Supreme Federal Court, he thought there could not be any two opinions, provided there was going to be a Federal Court; but the question of finance was a formidable one, and it required serious consideration whether a Federal Court should be started immediately the new constitution was set into motion. At present they were having the services of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council at a comparatively small cost. In his opinion it would cost about thirty or forty times as much if a Federal Court were established in India. At the same time, he did not for a moment suggest that patriotic India should be afraid of the cost of setting up a Federal Court.

With regard to the question of criminal appeals, Sir Dinshah thought there was something to be said on both sides. On the whole it seemed to him, having regard to the present constitution of their Courts, sufficient justice was done in the large majority of cases. He believed that in 95 out of 100 cases, so far as criminal matters were concerned, that was the position. That being the case, he personally was of opinion that no right of criminal appeal to the Federal Court should be given. He entirely agreed with Mr. Dube when he said that if you had a Federal Government you must have a Federal Court. In fact, from a constitutional point of view it was very difficult to imagine a Federal Government which had no Court of its

own. A Federal Government which had no Federal Court was, he thought, no Government at all. Therefore, once there was Federal Government there must be a Federal Court; but whether it should be a final Court of Appeal or not was a different question.

Sir Dinshah agreed with Mr. Dube that the right of appeal to the Privy Council should be curtailed. Rs. 10,000 was too small a limit. He would certainly increase the limit so that matters of minor importance might not come up before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He thought it was not at all desirable to deprive a British subject of the right of final appeal to His Majesty in Council.

In conclusion, Sir Dinshah Mulla said he was very much obliged to his old friend Sir Amberson Marten—whom he always used to call his chief when he was in Bombay—for giving them that opportunity of discussing the matter; the lecture had been a very interesting and informing one, and he was of opinion that it was the best piece of literature he had read on the subject.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE LOWNDES said he had not any desire to speak; he had really come to learn and not to put forward any views he himself might have. He thought they ought all to be very grateful to Sir Amberson Marten for his paper, for this reason: that they were so apt to see a subject like this in the air and talk about it as a possibility but never bring themselves down to hard facts. Sir Amberson Marten had put before them a definite scheme at which they could look; they might not all agree with it or approve of it, but, at any rate, they could see to what they had to apply their minds. Sir George said he was one of those who very much doubted whether India had got anything to gain by a Supreme Court out there or whether India wanted it. If they were going to have a Federation in India, he agreed they had to have some judicial body which would determine questions which arose between States and Provinces. He saw no difficulty in providing for that under the existing system.

In about 1918 when he was in India this question of a Supreme Court was mooted from home. Very likely it was this that went round in the envelope to which Sir Ewart Greaves had referred in regard to the file which came to him. Some of the leading practitioners from all parts of India had discussed the question; they sat down and discussed it—he thought it was in Simla—for a considerable number of days. During the whole of that discussion there was only one man who thought a Supreme Court was wanted in India. They were all practising barristers whose names he did not remember, but he did remember the one who dissented. He thought that there ought to be a Supreme Court in India; his general idea was that the English Judges who sit in the Privy Council should go out to India every year in the cold weather as an ambulatory Court and decide the various cases out there. That was an impossibility, of course. Further, it was not starting a Supreme Court for themselves at all, it was merely adhering to the Supreme Court that had always been in use. The speaker himself did not believe, even when political events had gone as far as they had since then, that there was a real desire to have a Court in India which would take the place of the present final Court of His Majesty in Council in England.

While discussing these interesting questions last Christmas, the speaker had been told by one enthusiastic member from India that India did not care about having great Judges or having their cases decided rightly; what India wanted was to have them decided by Indians. Of course that was one point of view, but he doubted

whether that would find much echo in India generally. He thought that every litigant wanted to have the best Judges he could get to decide his case.

They had also to remember that the present system of appeal to His Majesty in Council had been going on for so long that he (the speaker) really believed the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had a great name in India. (Hear, hear.) It was proposed to substitute a new body for that altogether, but he was not at all sure whether it would be as acceptable as many of their political friends thought it would be. He did not want India merely to say: "We are going to be a self-governing country, therefore we must have a Supreme Court of our own." He did not think they would get anything out of that.

There was one other point to which he would refer on the very big and difficult question under discussion, and that was the expense involved. It must be remembered that when Indian cases came here there was the whole body of English Judges concerned towards whose salaries India did not contribute, therefore they had to face the cost, and the very big cost, of a new Court in India; and with all deference to Sir Amberson Marten, if they had five Judges in the Supreme Court to hear every appeal, how could they deal with the cases when any one of the Judges went away on leave or was sick? A much bigger panel was necessary. There would be undoubtedly a great increase of work in India. As a pointer towards that they had only to look at the number of cases coming over here—they had increased in the last twenty years from about fifty to one hundred a year. If a Supreme Court were set up in India there would be a further great increase in the number of cases. He was of opinion that at least two Benches sitting all the year round would be necessary, and a very large panel of Judges would be required—at least twelve or fourteen Judges would be required to man the Courts. Then, again, they would have to pay them well in India.

Then there was the question of where the Court was to sit. When they came to London they came to what was in some ways the centre of the world. He did not believe that either the expense or the delay was any greater in most of the cases by their coming here compared with what it would be if the cases were tried in India. Apart from that, where would the Court sit? It was all very well to speak about sitting in Delhi all the year round, but nobody who knew Delhi would want to sit there in the hot weather. Therefore if it was desired to set up the Court in Delhi in the cold weather, they would have to have a second Court somewhere else; this would necessitate a second set of houses for all the Judges. A considerable establishment would also be required, because the public of India would not be impressed if the Court sat in a bungalow. A big Court would be required in each place, and the expense would be very great indeed. India was going to be a much poorer country in the future than it had been in the past; she wanted so much for her social services that the speaker doubted that, if Indians really thought the question out, they would come to the conclusion that they wanted a Supreme Court in India at all. That was the first question to be decided. It had been treated rather lightly at the Round Table Conference—"Of course we shall have a Supreme Court." He only wanted to remind them of the difficulties, and one of the biggest difficulties was £ s. d.

The CHAIRMAN: I think this discussion has been one of the most helpful kind. We are all very grateful to Sir Amberson Marten for his

paper, and no less grateful to the distinguished men who have spoken.

The differences of opinion are, to me at any rate, very interesting. Sir Ewart Greaves' idea of permanent and supplemental panels or Judges, an idea exemplified in the International Court at The Hague, is one that I should personally like to support and extend. I have been thinking of nothing else in my spare time for the last month, and I had at last come to the conclusion that Federal India must have a Federal Court, and that this Federal Court might be assisted by supplemental Judges not wholly drawn from India. I advocate as well supplemental Judges whose great experience of Imperial federal matters—the full experience of Canada and South Africa and Australia—might make a very valuable addition to this panel. The Federal Court, it must be remembered, is going to adjudicate on federal matters—those constitutional matters which are not Indian alone but common to all federal systems.

Sir Louis Stuart held, out of his wide experience, that the Federal Supreme Court need not necessarily be an Appellate Court, and that if it were an Appellate Court appeals must increase enormously. Mr. Dube dwelt principally on the fact of the necessity of a Federal Court. Mr. Waris Ameer Ali said that the right of appeal should go direct from the High Courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, since that represented the best legal idealism of India. On the other hand, Mr. Nissim holds that a Federal Court and Appellate Court are necessary but criticizes various details in Sir Amberson Marten's lecture. The two very distinguished members of the Privy Council who have spoken dwelt on the question of cost.

There are three points I should like to put before you very briefly. Before I had heard these speakers, but after I had had conferences, if I may say so, with Sir Amberson Marten, I had come to the conclusion that the logical position is this: that the present High Courts do their work to the satisfaction of the Chief Justices, or the Chief Judges concerned, and that if these Judges could be relieved of much of their administration work, then the present system would be almost perfect, so far as a judicial system can be perfect. The logical conclusion from that, to my mind, is that a Federal Court is necessary—a very strong Federal Court—with an appeal to the Privy Council, but that an Appellate Court is not, at any rate, necessary. (Hear, hear.) That is the conclusion to which I have come. But the wisdom of Parliament and the wisdom of the intellectual magnates of India may conclude that an Appellate jurisdiction is necessary. Well, then, I say—and, of course, I am thinking in terms of other systems of law—that if that is so, then cut out the system of the citation of cases altogether. In the whole system of law reports in the United States of America and in other federal systems there is a perfect chaos of case law existing at the present time. Now, France has escaped that horrible difficulty, simply because the great Napoleon in his Civil Code endeavoured, and endeavoured to the present time with nearly 130 years of success, to devise a code which could deal with the complex legal systems of pre-revolutionary France and make the whole of France a perfect juridical and social unity without the question of case law being involved. Of course, there is case law in France, although the Code forbids it; but the case law in fact is practically limited to the reports of the Cour de Cassation, the Supreme Court; and I suggest that if there is a Supreme Appellate Court in India it should work under a Code, and that case law should be limited to decisions of that Court and of the Judicial Committee.

Then there is my third point, which I want to put very briefly. In view of the differences of opinion expressed today—in view of the constitutional difficulties even of a Federal Court alone—I think it is desirable that a small committee of experts should be gathered together and discuss the very able paper we have heard today as an initial document, so to speak, and report on the whole subject. We cannot exhaust it now; but there is one thing that we can do, and that is to thank Sir Amberson Marten for his paper, which I myself found delightful both from its great legal learning and for its literary qualities. (Applause.)

In reply, Sir AMBERSON MARTEN expressed his pleasure that at any rate one object of his paper—viz., to provoke a discussion—had been attained. Sir Ewart Greaves had referred, as had the Chairman, to a supplemental panel of Judges for the proposed Supreme Court. That, the speaker thought, was done in South Africa; but in India there was this difficulty as regards those still on the Bench. Speaking as a Chief Justice—and here he had the support of Sir Louis Stuart as Chief Judge of Oudh—he personally would strongly object to leaving his own Court, where he was more than fully occupied with heavy work, both judicial and administrative, in order to sit temporarily at Delhi or somewhere else; he would also object to Government taking away one of his best puisne Judges for a similar purpose. And speaking from the point of view of a puisne Judge, which he was for many years, he would also have objected to being transferred temporarily from the equable climate of Bombay and his comfortable bungalow there to Delhi or some other distant place with an entirely different climate.

The Chairman had touched on one point about law reports. The speaker thought that Sir John Heaton (whom he was glad to see there) would agree with him that in years to come—even if not at present—reported cases were going to be the curse of Indian law courts. There were seven or eight High Courts now in India, and each of them was publishing authorized reports every year, to say nothing of unauthorized reports. What would happen fifty years hence? It might become necessary to limit the citation as of right of any law reports after some particular year, apart from those of the proposed Supreme Court and the Privy Council.

Sir Amberson Marten wished to say that he viewed with particular pleasure the presence of his old friend Sir Dinshah Mulla; everybody present would be delighted that Sir Dinshah was now sitting on the Privy Council. To have a great Indian lawyer like him on the Privy Council, and also Sir George Lowndes—who knew his India from A to Z—meant that the Indian public had in the Privy Council, together with the eminent English Law Lords, a body which they must admit they could not hope to equal in India at the present time.

Continuing, the lecturer said that, as he had told the Simon Commission when he was a witness: "At present we have not got in India, on the Bench, European or Indian, men under sixty who will be in a position to reverse the decisions of the various High Courts in India and yet give complete confidence to the litigants in those High Courts." But the speaker felt that in this, as in the main constitutional change of Federation, India had to take a plunge. Efficiency might suffer, at any rate in the early years. But a start had to be made, and just as a Supreme Court had made good in Australia and Canada and South Africa, so he believed it would also eventually make good in India.

Sir HENRY SHARP moved a vote of thanks to Professor de Mont-

morency for his summing up of the discussion and to Sir Amberson Marten for his very capable and sane paper. Sir Henry added that they were apt to be dazzled at present, he would not say by the moonshine, but rather the high lights of federation and of central responsibility. They must examine other commitments. They had heard that a Supreme Court was desirable or indispensable. Let them not fail to look forward to see whether there were any gaps in the general scheme which were possibly too wide to be jumped over. They ought all to be very grateful to Sir Amberson Marten for having started a consideration of that important question.

Sir Amberson Marten writes :

Time did not permit of my replying to several important points raised in the discussion; and I should like to take the present opportunity which has been kindly offered to me by our Hon. Sec., Mr. Brown, whose assistance over this paper I gratefully acknowledge.

As regards the Court expenses, I agree with Sir George Lowndes that a Supreme Court cannot be run on the cheap. If, however, an estimate of the probable initial and recurrent costs were made by Government, it might be left to Indian opinion to say whether the proposal was worth the cost.

As regards temporary vacancies due to furlough or ill-health, I take it that there should be provision made for acting appointments or even for temporary additional appointments on much the same lines as those now existing in the High Courts. But if and when the Bench becomes wholly Indian, a question may arise whether furloughs should not be substantially curtailed and only vacations retained. Indians should be able to bear their own climate better than Europeans. Nor are they separated from their children.

As regards an increase in appeals, this may happen, but if necessary the Bench would have to be increased so as to be able to sit in two divisions, as in fact the Privy Council has frequently had to do in recent years. Reference was made to that despicable creature the law tout. But in Bombay, at any rate, I don't think he has any substantial influence over appeals to the Privy Council. The original side cases are already in the hands of attorneys and any appellate side cases from the mofussil likely to go to the Privy Council are probably in the charge of a leading pleader, and not unfrequently of attorneys as well.

As regards counsels' fees, the aim should be to establish a good Bar at the place of location of the Supreme Court. Otherwise I agree that the cost of getting counsel to leave their respective High Courts for individual cases would be very heavy.

Reference was made to the inherent right of the litigant to appeal to His Majesty in Council. But this can, of course, be curtailed by legislation, as in fact is already the case. My proposal would give no appeal as of right, but only by special leave of either the Supreme Court or the Privy Council, except perhaps on certain Federal matters. In Australia, for instance, the decisions of the Supreme Court have been made final in certain matters.

I cannot agree with Mr. Dube that there should be a general right of appeal to the Supreme Court and also to the Privy Council. This would mean in effect the intervention of yet another Appellate Court in Indian litigation. The result would gravely increase the existing delays in Indian litigation and also the costs. I think also, with all

respect, that he has quite mistaken the feelings of the Indian Bench towards a superior appellate tribunal, like the Privy Council; the Bench are fully aware of the gamble involved in litigation, particularly if they have been appointed from the Bar. And often an appeal brings them this advantage, that the law on some doubtful point is finally settled, and that they are thenceforth relieved from prolonged argument from counsel as to the merits of conflicting decisions.

Sir Louis Stuart's estimate of the probable size of the Bench is one which seems to me excessive. If Bombay, for instance, got one representative on the Supreme Court Bench it would think itself lucky. It would certainly not demand two. For instance, up to now no Bombay Indian has ever been appointed permanently to the Governor-General's Executive Council. Consequently his suggested figures of twelve could be cut down by at least one-half.

Then as to the necessity of having on the Bench experts in all branches including the various complicated land systems in India, Sir Louis gave perhaps the best answer in saying that Lord Atkinson knew more about Oudh law than any man in India. But yet Lord Atkinson was never on the Indian Bench or at the Indian Bar. His early days were at the Irish Bar. And the explanation is this. If a barrister has had a first-rate training in any one system of law, then in my opinion he can master any other system of law. Indeed, the more systems he masters, the better lawyer he becomes, because he gets to rely more and more on main principles, and his ever widening experience produces a continuing growth of valuable comparative examples to refer to. This, I think, is why the Privy Council are able to master and expound all the various law systems of the Empire, although their early training has usually been confined to one of the English, Scottish, or Irish systems. So, too, in India, I should expect that in time the Supreme Court would become thoroughly familiar with the essential differences now prevailing in our various Presidencies and States. And it must also be borne in mind that the Supreme Court would have the great advantage of seeing in print the judgments of the High Court and of the subordinate Court; and they would doubtless find, as I always found, that the Indian Bar would invariably give every assistance to the Bench, provided the Bench sought that assistance on any point not familiar to it.

THE VICEROYALTY

CONGRATULATIONS TO LORD AND LADY WILLINGDON

THE following correspondence has passed between the President and Council of the Association and Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy-Designate :

3, VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S.W. 1,
March 10, 1931.

DEAR LORD WILLINGDON,

On past occasions this Association, being the senior non-official organization in the United Kingdom for the promotion of the welfare of India, has communicated expressions of goodwill and congratulation to statesmen selected by the Sovereign for the Viceroyalty of India. Following these precedents the Council desires to assure you and Lady Willingdon, on behalf of the Association, of its cordial good wishes and earnest hopes for the success of the great Imperial task you are undertaking.

This is the first occasion on which the Association has been in a position to include in such expressions reference to previous great and distinguished services in India on the part of the Viceroy-Designate. After having presided for eleven years over the Government of two great Presidencies in succession, your lordship now returns to India, with a full knowledge of the conditions of that vast country, to discharge "the supremely important and onerous duties" to which H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, one of our Vice-Presidents, referred in his message to the Pilgrims Dinner a few days ago. Accordingly, our congratulations to you are accompanied by congratulations to India that at this critical time in her political evolution her destinies are to be guided by one who knows and loves her people.

In the years which have passed since leaving Madras you and Lady Willingdon have kept in touch with Indian affairs and personalities, and have worked, notably while resident in this country, for good understanding and friendship between Indian and Briton. At the same time, your withdrawal from any close connection with current Indian politics while you were Governor-General of Canada enables you to approach the great constitutional and administrative issues now facing India with a fresh and unhampered, though fully informed, outlook.

The Council notes with satisfaction the hopes and aspirations with which you enter upon your high responsibilities, as expressed in your public utterances since returning to this country a few weeks ago. You and Lady Willingdon are assured of a most cordial welcome from the many friends of all classes and communities you have in India. We shall follow with close and sustained interest the progress of events, and, as in the past, we shall do our best, on the lines which experience has shown to be the most practical, to have some humble share in the efforts of His Majesty's Viceroy to promote the welfare of the Indian Empire.

Signed on behalf of the Council,

LAMINGTON,
President.

L. DANE,
Chairman of Council.

F. H. BROWN,
Hon. Secretary.

ST. JOHN'S LODGE,
20, ABBEY ROAD, N.W. 8.,
March 11, 1931.

DEAR LORD LAMINGTON,

I was very proud to receive the letter you sent me on behalf of the East India Association, congratulating me on my appointment to the Viceroyalty, and expressing on behalf of its members your cordial good wishes and earnest hopes for the success of the task I am undertaking. Such expressions of encouragement and confidence are, I assure you, a tremendous help to us before we start to undertake our great responsibilities.

I should like, on behalf of my wife and myself, to thank you most gratefully for your kind thought, and assure you that, whatever the results of our labour, we shall do our very best to restore peace and contentment among all classes and communities in India.

Yours very sincerely,
WILLINGDON.

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF LABOUR PROBLEMS IN INDIA—II*

BY PROFESSOR N. GANGULEE, C.I.E., B.SC., PH.D.,
Professor of Agriculture, Calcutta University; lately member of the Royal
Commission on Indian Agriculture

(Concluded from January issue)

THE Central Labour Council may profitably direct a portion of the fund at its disposal to (a) child welfare schemes, (b) provision for crèches and nurseries where female labour is employed, (c) provision for women doctors, trained midwives and dais, and other forms of welfare work which would make an impression on the workers as regards the benevolent intentions of the Government. In India we cannot ignore the psychological effects of paternalism in the sphere of administration.

4. I am in favour of creating a statutory Miners' Welfare Fund; but its control and supervision should rest with the proposed Central Labour Council.

EDUCATION

Twenty-two years ago the Indian Factory Labour Commission (1908) considered that every facility and encouragement should be given to promote the education of children working in factories, and they recommended the opening of special schools *close* to the factories. It is probably unnecessary to state here that the progress of a development on which the prosperity of both industry and labour depends has been very slow. What is worse, there is as yet no definite educational policy laid down by the Government of India in regard to (a) general education of children in industrial areas, and (b) vocational training of boys who may be employed in various industries. One of the first important duties that the proposed Central Labour Council must discharge is to formulate a general policy in regard to education in industrial areas. I see no useful purpose in encouraging the waste of our primary educational system by establishing a number of ill-equipped schools there; what is really needed is to provide certain

* Based on a Memorandum for the Royal Commission on Labour in India.

typical areas, where conditions are most favourable, with a number of well-organized schools, so that the labourers themselves may appreciate the value of the education imparted to their children. The Provincial Labour Council should carefully watch such intensive experiments and record their progress. Should they indicate satisfactory results, I am confident that the Trade Unions will do much to assist in the spread of literacy among the working-class children.

On the subject of vocational training, I desire to say that it has to be "broad-based" upon a good general education if the object of such training be to turn out men capable of taking some share in the industrial development of the country. I think it is a mistake to give technical training before the most critical years of adolescence are over.

Perhaps the most effective means of spreading education on proper and practical lines would be to organize a scheme of adult education such as it exists in the West. I should like to see the beginning of an agency for adult education like that of the Workers' Educational Association of Great Britain. During my visits to England I had many opportunities of observing some of the essential features of this association, and regretted very much that in India we had no such efficient body. The initiative in this direction should be taken by some of our well-organized Trade Unions, and for such work the Departments of Public Instructions should make adequate grants.

SPECIAL QUESTIONS RELATING TO WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Although welfare schemes in the way of providing the employee with medical aid, maternity benefits, education, etc., are receiving some attention in India, the Labour Commission has had sufficient evidence to impress on them the gravity of the social situation in the industrial areas where women and children are employed. It is a truism to say that the sort of surroundings into which the child is born would go far to determine its after-life. Childhood in the industrial areas is in danger, and if there be no substantial improvement in the direction of better housing, better nutrition, and better education, India can never hope to obtain an efficient labour force to develop her industries.

The above schedule has raised several questions which have a close relationship with the welfare of women and children; but I propose to confine my remarks to the nature of the organization required to administer their needs. In the Central Council of Labour I suggested reservation of

at least one seat for a woman member. Unfortunately there are not many Indian women whose services may be utilized for creating a strong permanent women's committee, the purpose of which would be to advise both employers and Government on problems peculiar to the employment of women in factories, mines, and plantations. For the present, three seats in each Provincial Labour Council may be reserved for women, one of which should be from the Public Health Service.

HOUSING AND HEALTH

I have already dealt with some of the questions placed under these headings. Here I will confine myself to a few suggestions in regard to (1) facilities for the acquisition of land for workers' houses; (2) the effects of the disturbance of the sex ratio in industrial cities; and (3) the need of women doctors.

1. Owing to land speculation, land values in the neighbourhood of industrial areas are artificially raised. These speculators desire to reap the benefit of such improvements and developments which come from the efforts and energies of industrial or municipal enterprises and keep the land values far too high. The result is that land is not made available to industrial or municipal enterprises for their expansion at a reasonable price.

This problem has been solved in China by a system of land taxation, and I would ask the Labour Commission to consider similar schemes for their adoption in industrial areas where housing accommodation is insufficient.

2. The problem of the sex ratio in industrial cities has not commanded the attention it deserves, and perhaps it may be difficult for the Commission to obtain relevant data for framing definite recommendations. The subject requires to be investigated and examined in detail before a workable solution may be suggested. As the problem is interrelated with the entire social system, the call for reform should come from the working class through the initiative of labour organizations.

3. The small cadre of the Women's Medical Service in India is wholly inadequate for rendering any effective service to women and children. As it is, women doctors have to work under great disabilities, and they are unable to cope with the work they are called upon to do. It is obvious that the cadre has to be increased for any expansion of the activities of the Women's Medical Service, and here the

responsibility lies with the Government. The Dufferin Fund, constituted for the purpose, should be augmented by further grants from the Central Government, and constitutional changes should not be allowed to interfere with the administration of such funds.

SEASONAL MIGRATION OF LABOUR

In the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture we discussed the general labour situation as it affects agriculture. The seasonal migration of the rural population to industrial centres and overseas emigration are two factors which, from the point of view of the economic welfare of the population, are of considerable importance. The pressure on the land in certain parts of India is alarmingly excessive and demands relief. Consequently, we were of opinion that "all restrictions on the movement of labour throughout India" should be abolished, and that the objections urged by some of our public men against such measures could be met by improving the conditions of life in industrial centres. Prior to the withdrawal of the existing prohibitory measures, the Central Labour Council should, through a special committee, review the situation from all points of view. The provision of a decent livelihood in industrial centres or in plantations, the development of communications in rural areas, and the growing pressure on the land—all these factors must tend to encourage seasonal migration. If industries desire to take full advantage of this source of labour, they must, to quote the words of the Agricultural Commission, "ensure that the housing and general social surroundings of the countryman in the city are tolerable and decent."

POSSIBILITIES OF OVERSEAS EMIGRATION

While I realize that the Labour Commission is only concerned with "the existing conditions of labour in industrial undertakings and plantations in British India," I am inclined to think that the problem of the overseas migration of Indian labour to countries within the British Commonwealth cannot be entirely precluded from the consideration of the Commission. A well-formulated scheme of emigration with adequate safeguards against the imposition of unequal restrictions by the Empire overseas is desirable both from the political and economic points of view. Certain congested areas in India have to be relieved, and vast territories in Australia, South Africa,

British Guiana, and other parts of the Empire overseas require to be developed. India has been given the status of a dominion in the many Imperial conferences that have been held since the war, and I am confident that the problem of emigration from India will be dealt with in a statesmanlike manner by all concerned with the solidarity of the Empire.

The Central Labour Council, as proposed in this article, should make a careful survey of the possibilities of opening out avenues of employment of Indian labour in the tropical and sub-tropical zones of the British Empire outside India, and should scrutinize the existing emigration legislations with a view to exercising an effective control over the system of recruitment and the conditions of life of Indian labour abroad.

"FORCED" LABOUR

Since the attention of the International Labour Office has been drawn to the subject of forced labour, the Powers, which agreed to apply "the Slavery Convention" adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations, have been making serious investigations into the law and practice regarding forced labour in their respective territories. I am not aware of any reliable literature dealing with the conditions under which forced labour exists in India (including the Indian States). The systems known as *begar* and *Kamiauti* really do, in my opinion, come under the category of forced labour, and are open to abuses. A detailed description of these systems cannot be attempted here, and I would content myself with referring the reader to the "Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Hazaribagh (1908-1915)," by Mr. J. D. Sifton, I.C.S., and to the observations on the *Kamiauti* system made by the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture in their Report (pp. 434-435).

I should mention here that the employment of compulsory labour for public purposes is, of course, unobjectionable. At present it is confined to cases of emergency such as forest fires or imminent danger from floods to irrigation works. The clearance of silt deposits in certain canal tracts in the Punjab and the upkeep of roads in certain parts of Bihar and Orissa are other instances where under a statutory obligation village labour is employed. Personally I should like to extend this practice more widely than at present, and thereby utilize the leisure of the rural adult population for the benefit of their own community life.

CONCLUSION

It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that the Royal Commission on Agriculture has been followed by a Commission to enquire into the existing conditions of labour. I am in entire agreement with the view that constitutional changes could not solve the fundamental problems of the development of the agricultural and industrial resources of India. The Agricultural Commission endeavoured to indicate the broad principles upon which an agricultural policy for India should be based, and I am confident that the Labour Commission will succeed in recommending ways and means by which the disruptive forces in the country may be counteracted by a new orientation of industrial relations. The ideal here is not merely to secure a fair deal for the humblest worker, but to make him an essential partner in the development of industrial India.

THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF INDIAN EMIGRATION—III

BY DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., PH.D. (LOND.),
F.R.ECON.S., F.R.STAT.S.

(Continued from January issue).

NOTWITHSTANDING the improvements made with respect to the living conditions of the Indian labourers in the colonies of the Indian system consequent on the establishment of agents of the Government of India in Ceylon and Malaya in 1923, the present position is still unsatisfactory. The Donoughmore Commission on the constitution of Ceylon reported in 1928 :*

The conditions of the Indian labourer in Ceylon are still capable of improvement and must be bettered before they can be described as satisfactory.

They further spoke of the "economically helpless position of these Indian immigrant workers, their large numbers and utter lack of organization." The same may be said of Malaya, perhaps with greater force, since the Indian immigrant has not the same facility as his brother in Ceylon enjoys for returning to India, and since he is exposed to severe competition from the Chinese immigrant worker.† Further, till recently indenture of a certain type was not unknown in Malaya, as is the case with a few hundred Indian labourers working on Government undertakings in Ceylon.‡

Indentured labour looms large in a study of the problem of Indian emigration overseas. The British Guiana Commission of 1871 reported as follows :§

The indentured system differs from slavery principally in this respect—that of his proper civil rights those which are left to the slave, if any, are the exception, while in the case of the indentured labourer the exceptions are those of which he is deprived. Hence it is the freedom of the slave and the bondage of the indentured labourer against which all the unforeseen incidents and accidents of law must tell.

* *Report of the Special Commission on the Ceylon Constitution*, pp. 83 and 96 respectively (Cmd. 3,131, 1928).

† See *Annual Report of the Agent of the Government of India in Malaya*, 1926, p. 4 (Calcutta: Government Press, 1927).

‡ *Marjeribanks and Marakkayar Report*, op. cit., p. 67.

§ *Report of Commission of Enquiry into the Treatment of Immigrants into British Guiana*, 1871, p. 63 (Cd. 3,937, 1871).

Such was the state of early indentured emigration overseas. Even as late as 1914 two of the Government of India Commissioners* reported that the employer

exercises quasi-judicial authority in disputes between immigrants, is entrusted with the temporary care of their savings and acts as their confidential adviser.

Or, as Lord Olivier summed up† the difference between slavery and indentured labour :

It is notable that the West Indian negro thinks the coolie more of a slave than we do. That is because the economic conditions of his life are freer than those of our proletariat, who take themselves, as a rule, as the type of free man, and his standard of independence so much the higher. He would quite understand why the socialist calls our freedom "wage slavery." The protection by the state of indentured labour in the Colonies is not a democratic domestic compulsion; it is a paternal and humanitarian compulsion; it is imposed from without by the statesmanship of the Indian and British Governments.

Indenture is a contract of a peculiar nature, generally for periods ranging from three to five years, entered into, not under the common law of the country, but under a statute specially devised to meet the case. The emigrant labourer is always in the dark as to the employer to whom he will be allotted, since he is required to enter into his contract in India and consent to serve any employer the Protector of Emigrants may choose for him. Under such a law there is no human touch between master and servant, as is the case in all civil contracts governing the work-a-day forms of service.

The system is unfair in its incidence, since the balance of advantage in the contract of service lies always with the employer. On this point the Sanderson Committee wrote :‡

It is true that where, in the circumstances of the case, free immigration is impracticable, the immigration is under indenture, and that such immigration was originally undertaken with the object of providing sugar-planters with a regular and efficient supply of labour.

* J. McNeill and Chiman Lal: *Report on the Conditions of Indian Immigrants in the Four British Colonies, Trinidad, British Guiana or Demerara, Jamaica and Fiji and the Dutch Colony of Surinam or Dutch Guiana*, Part I., p. 35 (Cd. 7,744, 1915).

† S. Olivier: *White Capital and Coloured Labour*, p. 124 (London: Socialist Library, 1909). I have quoted from this edition because it was written prior to the abolition of the indenture system. There is another edition, published in 1929.

‡ *Sanderson Committee Report*, p. 25 (Cd. 5,192, 1910).

It still benefits the planter in the first instance. But it also benefits the Colony in two ways: first by encouraging the principal industries on which its prosperity depends, secondly by promoting the development of its still latent resources. The immigrant himself is a taxpayer, and in most cases contributes to the revenue of the colony in no inconsiderable degree by the duty on articles required for his special use and consumption.

So long as breach of contract on the part of the labourer was always regarded as a criminal matter, it is impossible to regard indenture in any other light than that of a system perilously approaching one of serfdom, and this quite independent of what may obtain in other parts of the world.*

Thus it will be seen that under both these kinds of recruitment the Indian emigrant labourer is exposed to great hardship. In the case of the *kangani* system, even though legally entitled to freedom at a month's notice, he is subject to the social and economic tyranny of the *kangani*. Indeed, it was suggested very recently that it was time that this system were scrapped.† But the interests of the planting community would be entirely in sympathy with those of the *kangani*, who alone is capable of ensuring a steady supply of labour.

Mention has already been made of the opening up of the country by the free descendants of the original indentured labourers on the one hand and by the few free immigrants of the professional and commercial classes who from time to time secured entry into the colonial empire, in order to cater to the needs of the emigrant labourers in a land quite different from their own. On this point the evidence is unanimous. With special reference to East Africa, the Sanderson Committee wrote:‡

It may be safely observed, therefore, that the presence of a considerable number of Indian inhabitants has been and continues to be of material advantage to the British administration of the Protectorate. Sir John Kirk, indeed, expressed his opinion that "but for the Indians we should not be there now." He added that it was entirely through the Indian merchants that we were enabled to build up the influence that eventually resulted in our position.

* Hy. S. L. Polak: *The Indians of South Africa*, p. 23 (Madras: Natesan, 1909).

Mr. Polak wrote this book during the time he was Attorney of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal.

† *Annual Report of the Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon*, 1927, p. 8 (Calcutta: Government Press, 1928).

‡ *Sanderson Committee Report*, p. 92 (Cd. 5,192, 1910).

A former Prime Minister spoke in the Natal Legislative Assembly in the following manner :*

The condition of the Colony before the importation of Indian labour was one of gloom ; it was one that then and there threatened to extinguish the vitality of the country, and it was only by the Government assisting the importation of labour that the country began at once to revive. The coast had been turned into one of the most prosperous parts of South Africa. They could not find in the whole of the Cape and the Transvaal what could be found on the coast of Natal—10,000 acres of land in one plot and in one crop—and that was entirely due to the importation of Indians. Durban was absolutely built up on the Indian population.

In the case of Kenya, the economic contribution of Indian professional and commercial classes is still more marked. The Right Hon. Winston Churchill summed up the position in the following words :†

It is the Indian trader who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go, or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than anyone else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication.

So far we have dealt with the case of the African colonies. Experience in other colonies also indicates the remarkable manner in which the Indian emigrant contributed to the development of his adopted country. In Fiji the advent of the Indian emigrant resulted in the rise of land values of the colony, which would never have been the case had a sufficient indigenous labour force been available.‡ In British Guiana Indians have a much better record to show. The entire rice cultivation of this colony is in the hands of the Indian immigrants, and it was estimated in 1914 that Indians owned land worth a million dollars.§ During the first decade of the present century land worth £75,000 was sold to Indians with a view to agricultural colonization.|| In the case of Mauritius, which has the largest quota of Indian emigrants for any distant colony, the system of agricultural colonization known as "morcellement" resulted (1923 estimates) in the Indians controlling

* July 15, 1908. Quoted in Polak, *op. cit.*, p. 53. This passage is also quoted by Sir Satyendra (later Lord) Sinha in his Memorandum presented to the Imperial War Conference of 1918.

† *My African Journey*, p. 49 (London: Hodder, 1908).

‡ McNeill and Chiman Lal: *Report on Indian Emigration Conditions*, etc., Part I., p. 263 (Cd. 7,744, 1915).

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 71.

42 per cent. of the total cultivation and 45 per cent. of sugar plantations.*

This phase of Indian prosperity in the colonial empires of the European nations is not an incident totally unrelated to the cautious endeavours on the part of the Indian emigrants. On the other hand, permanent settlement was eagerly sought by the colonial interests themselves. This was specially the case with the Dutch colony of Surinam. Dr. Comins, an official of the Government of India, specially deputed for an exhaustive enquiry into the question, was the pioneer in making the colonial Governments realize the importance of allowing the Indian emigrants to commute the return free passage money that they are entitled to after the expiry of indentures in exchange for land grants. Referring to the Dutch colony of Surinam, Dr. Comins wrote:†

The question which will present itself for consideration in the future is the extension of the term of compulsory residence of immigrants in the Colony. This is urgently desired by the Surinam planters, and is a matter of much importance to them. The expense of importation of new coolies and the return of the time-expired every five years is very great, and as it takes a considerable time to teach them the forms of agriculture and the use of implements of the country and to accustom them to their new conditions of life, much of the period of indenture has passed before they are able to show the best results of labour as skilled workmen.

With reference to Trinidad, Dr. Comins quoted the Immigration report of that colony for 1874-75 to show how the colonial Government viewed this question:‡

The Indian settlements will certainly pave the way to gradual abandonment of the return passage; the few who have accumulated money in trade will desire to revisit India, while the masses remain where they can gratify alike their passion for land-holding and money-making.

* Kunwar Maharaj Singh: *Report on Deputation to Mauritius*, pp. 14-16 (Calcutta: Government Press. 1925).

See also J. W. P. Muir-Mackenzie: *Report on the Condition of Indian Immigrants into Mauritius*, pp. 44-46 (Calcutta: Government Press. 1894). He speaks of the "substantial degree of prosperity" enjoyed by the Indian emigrant.

† D. W. D. Comins: *Note on Emigration from the East Indies to Surinam or Dutch Guiana*, p. 1 (Calcutta: Government Press. 1892).

Dr. Comins published individual reports on the colonies he visited. The following is the complete list:

Note on the Abolition of Return Passages to East Indian Emigrants from the Colonies of Trinidad and British Guiana (1892); *Note on Emigration from the East Indies to Jamaica* (1893); *St. Lucia* (1893); *Note on Emigration from India to British Guiana* (1893); *Trinidad* (1893). All these reports have been published by the Bengal Secretariat Press.

‡ Comins: *Trinidad and British Guiana Note*, p. 6.

Even in the case of Ceylon the Government has long been contemplating a system of land colonization by agricultural labourers from Southern India in order to make every acre of the so-far uncultivated land productive.*

Thus it will be seen that during the past fifty years the various colonial Governments have actively fostered the acquisition by Indian emigrants of vested interests which they deemed to be in the best interests of the colonies themselves. Hence, it is not surprising that during the protracted negotiations with the Government of the Union of South Africa for a satisfactory settlement of the Indian question in that Dominion, the Government of India protested against the suggested wholesale repatriation of domiciled Indian emigrants to India, and reminded the Union Government of the stake the Indian emigrant community possessed in the ordered development of the dominion. The Government wrote :†

... nearly 63 per cent. of resident Indian population was born in South Africa, and the majority of that element regard that country as their home, and hardly likely to return to India unless compelled to do so.

We question whether this Indian population . . . can justly be regarded as an alien element. Bulk of them have been settled in Union for long periods, have in their own respective spheres contributed to development of country, and proved their value to the other elements in the population. They have acquired vested interests and established manifold associations, severance of which will be a source of distress to many and great economic dislocation and loss. As British subjects in South Africa, and, we submit, are entitled to look upon Union Government as the trustee of their interests equally with other elements in the population.

It is difficult to arrive at an accurate estimate of the monetary value of the vested interests of Indian emigrants overseas. At a modest estimate of £100 per individual it will easily total £200,000,000. But this estimate does not even touch the fringe of the problem. It is time that a stock-taking of the Indian interests overseas should be attempted by the Government of India.‡

* *Marjoribanks and Marakkayar Report, op. cit., p. 22.*

† *Telegrams from the Viceroy of India to the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, dated July 14 and October 25, 1925. See Correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of the Union of South Africa regarding the Position of Indians in South Africa, pp. 4 and 9 respectively (Delhi: Government Press. 1926).*

‡ Interesting estimates were attempted in 1916 by K. M. Panikkar in his brochure, *An Introduction to the Study of the Problems of Greater India* (Madras: "The Indian Emigrant." 1916). Mr. Panikkar had the assistance of an experienced colonial-born Indian.

It is worth noting here that the Government of the Union of South

IV. INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF INDIAN EMIGRATION

In the preceding sections of this paper we have discussed Indian emigration as an accomplished fact. The Government of India has definitely committed itself to a policy of complete prohibition of further emigration with a view to permanent settlement. It has realized that in a changing world any further attempts to give facilities to Indians of a suitable type to acquire vested interests overseas were at once undesirable so far as the emigrant countries were concerned and would, in the long run, be to the detriment of the emigrants themselves. This is the reason why Lord Milner's proposal to foster agricultural settlement of Tanganyika Territory, administered by Great Britain under the mandate of the League of Nations, by Indian peasants and by demobilized Indian soldiers was refused by the Government of India.* But the fact that Indian emigrants have already settled in foreign lands and have acquired large interests in those countries gave occasion to numerous problems, which are sure to be a source of great international friction if not approached in a spirit of frank recognition of facts and of mutual tolerance.

It is difficult to attempt a classification of the international problems of Indian emigration. The question is of a composite character. But two factors are evident on the surface. First, Indian emigrants overseas have been actively engaged in productive activities which have been instrumental in the development of the fortunes not only of themselves but also of their adopted countries. Secondly, they have been living side by side with European, other Asiatic, and indigenous populations. As such the standards of living of these communities are bound to vary and engender, in no small degree, friction, which in its turn makes its repercussions felt upon the work-a-day life of the Indian emigrants themselves. A convenient method of dealing with these issues is by approaching them under the heads of economic competition, racial juxtaposition and political

Africa agreed to pay a cash bonus of £20, besides meeting all expenses of transport and food, to every Indian adult domiciled in South Africa (who obviously can only belong to the poor agricultural and artisan classes) in case he is willing to re-emigrate to India.

See *Summary of Conclusions reached by the Round Table Conference on the Indian Question in South Africa* (February, 1927). (Union Assembly White Paper, A-1 of 1927.)

* *Report by Sir Benjamin Robertson and Letter from Government of India to the Secretary of State for India* (Cmd. 1,312, 1921).

domination. But it will be seen that at every step in our discussion these three factors converge and complicate the main issue involved—that of the accomplished fact of Indian emigrant settlements all over the world. Of the complexity of these questions the East Africa Commission reported in 1925 in the following manner :*

The social and economic relations between the European, the Asiatic, and the African, the last in his immense variety, claimed the greater part of our attention. The problems are anything but easy, and require not so much the expression of sentiment between one race and the other, but a detached, objective, and scientific appreciation of fact.

During the twentieth century the expansion of the populations of the materially well-advanced European countries has found it necessary that convenient outlets for the absorption of their surplus populations should be found. The obvious spheres for such absorption are the colonies. This resumption of European emigration has had as one effect that considerable numbers of Indian and other immigrants and their descendants have firmly established themselves in and partake of the normal economic life of some of the colonies in question. A result of this further European immigration is friction between the newly-recruited European immigrant and the domiciled Indian immigrant and his descendants, particularly in the lesser spheres of economic activity such as agriculture, retail and inland trade and artisan occupations of various kinds.

Mr. L. E. Neame summed up this position with admirable clearness in the following manner :†

A decision against Asiatic immigration in the colonies is in no way due to a lack of appreciation of Asiatic virtues; it is rather a testimonial to Asiatic capacity for succeeding.

Elsewhere, in British Columbia, the industrial success of the Indian settler, curiously enough, turned out to be his enemy.‡ This competition is not limited to the European population only. The indigenous population has also to be reckoned with. Thus, in Trinidad there is a certain amount of friction between the Creole half-caste and the Indian immigrant workers. The fact is that the Creole workers demand higher wages than the Indian immigrants, and this the employers refuse to give as long as the immigrant

* *Report of the East Africa Commission*, p. 7 (Cmd. 2,387, 1925).

† L. E. Neame, *Asiatic Danger in the Colonies*, p. vii. (London: Routledge, 1909.)

‡ R. K. Das, *Hindustanee Workers on the Pacific Coast*, p. 113. (Berlin: Gruyter. 1923.)

Indian labour force is adequate to their needs.* To meet this difficulty, the Commissioners of the Government of India suggest that in cases where the Indian workers were given higher wages, this competition would come to an end.† In the case of British Guiana, Messrs. McNeill and Chimanlal wrote:‡

Here also the black labourer is jealous of the Indian who is taking root in the land.

As for Surinam or Dutch Guiana, the Indian immigrant has to stand the severe competition of the Chinese immigrants.§ On this a recent deputation of the Government of India wrote:||

While the Indians were working for the benefit of others under the indenture system, the profits earned by the Chinese remained in their own pockets.

That Chinese competition is a serious factor hindering the economic prosperity of the Indian emigrant in Malaya has already been mentioned in an earlier section of this study.

Thus, it will be seen that there is bound to be a certain amount of economic competition between various communities living side by side in one locality.

Another charge laid at the door of the Indian emigrant is that he does not spend in the colony all the money he earns, and that consequently his standard of living is low. There is nothing wrong in legitimate acquisition of wealth and in prudent management of family affairs, and in the transmission of savings to an emigrant's native country where his relatives happen to live. Such is the normal course of human activity without distinction of country or nationality. As for the standard of living, international comparisons are always misleading. Climate, social inheritance and religious beliefs play a conspicuous part in determining the level of human appetites and attitudes. Turning to Indians overseas, there are certain distinct advantages which help them to live with moderation and economy. The Earl of Crewe, when Secretary of State for India, reminded the Imperial Conference of 1911 of the following fundamental factors:¶

* J. McNeill and Chimanlal: *Report on Conditions of Indian Emigrants, etc.*, Part I., p. 22 (Cd. 7,744, 1915).

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

§ *Ibid.*, Part II., p. 156 (Cd. 7,745, 1915).

|| *Reports on the Scheme for Indian Emigration to British China*, Part I., p. 49. By Diwan Bahadur, P. Kesava Pillai, and V. N. Tivari. (Simla: Government Press. 1924.)

¶ *Proceedings of the Imperial Conference*, 1911, p. 411 (Cd. 5745, 1911).

There is nothing morally wrong in a man being a vegetarian and a teetotaler, and his wife and family also, and being able to live very much more cheaply than people who adopt the European standard of comfort. . . . If a man is content to live on rice and water, and does not require pork, beef, and rum, he naturally is able to support his family on a very much lower scale.

Indeed, the standards of comfort determined by the outlook to life of the Europeans and Indians are bound to vary. As Lord Crewe continued :*

Consequently you have to convert the entire Indian nation to a theory of economics which they certainly do not hold at present, and to which I think it would be extremely difficult to convert them.

Too much is made of the belief that "the Asiatics either force out the white workers or compel the latter to the Asiatic level."† So long as everything is done legitimately and without prejudice to one's neighbours, no depression of living standards can arise out of the juxtaposition of two standards of personal comfort.

* *Ibid.*

† L. E. Neame: *Oriental Labour in South Africa*, in *Chinese and Japanese Abroad, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, vol. xxxiv., No. 2, p. 180 (September, 1909).

(*To be continued.*)

THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF THE INDIAN STATES

By A. H. E. MOLSON

(Sometime Political Secretary of the Associated Chambers of
Commerce of India and Ceylon)

THE soundness of the view taken by the Indian States Committee of the constitutional status of the Indian States must be established by reason, and Sir William Holdsworth's article* is the first fully reasoned statement that has been made in support of that Report. The article calls for careful and respectful consideration because of the eminence of the writer in all legal and constitutional matters and particularly because he was the legal member of the Indian States Committee. Nor is the controversy without importance even after the Round Table Conference, for these matters are certain to assume great importance in the negotiations as to the terms upon which the individual States will agree to enter the proposed Indian Federation.

At the outset, it is necessary to question how Sir William justifies his statement that the Statutory Commission accept the Indian States Committee's findings. It is in the highest degree significant that they carefully guard themselves against expressing any opinion upon the Butler Report, which, moreover, has not yet been endorsed by the Secretary of State and certainly not by the Princes. Their chief references to the report are in Volume I., the Survey, and in para. 104 they say: "In this brief description, which is all that we are attempting, we are not called upon to discuss or expound matters which may be in controversy or doubt between the States on the one hand and the Paramount Power on the other." After stating what was contended on behalf of the Princes before the Butler Committee they say: "We cannot enter upon this complex matter, for not only has it never been before us, but the Statutory Commission could not presume to trench upon debatable ground which has recently been surveyed by the Butler Committee." When sketching the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States, in para. 103, they carefully abstain from endorsing the Butler Report. The Princes claim that their treaties can only be modified by

* *Law Quarterly Review*, CLXXXIV., p. 407.

agreement and not by the mere usage of the Political Department; the Butler Report holds that the treaties may be modified by agreement or by usage. The Simon Report, having noted that "... The Report . . . sets out a series of pronouncements on behalf of the Crown on paramountcy, and to these pronouncements reference may be made to ascertain the views expressed on behalf of the Paramount Power from time to time as to the nature and exercise of its authority," does not regard the Crown's pronouncements on paramountcy as necessarily authoritative and conclusive as does the Butler Report. The Commission, when they have to go further, appear rather to take the Princes' view, and say that the relations between the States and the Paramount Power "may be ascertained or deduced from Treaty, or other written document, or usage *and* agreement." It can hardly be assumed that when Sir John Simon used the word "and" instead of "or" he failed to grasp its significance.

The difficulty in ascertaining the constitutional status of the Indian States arises, of course, from the fact that a relationship exists between the Paramount Power and the States, and it is difficult to find any origin from which that relationship springs. So long as the question of the exact nature of that relationship was not raised, its origin remained an academic question of no practical consequence. As soon, however, as the Princes questioned the right by which the Paramount Power acted as it did, the origin of that right became a matter of primary importance.

The points in dispute between the Princes and the Paramount Power may, I think, be fairly reduced to this question. Seeing that the Paramount Power today habitually claims to exercise, and does in fact exercise, rights over the States which were not granted to it by treaty or by tacit agreement of which usage may be evidence, can those alleged rights be justified? Sir Leslie Scott and the other learned counsel who advised the Princes were of opinion that they are unjustified encroachment upon the Princes' rights; Sir William Holdsworth and the Indian States Committee say that usage and custom is in itself a source of right wholly independent of the treaties.

It must be conceded by all schools of thought that there is no defined code of law admittedly applicable to the relations of the Paramount Power and the Princes. Sir William Holdsworth criticizes the Princes' view because they seek to apply the principles of International Law except when they have recourse to municipal law in

order to hold invalid agreements made under duress. Sir William, however, takes the converse view, which does not appear more logical, when he seeks to apply municipal law in general, introducing, however, a principle of International law in order to validate agreements made under duress. "It follows," says Sir William, "that the law which governs the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States is municipal, not International, law, though it contains, as we have seen, certain elements derived from International Law."* The most important of these would seem to be indicated by Sir William when he says, "The principle of International Law that treaties are not void for duress is applied to all treaties between the Paramount Power and the States."† If there is any illogicality in applying a mixture of International and municipal law to this problem, it is as great in the one case as the other. But it is not admitted that the Princes' case is illogical. The States admit that when they were independent duress did not vitiate any treaties of subordinate alliance into which some of them entered with the power that by these treaties became paramount; but when under these treaties the Paramount Power had undertaken in return for the surrender of certain attributes of sovereignty to preserve against all the world the remainder, the protecting power cannot encroach upon the remaining rights without breaking the treaties. It is not disputed that "usage may light up the dark places of the treaties," and one construction only is acceptable of the statement that "the Paramount Power has had of necessity to . . . exercise the functions of Paramountcy beyond the terms of the treaties." This view is acceptable if it only means "outside the scope of the treaties," but it apparently is intended to mean "contrary to the terms of the treaties."

It seems that the Indian States Committee regard the clauses of the treaties preserving the rights of States as merely indicating that under any particular treaty these rights are not taken away, and as ineffectual to prevent the Paramount Power from acquiring them under a different title such as the alleged titles of usage and sufferance. The view of the supporters of the contractual theory is that they are positive guarantees that the protected State shall continue to enjoy them as long as it fulfils its own obligations. That this is the correct view is surely indicated by the fact that most of these treaties provide for the surrender of

* *L.Q.R.*, CLXXXIV., p. 424.

† *L.Q.R.*, CLXXXIV., p. 421.

some of the States' rights; the only adequate consideration for this would be an unqualified guarantee that the remainder should be positively safeguarded against any encroachment. It is scarcely conceivable that a State should have surrendered some rights by a treaty in consideration of the Paramount Power merely refraining for the moment from taking the remainder away under the same treaty.

Now it has never been disputed that the Paramount Power has rights and duties connected with the preservation of the Indian States. Sir William discountenances the claim* "that an agreement by the States with whom no treaty or engagement exists to grant paramountcy to the Crown must be implied. . . . To say that it confers powers only in respect of foreign relations and external and internal security is pure assumption." But an assumption is surely justified when it is admitted to be true by all parties; anything more must be proved by the party alleging it. And later in his article Sir William himself has recourse to an implied agreement—as is inevitable where you find two parties acting over a period of time as they would do under an agreement but the agreement cannot be produced—when he says that in so far as the relationship depends upon usage or sufferance . . . it depends upon the *implied* consent of the parties affected by that usage.

The claim by the States that they were originally independent is denied by Sir William Holdsworth, and it may at once be conceded that few of the States, possibly none of them, would satisfy the requirements of modern International Law in that respect. On the other hand, many of them were *de facto* independent of the Mogul, and if Britain entered into treaties with these States in the eighteenth century, thereby admitting their independence, she appears to be estopped from now raising the point as to whether they were or were not independent. The question of the relationship existing originally between the Indian States and the Mogul or the Peshwa can only be relevant if the Paramount Power admits either of these monarchs as a predecessor in title upon whose rights its own are based. It does not, and indeed would be somewhat embarrassed to explain how it could do so when in 1774 Warren Hastings refused to pay tribute to the Mogul.

It is difficult to see how the Indian States Committee can reconcile their view that the treaties are of binding force with their further opinion that they can be varied, modified,

* *L.Q.R.*, CLXXXIV., p. 411.

and extended by usage. To say, as Sir William Holdsworth does,* "No doubt in any given case effect must be given to the clauses of the particular treaties, engagements, or sanads which are applicable," and then to say, "Since the Crown's paramountcy has grown up to a large extent independently of these treaties, engagements, and sanads, and can be traced to a different source, the rights and privileges conferred by these documents must be construed as subject to this paramountcy," appears contradictory. Nor does it appear that the case is strengthened by the quotation from Sutherland at p. 415: "In Hyderabad, Jeypore, Oudepore, and some other States where we had not the right, we have been constantly interfering, even to the nomination and support of ministers." How interference to which we had "no right" in 1833 can be "a different source" of right now is not clear.

In support of his thesis that usage (other than usage which is evidence of willing consent by both parties) can be a source of rights Sir William advances certain arguments which deserve examination.

1. He compares the custom and usage of the Political Department to the judicial decisions which have built up our common law.† "If it be true that usage was in the past the principal foundation of the common law, it is difficult to see why it cannot help to make that part of the constitutional law of the British Empire which regulates the relationship of the Paramount Power and the States."

But the cases are not parallel. The justices of Plantagenet times were the admitted representatives of the admitted sovereign, while in India the very matter in dispute is whether the Paramount Power enjoys the particular attribute of sovereignty that warrants the conduct disputed. Sir William himself gives the answer to his argument later in the article.‡ "The answer" (to another argument), he says, "is, I think, to be found in the distinction between a usage which gives sovereignty over subjects to a person or body of persons, and a usage which gives suzerainty to a Paramount Power over States possessed of some of the powers which make up sovereignty. In the former case, as I have already pointed out, the usage can be altered at the will and pleasure of the sovereign, because the usage gives to the sovereign person or body of persons all the powers which make up sovereignty.

* *L.Q.R.*, CLXXXIV., p. 417.

† *L.Q.R.*, CLXXXIV., p. 412.

‡ *L.Q.R.*, CLXXXIV., p. 433.

In the latter case, the usage cannot be altered at the will and pleasure of the Paramount Power, because the usage defines the distribution between the Paramount Power and the States of the various powers which make up sovereignty, and thus sets limits to the powers which it confers upon both parties to the relationship. Here again, therefore, it follows that an attempt by one party to the relation to alter the usage, though it may destroy the suzerainty by destroying the usage on which it rests, could not succeed in making an alteration without the consent of the princes."

If the analogy of case-law has any validity, the treaties with the Princes may be compared to statutes. Judge-made law is useful for interpreting statutes and filling in their lacunæ, but case-law theoretically cannot repeal a statute, nor abate one jot or tittle of its provisions. The custom of the Political Department is valuable when the treaties are silent or non-existent, but it is submitted that they cannot annul rights given by treaty.

2. Sir William cites the growth of the Cabinet system: "If it be true that the political practice of Parliament and the Crown has created that important branch of constitutional law which by means of the Cabinet system of government defines and regulates their relationship, it is difficult to see why the political practice of the Government of India and the States cannot also create a body of law to define and regulate their relationship."

This may be an interesting comparison, but the constitutional custom which has given rise to Cabinet government creates no legal duties, and certainly does not modify or derogate from anyone's legal rights. No action would lie against a Prime Minister for not resigning after the passing of a vote of no confidence in the House of Commons, and in any case the fact that the King in Parliament enjoys undivided sovereignty prevents the analogy from being helpful.

3. The preamble of the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, is cited as authority for the proposition that bare usage is a source of jurisdiction:

"Whereas by treaty, capitulation, grant, usage, sufferance and other lawful means, Her Majesty the Queen has jurisdiction within divers foreign countries, and it is expedient to consolidate the Acts relating to the exercise of Her Majesty's jurisdiction out of the dominions . . ."

It is submitted that the preamble is an enumeration of every conceivable right under which the Crown may claim to exercise jurisdiction in foreign lands, and that it does

not purport to lay it down that any particular source of jurisdiction is in fact valid in all places. Sir Courtney Ilbert says,* "This Act . . . was as conspicuous a success as its predecessor was a conspicuous failure. Its merits were that its recitals were sufficiently comprehensive to cover all possible sources of extra-territorial jurisdiction and that its enacting words embodied a formula of great simplicity, and yet sufficiently elastic to cover all modes in which extra-territorial jurisdiction need be exercised. The theory on which the Act proceeded was that, in places where the Queen had jurisdiction she ought . . . to have full power of legislating by Order in Council."

The Act does not purport to give the Queen power outside her dominions over persons not her subjects, for that Parliament manifestly cannot do. All it does is to regularize, as regards its repercussions in the Queen's dominions, powers she may possess outside them. If the Crown under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act claimed to establish an extra-territorial court in Paris, the act clearly would not render valid the assumption of jurisdiction over Frenchmen, though it might prevent that alleged right from being disputed in English courts.

4. A Privy Council decision, *Hemchand Devchand v. Azam Sakarlal Chottamlal*,† is quoted in support of the view that considered decisions of the Secretary of State and the Government of India can make law binding on the Princes. The passage relied on runs as follows:

"On the other hand there are the repeated declarations by the Court of Directors and of the Secretary of State that Kathiawar is not within the Dominions of the Crown. These declarations were no mere expressions of opinion. They were rulings by those who were, for the time being, entitled to speak on behalf of the sovereign power, and rulings intended to govern the action of the authorities in India, by determining the principle upon which they were to act in dealing with Kathiawar."

The Privy Council clearly means what the words say—that decisions of the Secretary of State for India bind the executive authorities in India to whom these orders are sent, just as an order by the Secretary of State for War binds soldiers. The Privy Council do not say, nor does it follow, that these orders are binding on persons who are not British subjects. "In theory," to quote Sir William's own

* Ilbert: *Government of India* (third edition), pp. 390-391.

† 1906. *A.C.*, at p. 237.

later words,* "an Act of Parliament might put the officials of the British Government under an obligation to compel . . . the Princes to . . . fundamental variation in their rights. . . . Such a course of action, if taken without the consent of the Princes, would be beyond the rights of the Paramount Power, and would for that reason be simply illegitimate coercion." The principle applicable to statutes is equally applicable to any other act of State.

Moreover, the question of whether a certain place is British territory or not is a matter peculiarly within the knowledge of the ministers of the Crown whose evidence upon the subject would be in any case almost conclusive. The Foreign Jurisdiction Act, sect. 4, goes even further and provides:

"If in any proceeding, civil or criminal, in a court in Her Majesty's dominions or held under the authority of Her Majesty any question arises as to the existence or extent of any jurisdiction of Her Majesty in a foreign country, a Secretary of State shall, on the application of the Court, send to the court within a reasonable time his decision on the question, and his decision shall for the purposes of the proceeding be final."

It is not clear why this procedure was not resorted to in this case, but a certificate from the Secretary of State, however conclusive in British courts, would hardly be regarded as conclusive against foreign sovereigns who are not amenable to British jurisdiction.

5. The Princes claim that the rights of paramountcy are restricted to those arising out of the obligation to maintain the internal and external security of the States, including of course the right to insist that protection shall not be used to support gross misgovernment. Sir William raises the objection that "if the control of the Paramount Power were thus limited, it would be difficult to account for its rights to intervene to suppress barbarous practices, or to punish the personal misconduct of a ruler which did not amount to disloyalty."

There is, however, no right of intervention to suppress barbarous practices, unless they amount to gross misgovernment, and the criterion has necessarily changed with the times. Sir William himself says:† "In 1823 Sir John Malcolm stated clearly that the Crown was the Paramount Power, but he did not consider it justifiable to intervene

* *L.Q.R.*, CLXXXIV., p. 434.

† *L.Q.R.*, CLXXXIV., p. 416.

directly to stop such barbarous practices as suttee and infanticide—a view the correctness of which is confirmed by the fact that early treaties and sanads expressly stipulate for the right to intervene in such cases."

The point may be conceded that a happier drafting of the treaties might have provided expressly in each case that the protection promised by the Paramount Power was conditional, not upon the good government and personal behaviour of the Prince, but upon his abstention from misgovernment and mis-behaviour. And yet it has been generally admitted by the body of Princes that a condition of that kind must reasonably be assumed to have been in the contemplation of both parties and therefore an implied term of the treaties.

(To be continued)

THE JAPANESE JUDICIARY

BY JUDGE MASATARO MIYAKE

(Justice of the Supreme Court)

HISTORY OF MODERN SYSTEM OF LAW

AFTER the Restoration of 1867, the establishment of a modern judicial system clearly defining the rights and duties of citizens was one of the chief aims of the new government, which still remembered the evils of the old feudal régime. The judicial authorities of the new government soon realized the necessity for replacing the old régime with a modern system in order to insure the independence of judicial administration and secure the confidence of the people in law. This fact as well must not be overlooked that the nation-wide desire to be rid of the humiliating system of extra-territoriality spurred the authorities to take steps to bring this modern system into effect.

As early as August, 1872, law courts of three instances and four procurators' offices were established. Modifications and changes have been made since but the foundations then laid still remain. It may be said, therefore, that the history of the modern judicial system in Japan begins in 1872.

As the new judicial system, modelled for the most part after the French system, was quite different from the one hitherto in force, the new government endeavoured to train jurists well qualified for their new posts. Strenuous efforts were made also to codify laws, and between 1880 and 1899 the Civil, Criminal and Commercial codes and the codes of Civil and Criminal procedure were promulgated.

The law for the organization of the judiciary came into force in 1890, the year following the proclamation of the Constitution. By this law the judicial system hitherto in force was confirmed with certain qualifications and the Japanese judiciary was established on a solid foundation. The law regulates:

1. The constitution of the various courts and procurators' offices,
2. The qualifications and competence of the various judicial officials,

3. The management of the judiciary in general, and
4. The judicial administration and its supervision.

The new government deserves credit also for its progress in prison reform. Efforts were made to replace the old system founded on principles of retribution by a new system founded on educational principles. In the early days, prison affairs were within the competency of each prefecture under the supervision of the Department of Home Affairs; but in 1906 prisons were placed under the control of the Department of Justice and are now regulated by the Prison Law promulgated in 1908 and framed after the model of European countries.

Owing to the efforts of both the authorities and the people, extra-territoriality was abolished in 1899. It is a difficult task to transplant Occidental ideas of jurisprudence to the Orient and attempt to regulate thereby the life of the people. The attempt was bound to produce certain unhappy results, but it was vitally necessary at the time to get the new system established as quickly as possible in order to free the country from extra-territoriality.

Japan has had many bitter experiences during the past fifty years on account of the conflict between the old traditions and the new laws, and it has been further accentuated by the inexperience of the Japanese people. Occidental jurisprudence, which has modern industrialism for its background, has tended to destroy mercilessly the social, moral and religious heritage of centuries and inject into the nation a spirit of egoism, self-assertion and contention. The Government has found it necessary to modify the laws to offset these unfortunate tendencies; but the people, after fifty years' experience, have grown accustomed to the new laws, have gained an intelligent understanding of the judicial system and learned to adjust themselves accordingly. It may be said that harmony between the requirements of law and the everyday life of the Japanese people is being maintained to quite a satisfactory degree.

COURTS AND PROCURATORS' OFFICES

Judicial procedure, whether civil or criminal, is divided into three instances. The courts of first instance are the local and district courts. In the local court, which is presided over by one judge, are tried civil cases of minor importance and those involving sums of money not exceeding a thousand yen; criminal cases which are not felonies and those not requiring preliminary examination. In Japanese

law a "felony" is an offence punishable by death, imprisonment or penal servitude for life or a term of at least one year. The local court handles cases of bankruptcy and those concerning personal status and arbitration. In rent dispute either in rural or urban districts and in commercial disagreements, an arbitration committee composed of one judge and two laymen experienced in such affairs may be appointed. The jurisdiction of the local court covers on an average an area of about 2,587 square miles and a population of about 218,209.

The district court, presided over by three judges, conducts the trials of first instance of cases beyond the jurisdiction of the local court and preliminary examinations of criminal cases of somewhat complicated character. In the latter circumstances, however, the examination is undertaken by a single judge.

The district and appeal courts are the courts of second instance. The former handles the cases appealed from the local courts; the latter, appeals from the decisions of first instance in the district courts. Three judges sit in the court of appeal.

The Supreme Court, with five judges presiding, is the court of third instance. It tries all civil and criminal cases which are brought before it, and conducts preliminary examinations and trials of serious offences against the Imperial House, high treason and offences committed by members of the Imperial Family.

A procurator's office with its necessary number of procurators is attached to each of the courts above mentioned. The functions of the procurator are to conduct searches, institute prosecutions and supervise the execution of judgments in criminal cases, and to act as representative of the public interest in civil cases of public concern.

Taiwan (Formosa), Chosen (Korea), Kwantung Province (South Manchuria) and the South Sea Islands are special judicial areas each with its own judicial system, which is similar, on the whole, though on a smaller scale, to that of Japan proper.

In Japan proper there are one Supreme Court situated in Tokyo, seven courts of appeal, 51 district courts (one in each prefecture as a rule) and 281 local courts. There are also 87 branches of district courts and 1,704 branches of local courts. The local court branches are usually called registration offices and handle only matters concerning the registration of property, companies, etc.

In Taiwan there are one Supreme Court, one court of

appeal, three district courts, three district court branches and 32 registration offices. In Chosen there are one Supreme Court, three courts of appeal, two district courts, 46 district court branches and 170 registration offices. In Kwantung Province there are one Supreme Court and one district court. In the South Sea Islands there are one Supreme Court and three district courts.

JURY SYSTEM

After discussion lasting for nearly twenty years, the jury system was adopted by the government in 1923 and came into force on October 1, 1928. According to this system the jury decides questions of fact in criminal cases within the jurisdiction of the district court when the offence is punishable by death, imprisonment or penal servitude for life. Otherwise, cases where the offence is punishable by a penalty whose maximum term is more than three years' imprisonment, can be tried by jury only on the request of the defendant. In cases where the defendant confesses his crime trial by jury is not allowed.*

The working of trial by jury is practically the same as in England. The jury is composed of twelve persons, selected by lot from men over thirty years of age, who have been living for two consecutive years in one commune, pay more than three yen of a national tax and can read and write.† Three judges, one procurator, one clerk, the jury, the accused and the lawyers make up the court and the public is admitted. Oaths are impartially and truthfully administered. The procurator presents the case and the judges listen to the defence of the accused, the witnesses, the experts and other evidence, and then to the procurator and lawyers. The chief judge sums up the case and charges the jury, who thereupon retire and decide the verdict by a

* Crimes against the Imperial Household, high treason, crimes committed by members of the Imperial Family, violations of the military and naval codes, violations of the election law and the law for the maintenance of Public Welfare cannot be tried by jury.

† The following persons are not eligible to serve on a jury: Ministers of State, judges, procurators, officials of the Imperial Household, Army and Navy officers in active service, prefectural governors, policemen and prison officials, secretaries of law courts, tax collectors and Customs officials, those connected with the postal, railway, telephone, telegraph, and tramway services, seamen, mayors, lawyers and notaries, bailiffs, primary school teachers, priests, physicians and pharmacists, students and persons interested in the case. Anyone over 60 years of age, officials and teachers, Members of Parliament during the sitting of the House or members of any other assembly may decline to act as jurors.

majority vote. After the verdict is brought in the chief judge pronounces the sentence.

A special characteristic of the Japanese jury system is that the judges may refer the case to a second jury if they are not satisfied with the verdict of the first. In a trial by jury an appeal cannot be made against the decision, but a revision on the question of law may be asked for.

JUVENILE COURTS

The alarming increase in the number of juvenile delinquents, especially in the large cities, resulted in the enactment in 1922 of the Juvenile Law and the establishment of two juvenile courts in Tokyo and Osaka, and of two reformatories. According to this law juveniles under eighteen years of age who have committed crimes or who are considered liable to commit crimes are as a rule tried by a judge of the juvenile court.

JUDICIAL OFFICIALS

Candidates for the office of judge or procurator after passing a competitive state examination must receive a probationer's training in practice in the courts or procurator's offices for a period of at least a year and a half. When this probation is completed they undergo another examination and are then appointed to the post of judge or procurator as the case may be. Candidates must be university graduates. Lawyers who have been in practice for more than three years or professors of law in the Imperial universities who have occupied their positions for the same length of time may be appointed judges or procurators without examination. In Japan, the number of judges and procurators who have had experience as lawyers is not large because the income earned by a successful lawyer is much greater than the salary of a judicial official. In 1928 there were only 133 judges and procurators among a total of 2,043 in the courts who had had experience as lawyers. But once appointed judge or procurator a man is not dismissed arbitrarily from office nor is a judge moved from one post to another without his consent. In accordance with regulations instituted in 1920 concerning the age limit of officials, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Procurator-General must retire at the age of sixty-five and all others at the age of sixty-three.

CHINESE STUDENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN

BY SZEMING SZE

President of the Central Union of Chinese Students

INTRODUCTION

IN introducing the subject "Chinese Students in Great Britain," there is a general aspect, besides a distinctive aspect, which I wish to emphasize. The subject is, in fact, a general one, in that it essentially resembles any other section of human society. In human society one finds a delightfully uncertain mingling of all types; Chinese students are no exception. Among them one can distinguish the sociable ones from the shy ones, the rich from the poor, the good from the bad, the bookworm from the athlete, and so forth. In short, there is not, nowadays, any single distinctive type of Chinese student.

Having drawn attention to the general aspects, may I next direct it to some more distinctive points—points on which uninitiated observations are less easy. Statistics are usually unintelligible to the best of us, and I for one could not possibly quote long rows of figures. I have therefore put together, in as unstatistical a way as possible, some figures which illustrate these points. A quick survey and a general study of these points will help one to get the correct perspective—always an important factor of any study—and this is also perhaps the best way in which to learn the essentials of the subject.

STATISTICS

TOTAL: 450.

I. *Homes:*

China ...	...	...	...	240 (London, 140; Edinburgh, 20; Manchester, 13)
Hongkong ...	...	...	...	35 (London, 20)
Malaya ...	...	...	...	120 (London, 60; Edinburgh, 30)
British West Indies and British Guiana ...	...	...	...	25
Burma ...	...	...	...	10
Java ...	...	...	...	10
Australia, Indo-China, etc.				

II. "Centres":

1. London	270
2. Edinburgh...	60
3. Cambridge...	22
4. Manchester	16
5. Oxford	12
Plymouth	12
Liverpool	7
Birmingham	6
Glasgow, Leeds, Bristol, etc.	

III. *Studies:*

General and Preparatory Education	80 (London, 60)
*Social, Economic, and Political Sciences	70 (London, 40)
Medicine	70 (Edinburgh, 40; London, 20)
*Law	60 (London, 40)
Engineering	35 (Manchester, 15)
Naval	25 (Plymouth, 12; Greenwich 10)
Military	20
Banking and Accountancy	20
Architecture	15
Aviation	10
Commerce	10
Music and Art	10
Natural Sciences	10
English, Literature, Philosophy, Education, Agriculture, etc.	

The Chinese student population of any country is necessarily a constantly changing one, so that statistics are at all times difficult. The figures I quote here are some compiled with the help of the Directory of the Central Union of Chinese Students and are, in my opinion, as accurate as it is perhaps possible to get them.

In the first place, taking the total as a maximum of 450, you will note that not all come from China. In fact, nearly half have come from homes in various parts of the British Empire, so that, while for all practicable purposes here there is no difference, it is nonetheless suitable to remember this fact in comparison with the numbers of Chinese students in other countries. (Since it is perhaps of interest to make some such comparisons, let me digress for a moment to give you the figures in other countries: Japan 2,500, U.S.A. 2,000, France 1,500, Germany 300. These figures are some which have been computed with the help of a publication by the World's Chinese Students Federation, with the exception of the figure for Japan, which is the estimate of the Chinese Educational Commissioner in Japan. I must say myself, however, that I should have placed them all, but especially the figure for U.S.A., considerably higher.)

You will see, therefore, that the number of Chinese students in Great Britain is comparatively small.

In the second classification, it will be noted that a good 60 per cent. of the total have London as a headquarters. The obvious facilities of London as an international centre probably account for the large number, though the fact that London is the port of arrival of most, and also the fact that there are plenty of Chinese restaurants in London, must play important contributory parts. The first five in this classification are what we call the regular "Centres"; Oxford and Cambridge where one gets the so-called 'varsity type together with one or two research students, Edinburgh with its large quota of medical students, and Manchester where most of the Chinese students study either textiles or electrical engineering.

In the third classification, there are two main types to be noted, the first being the 70 odd studying Social, Economic, and Political Sciences, virtually all of whom come from China, and many of whom are postgraduates and attending lectures in the London School of Economics; the second type are the 60 or so reading Law, virtually all coming from Malaya and studying at the Inns and Temples in London. These striking categories, I feel, reflect the desires of the families of the students concerned; the families of the former have an eye on Government service in China, while a knowledge of law would be very suitable to the families of the latter, who have in most cases large businesses and large family estates in Malaya. (I may add here that most of the 80 classed under General and Preparatory Education probably should also be classified to swell up the totals of these two types—especially the Social and Political Sciences—so that the respective totals will look more like 110 and 80.) These two types, then, form a large proportion of the Chinese students in London. In fact, as a factor of practical convenience in the matter of sizing up a Chinese student (mentioned just now), if the student speaks fluent English (though with an obvious accent) and if he wears clothes of perfect cut (perhaps the best in London), you may almost be sure that he comes from Malaya and is reading Law at the Bar; on the other hand, if he speaks hesitating English and wears clothes betraying American influence, then he is probably a student from China and a prospective Government official studying at the London School of Economics. So much, then, for these aids to diagnosis.

Now there are just one or two more points left with

regard to the third classification which perhaps just deserve mention in passing. One will note the attraction to Edinburgh of medical and to Manchester of engineering students; and I might add that the present comparatively high figures for naval and military students are due to the recent arrival of students sent here by the Chinese Government.

Then, in addition, there are three more numerical points outside these statistics which may be of interest, and which I shall quickly mention:

1. The total number of students supported by the national and provincial governments—including the naval and military students already mentioned—is about 80. Otherwise practically all are private students.

2. *Re* the number of women students, I have not attempted to differentiate between girl students pure and simple and wives of students who may or may not be students as well as acting in a domestic capacity. The total estimate then, without differentiations, is 45.

3. The great public schools of this country are so highly esteemed generally that I feel it of general interest to mention that Chinese *have* been educated at most of the big schools, including Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Charterhouse, Clifton, Cheltenham, Haileybury, St. Paul's. However, they are the exception rather than the rule, and amongst other obvious factors, that of the very young age required for entry of names precludes any but the smallest numbers ever securing an English public school education. The majority of Chinese students arrive in Great Britain at the university age, *i.e.* 18-19 years, an appreciable minority being, however, the number of considerably older students doing research or other postgraduate studies. As regards the length of stay in this country, those learning the professions (*viz.* law, medicine, Chartered accountancy, engineering, etc.) stay 5, 6 or more years; those studying social and political sciences usually much less, 2 to 3 years.

DIFFICULTIES

And now for some of the difficulties.

As regards the life of students over here, the times are indeed hard just now, for one's mode of living is truly governed by one's finances. The recent fall of silver has hit China so badly that the allowance of a Chinese student, by the time it reaches this country, is now worth, thanks to the movements in the exchange, just about half of what it

used to be worth. Nor are the Chinese students from Malaya, who normally are considerably more fortunate in the matter of allowances, much better off, for there has also been a great fall in rubber and tin, the staple commodities of Malaya.

In the matter of board and lodgings, there is also much to be desired. A few students, who have guardians, live with them and thus have the home life of that particular family. The great majority, however, have to find lodgings for themselves, the more wealthy in flats in St. John's Wood or Maida Vale, and the less wealthy in rooms in Bloomsbury or Clapham. Then, many have more difficulty in adapting themselves to English food than to the English climate. But most have to put up with both of these horrors, as for the sake of convenience and economy lunch has usually to be taken at the school or college, and dinner in the lodgings, which are often very far away from the neighbourhood of the Chinese restaurants. In spite of this, many can be seen each evening in the restaurants, which would not exist without them!

I think there would be many more Chinese students in Great Britain, if admission into universities and schools, and into firms and factories, were less difficult than it is. Compared to other countries, admission is very difficult indeed. As regards universities, lack of a knowledge of English is sometimes the cause of the difficulty, but the actual fewness of vacancies, especially at Oxford and Cambridge, accentuated by the absence of letters of introduction, is the root of the difficulty in most cases. Unfortunately the relative rarity of British to American and Japanese degrees in China makes the demand for them greater, so that in many cases the disappointment is made all the keener. As regards admission to factories and firms for practical experience—a very necessary part of technical training—there has been considerable reluctance on the part of the companies and firms to admit Chinese students. In this respect British firms are far behind American firms, who take the long view that Chinese students trained by them will mean purchase of machinery or goods learnt from them, and events have certainly borne them out in this policy. I have been assured that it is not because Chinese students are undesirable elements that there is this difficulty of admission, because the firms, and the universities too, themselves say that Chinese students, unlike some other foreign students, invariably mix extraordinarily well with their colleagues. I am told there is considerable trouble

with the workers' trades unions, while another factor, which omits the long view, is that Chinese students will learn about their machinery, so that on their return they will use this knowledge to compete against them. Well, these are some of the difficulties facing Chinese students; let us leave them now, and review briefly the activities which they have undertaken among themselves.

ACTIVITIES

Inevitably, wherever a group of Chinese students gathers, a small society has been formed, and where the numbers have not fallen, has invariably flourished, so that now there are local societies in Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Manchester and London, and these local societies are united in the Central Union of Chinese Students. Fortunately, unlike some unions in France and the United States, ours in this country are non-political, but are, first and foremost, social and intellectual. I shall not say more in passing than that the unions are so organized that the local societies plan the activities during term time—viz., weekly social gatherings, etc.—while the Central Union undertakes the general activities—viz., a week's conference in the summer and an annual luncheon on October 10 (our National Day)—maintains a clubroom and library, publishes a magazine in Chinese and a yearbook in English, keeps a Directory of Chinese students and has a Social Secretary who helps students with lodgings and admission to colleges; while it should not be overlooked that considerable time and work are expended on the requests for Chinese lecturers and teachers and with the several general invitations to Chinese students for which the Union acts as a medium.

Then there is another type of Chinese student union—namely, the C. S. Christian Union, which exists for religious and social purposes. In fact, the C. S. Christian Union is the oldest union, though it really is not very old as it happens to be the same age as I am! It was first on the scene, rather in the same way that missionaries and other Christian organizations with their superior zeal have paved the way in other fields, so that for many years many of the social activities of Chinese students were undertaken by that union. Now, however, the non-religious unions have properly undertaken this work, and it has turned its attention more to the religious side. One of its most delightful functions is the annual Christmas party which it organizes in the East End of London for the poor Chinese children

there. In this connection, I might add that the London C.S.U. also helps these children in that it is supporting the Chinese language classes recently organized for them.

I have perhaps given an unwarrantable part of my space to describing these unions, but, nevertheless, for those who interest themselves in their welfare and administration, such work plays a very large part in their days spent abroad. Such work is at once useful and pleasant—useful in that, besides achievement, it is the best training ground for getting invaluable experience for the future, and pleasant in that not only does one develop from acquaintances in co-operation some of the firmest friendships possible; but one can also expect in such work the willing co-operation of the Legation, the Consulate, the Bank of China, Chinese business men and other bodies in London as well as of Anglo-Chinese societies such as the China Society.

CONTACTS

I will proceed at this stage to discuss the contacts between Chinese students and the people of Great Britain. Of the contacts with British students, I have already mentioned that fortunately there is not, as a rule, the difficulty of mixing badly in the social sense. In fact, it has often amazed me in comparison how differently some students from the slightly darker races of mankind have fared in *their* contacts. I cannot help feeling, however, that a very appreciable obstacle, beyond racial, is the language factor. No one with ears and eyes can fail to observe at once what a difference an unorthodox accent makes in everyday life in this country; in the light of such estimation, the unfortunate foreign student who cannot speak the language well, even with the wrong accent, is truly at a disadvantage. But, in spite of all these difficulties with their source thousands of years back in the Tower of Babel, there is some special affinity between Chinese and British which has expressed itself not only in the existence of the China Society here in London, but in the Sino-Scottish Societies of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and the Anglo-Chinese Society of Cambridge. Then, besides, Chinese students receive many invitations from private individuals to teas and social functions, while there are other types of invitation—viz., for international student gatherings, for League of Nations Union meetings, and for Church functions. Many of these invitations are sent through our Student Union, and it is our experience that the difficulty is usually to get a sufficient

number of acceptances. And yet, many a student arrives in London full of the *joie-de-vivre*, then feels lonely, only to end up by stagnating in his lodgings. Many a student, it seems, declines such invitations because the name of his host or hostess is unknown to him; still more are shy of their lack of a knowledge of English etiquette or of fluency in the language. Most are only human and decline out of apathy; while there are a few with an antipathy against religious or commercial or colonial governing persons, types which may have been encountered in unfavourable circumstances out East. On the whole, then, there are many who should have more of the proper contact with proper English people, a contact which should not be too impersonal or formal, for the reason that they will soon return to China, and on their return will acquire the title of "returned student."

"RETURNED STUDENTS"

Unfortunately, for those of us who become "returned students" and for the others who so regard us, there exists in China today a high estimation of "returned students." This high estimation is natural in that students who have been abroad are (compared to the population who have never left China) relatively the privileged few. A returned student, besides having supposedly learnt the secrets of the greatness of the country he has been living in for the last few years, is expected to know a great deal besides—in fact, practically everything—in much the same way that some English expect us students here to know everything about China; in my experience, anything from the valuation of antiques to a knowledge of the flora and fauna of China! I am afraid we make very poor imparters of information about China to people in England. Imagine the situation, when we are expected to be bureaux of information about England after having spent a comparatively short time here!

This indiscriminate high estimation of returned students cannot and should not last, by reason of the existence of the undeserving ones who inevitably prejudice the deserving. Fortunately for those of us from Great Britain, we seem to have been less prejudiced in this way than those from countries where Chinese students are much more numerous, for there has pervaded throughout China an impression that Chinese students from Great Britain are relatively fewer in number but higher in quality. For this excellent impression, we of the present generation have to thank a

number of distinguished former Chinese students of Great Britain, and I can do no better than conclude by giving a list of some of their names. This list includes some of the most famous names in China, rulers and leaders of our country in every walk of life, who, while comparatively unknown here, are considered in China as of national standing.

In the political world, let me mention, first, the first two Nationalist Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Chen Yu-jen (Eugene Chen) who qualified as a solicitor in London, and C. C. Wu, who won law prizes and scholarships in the University of London and in Lincoln's Inn, and who is at present Minister in the United States, and also China's Delegate to the League of Nations. There are also other great lawyers who have risen to the highest Government posts: Wang Chung-hui, the present Minister of Justice, and also Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, who was a member of the Inner Temple in London, and Lo Wen-kan, an M.A. of Oxford and also a member of the Inner Temple.

Cambridge Chinese students have made good diplomats: Lo Tsung-yi, the Minister in Denmark; T. K. Tseng, until recently Minister in Sweden and Norway; P. K. C. Tyau, former Minister in Cuba and Panama, were all educated at Cambridge. In the realm of medicine Cambridge and Edinburgh share the honours: Wu Lien-teh, the international expert on Plague, was a scholar of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, before going with another scholarship to St. Mary's Hospital, London; Dr. New Hui-lin of Shanghai was an Exhibitioner of Downing College, Cambridge; while the Liang brothers of Tientsin, and S. P. Chen of Peking were all at Gonville and Caius College. On the Edinburgh side, Dr. Lim Boon-keng, President of Amoy University and versatile in many fields; his son Robert K. S. Lim, Professor of Physiology at Peking Union Medical College; and C. Y. Wang, Professor of Pathology in Hong Kong University (another member of the distinguished family of which Wang Chung-hui is a member) were all gold medallists of Edinburgh University. Then Glasgow and Cambridge have combined in producing another very eminent scientist, V. K. Ting, the very able Director of the National Geological Survey. Then I might add a few more names picked out at random: the late Ku Hung-ming, philosopher and writer, who was at Edinburgh; M. T. Z. Tyau, an LL.B. of London, the well-known editor and publicist; M. Thomas Tchou, the expert on Labour who studied in Glasgow; Cheng Fat-ting and

Hsia Ching-lin, the Shanghai lawyers, educated in London and Edinburgh respectively; Song Ong-siang, and the late Yeoh Guan-seok, both Cambridge graduates and Queen's Scholars, who became legislators in the Straits Settlements; while there might be added another long list of distinguished research students who come for a year or so—viz., T. Z. Koo, the National Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. of China, and a leader of Chinese thought, who recently spent a year in Oxford, and Francis C. M. Wei, President of Boone University. And there are a thousand other names working less spectacularly beyond the public gaze in work in which they apply the British ideals they have learnt over here. They, too, deserve our attention, and, I venture to hope, our interest as well.

THE ASIAN CIRCLE

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The present contribution is by a well-known authority on Chinese affairs, who, until his resignation last year, had been editor of the *North China Daily News* and Shanghai correspondent of *The Times* for nearly twenty years. He was personally acquainted with several of the Nationalist leaders, as well as with the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

THE PEOPLE'S CONVENTION IN CHINA

By O. M. GREEN

Not quite twenty years after Dr. Sun Yat-sen proclaimed the end of empires and the reign of democracy in China, there appears hope of some reality being given to the pledge. Next month the first People's Convention is to meet in Nanking, which is to be followed by the setting up of District Assemblies in the provinces, together with the application of a provisional constitution, to pave the way for full constitutional rights when the "period of political tutelage" shall have been accomplished. Expectancy must always be tempered with caution in China. The men in Nanking who have monopolized all power and privilege will fight to the last to retain their perquisites and hamstring the Convention. But the wisest members of the Kuomintang have long seen the necessity of broadening the basis of their government in popular support—though but few in

numbers they appear to have the power at last to enforce their views on the majority—and with the disappearance of any rival faction capable of seriously challenging Nanking's authority, the present year may prove a turning-point in China's history.

It is the paradox of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's career that the very means he devised to develop and realize democratic government should be used to stultify its operations. Much of his political teaching, it must frankly be said, is poor stuff, strongly tinged with anti-foreignism, full of inaccuracies, and vulnerable to any amateur of economics. But one clear point emerges. He taught that while everyone could be trained in a knowledge of citizenship, only a few would be found fit for statesmanship. His conception of the future was that the people, educated, enlightened, and reasonable, would direct and control, as the board of directors in a big business give orders on matters of policy, leaving the details of execution to expert employes. It is an interesting illustration of how China ever looks back into her own past for light that Dr. Sun's teaching was only a repetition of that of the sages of antiquity, with whom the chief object of education was training for public life. But just as the mandarins had neglected in action what their studies in theory enjoined, so did the followers of Dr. Sun. For them, as for their predecessors, the masses of China were always "the stupid people"; those who could not pass the examinations that admitted them to the sacred circle of officials and politicians were obviously unfit to participate in the affairs of state, particularly when those affairs were being remodelled on startlingly new lines, the understanding of which had cost their apostles a large outlay in education abroad on which they naturally looked for a return; and the Kuomintang, who had been appointed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen as his political executors, saw themselves divinely commissioned to combine in themselves all the functions of emperors and mandarinates for the general administration of all China. The "period of political tutelage" prescribed by Dr. Sun, during which the people were to be educated in citizenship, gave them a ready excuse for claiming absolute ascendancy.

One wishes to be fair to the Kuomintang. Many of its members, some of them personally known to me, are earnest and sincere men. But in China, more even than in other countries, the individual is swamped in the Party. The principles enunciated by the Kuomintang are often excellent in theory, but in practice they have proved any-

thing but admirable. The attempt to centralize all power in Nanking was a natural reaction against the fissiparous rule of the Tutchuns, each of whom had been practically a king in his own domain. But it has broken down, and will always break down if too rigidly attempted, over the enormous size of China, the smallest of whose twenty-two provinces is as big as England and Wales, and in which the largest possible measure of local autonomy had always been exercised under the Viceroys. With the same object of preventing any individual general or leader from becoming a dictator, the Kuomintang borrowed from Russia the committee system of government, and in the Five Council instrument of government adopted in October, 1928—which had been expressly meant to prevent the Party from becoming too powerful—they adroitly got themselves inserted as the source of all authority, unquestionable, impeccable in all they might say and do. Of committees, as of companies, it may well be said that they have neither body to kick nor soul to destroy. At the head of all stood the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, next in dignity the Central Political Council, below that the Five Councils or Yuan, last of all the ten Ministries. A Minister might be a member of the Central Executive Committee by reason of his own personality, but not by any virtue of his office. It is easily seen how by such a system responsibility was divided, initiative cramped, action impeded. In practice matters were very much worse. Nothing is commoner in Nanking's utterances than allusions to "the People's Will" as the test of every step; nothing has been more conspicuously ignored.

No foreign writer can say harsher things of the Kuomintang despotism than has been said by Chinese, especially, as will be seen later, by General Chiang Kai-shek himself; while the articles of Dr. Hu Shih, called the modern sage of China, not only denouncing the Kuomintang but even criticizing Dr. Sun himself, would have sent any other writer to prison, perhaps to execution. It is significant of the depth of public feeling and of the respect felt for Dr. Hu that the Kuomintang dared not touch him. With every allowance for the shortcomings and intractability of their rivals, and never forgetting the ruthless tyranny of the militarists in many provinces, one of the chief causes of the civil strife which went on almost uninterruptedly from March, 1929, to the autumn of last year was the pretensions of the Kuomintang. It was inevitable that the autocracy of the Party should be narrowed down to that of the faction

ruling in Nanking and its friends and appointees. Thus the Congress of the whole Party which met in March, 1929, was delayed for several months until the machinery for packing it had been perfected. The Nanking Kuomintang never attempted to deny the packing; they defended it as a necessity in the then state of China. But it was bad tactics, as it gave the other side an excuse for denouncing the "illegality" of the Government of which they took every advantage. Few Chinese, still fewer foreigners, would like to see the fiery Wang Ching-wei and his followers of the extreme Left wing of the Kuomintang in power. Yet as one of Dr. Sun's most intimate friends and a man of high repute for personal integrity, Wang Ching-wei enjoys great prestige in the country and the Party, and it was a capital mistake first to drive him into open antagonism, finally to expel him from the Kuomintang.

In thinking over the list of Nanking's adversaries last year, one may emphasize once more the vastness of China and the widely differing characteristics of her peoples. There are as good Nationalists in North China as in South, in proof of which one need only recall the well-accepted fact that Marshal Chang Tso-lin lost Peking in 1928, not because his armies were defeated, but because most of the men about him sympathized with the cause of his enemies. Feng Yu-hsiang, the Christian General, may have been an impossible person to fit into the new régime. Yet he did not appear to be so when, as the newly appointed Minister of War, he came to Nanking in the autumn of 1928, although he scandalized the politicians by driving about the city on a lorry accompanied by common soldiers and dressed like them, and continually lectured his colleagues on their extravagance. It is a fact, that although Feng heavily taxed the rich people of Loyang, capital of Honan, he gave back the money to the city in hospitals and recreation grounds. Yen Hsi-shan's record, too, as Tuchun of the "model province" of Shansi ever since 1911 makes it impossible to think of him as the conventional intolerant militarist. His ultimate downfall and exile are a tragedy and truly a loss to the country. Chang Hsueh-liang's feeling for Nanking may be gauged from the fact that, while he kept the peace with Nanking outwardly and flew the Nationalist flag in Manchuria, he never allowed a single Kuomintang official to function on his side of the Great Wall. Chang's administration in Manchuria is highly praised by those who have seen it at close quarters, and there is no doubting the sincerity of his declaration,

when he intervened in the war between Nanking and the North last September, that he had done so simply in the interests of reform of government on lines acceptable to all factions and to end the party monopoly of power. Many others might be mentioned if space permitted. Nationalists would probably cry out at the inclusion of Sun Chuan-fang, the last and far the best Tuchun at Nanking. Yet he is not only one of the ablest men in China, but a good Nationalist in every essential. If the political amnesty declared last November is to benefit China as it should, there ought to be room in it for men like Sun Chuan-fang.

It is proverbially easy to criticize. Even the wisest statesmanship might not have been able to avert the war; and, with all its faults, Nanking contains the makings of the best government that China has had for many years. It stands for ideals which have fired the imagination of all thinking Chinese, and while the Nationalists may have incurred hatred by their arrogance, Nationalism has become a force with which all must reckon. It is the more regrettable that the Kuomintang, so far from trying to draw the educated classes to their side, seem to have deliberately kept them at arm's length. Professor Toynbee, in his recent book "*A Journey to China*," tells how, in answer to his remarks on the need of satisfying the people's desires as the only means of attaining stable government, a leader of the Kuomintang (one may easily guess which one) replied: "You are quite right; we certainly ought to learn how to use the people. If we don't, we shall find our opponents using them against us." The Chinese merchants, even though they held but the third place in the social order, were never so wholly out of things under the Empire as they have been under the Kuomintang. Such great organizations as the Shansi Bankers, the Cantonese and the Ningpo Guilds, were a force which no mandarin would have dared, or even wished, to flout. But the most urgent memorials from the mercantile body to Nanking have fallen on deaf ears.

At the outset it seemed as if things would have been otherwise. Immediately after the capture of Peking, Mr. T. V. Soong, the Minister of Finance, who may without exaggerated compliment be called the outstanding man in Nanking, summoned an economic conference of the leading bankers and merchants to advise on financial reorganization. They set to work with ardour, and the spirit of the conference was significantly shown in one recommendation that China, in order to restore her credit abroad,

should announce her formal recognition of all foreign loans. For the rest, the Conference drew up a most practical charter, which included a scheme of army disbandment, currency reform, and a budget, and they indicated that there would be no difficulty in finding the requisite money if their proposals were accepted. Yet nothing came of it. A programme of the greatest practical value was received, applauded, and pigeon-holed—with equal loss to China and offence to the merchants.

In August the Law Codification Bureau sent to the Central Executive Committee an urgent demand for a written constitution, to define the relative positions of Government, Party, provinces, and people. This, too, was ignored. At the Party Congress in March, 1929, Mr. Tai Chi-tao, a prominent member of the Kuomintang, denounced their bureaucratic self-sufficiency. As matters stand, he exclaimed, the rights of the individual are utterly ignored.

Two incidents may be mentioned as showing the short-sightedness, to use no harsher term, of the Kuomintang in respect of the merchants. In May, 1929, the premises of the Shanghai Chinese Chamber of Commerce were stormed and violently occupied by rowdies of the Anti-Japanese Boycott Society, who, there is no reason to doubt, were set on by the local Kuomintang. The Chamber appealed to Nanking for protection. Back came the order that the Chamber were to suspend their functions pending a general reorganization of all Chinese mercantile bodies in Shanghai. The second incident was the presentation to the Central Executive Committee, early in 1930, of a Bill of Popular Rights. It was strongly backed, and sought for nothing more than is the common right of any individual in a Western country. But the Central Executive Committee rejected it on the ground that it was subversive of the principles of the "period of political tutelage," and that they themselves were sufficient guardians of the people's rights.

The misdeeds of the Tangu, or District Councils of the Kuomintang, which were appointed to carry out the doctrines of the Party on behalf of the parent organization, have so often been written about that the tale scarcely needs to be retold. For the most part they have been frankly predatory. Everywhere they have caused confusion and distress by upsetting "old custom" with scant regard for the consequences. Thus in North Kiangsu they confiscated some big estates, which they said should

thenceforward be worked solely in the interest of the peasants. At seed time the farmers came to the Tangpu for the seed which the landlords had always been accustomed to supply. Ignorant of this practice, the Tangpu had no seed and could not obtain any, with the result, of course, that the next harvest failed. Nothing has told so much against Nanking in the eyes of China as the misrule of the Tangpu.

The turning-point in this distressful tale of high expectations and wretched disappointment was the intervention of Chang Hsueh-liang, "the Young Marshal," of Manchuria, in the war last September. As a Northerner himself, one can hardly doubt that he wished to save the North from being again overrun by Southern armies. But, as said above, he was undoubtedly sincere in his desire to force reform of the system of government. Alone he would not have been able to accomplish much—he would simply have been one more general in the field; and, strong though his army was, he could hardly have succeeded in bringing peace beyond the reach of his bayonets. The good fortune of China was that the Young Marshal found an ally in Chiang Kai-shek, and Chiang an ally in him, for the same ends.

For upwards of a year Chiang had been thinking along the same lines as the Manchurian leader. On several occasions he had castigated the lethargy, arrogance, and corruption of the Kuomintang in speeches that grew ever more plain-spoken. His answer now to the Young Marshal's declaration was the memorable manifesto of October 3, in which he accepted the demand for a People's Convention, reform of the Government, punishment of corrupt officials, and participation by the people in the country's administration. The Young Marshal came down to Nanking in November for the plenary meeting of the Central Executive Committee; Chiang Kai-shek delivered one of his incisive speeches, explaining to the Kuomintang how they were disliked and why; the Young Marshal spoke with sense and moderation, and notwithstanding the loud protests which Nanking had uttered against Chiang Kai-shek's manifesto, the Central Executive Committee ended by endorsing it in the fullest terms.

That the battle was not won, however, was shown by the news received at the beginning of last month of the resignation of Mr. Hu Han-min from all his offices in Nanking—it is even said that he is under surveillance—sooner than accept the decision of the Central Executive Committee to

enforce a provisional constitution during the "period of political tutelage," just as the Law Codification Bureau had urged two and a half years ago. Hu Han-min is one of the most forceful personalities in the Kuomintang. When in Europe in 1928 he made a considerable impression on those whom he interviewed, as well he might. He was closely associated with Dr. Sun Yat-sen from earliest days in organizing the Revolution, is a born worker—it is said that he has never missed a committee meeting in all his time in Nanking—and a rigid precisian for what he believes to be the rights of the Kuomintang. One cannot but respect Mr. Hu; he is clean-handed and absolutely sincere, yet perhaps no individual is more responsible for the oppressive bureaucratic autocracy of Nanking. His disappearance from the scene at the present juncture is undoubtedly a good omen for the People's Convention. His chief opponent on the provisional constitution issue is Dr. Wang Chung-hui, a very charming person, barrister of the Middle Temple and a jurist of real eminence, who has done a great work in codifying the Chinese law. To a man of Dr. Wang's combined legal training and openness of mind the defects of the ultra-pure Kuomintang claims could not but be apparent. On his side are General Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. T. V. Soong, and all the best men of the Party.

The question of foreigners' extra-territorial rights in China is, of course, a whole article in itself. It must, however, briefly be touched upon, because it is much concerned with the success or otherwise of the People's Convention. It is the ceaseless contention of the Kuomintang that extra-territoriality is the cause of all the troubles of China, preventing them from exerting that full sovereignty which the Government of a country must possess. The Kuomintang may be excused on the ground that for the purposes of propaganda any stick is good to beat a dog with. But it is extraordinary that a few foreigners can actually have been found to champion so palpably absurd a contention. What possible connection is there between foreign extra-territorial rights and the Kuomintang monopoly of power, the wars with Wuhan and Northern generals, the Tangpu's oppressiveness, the extortions of militarists? It is a particular complaint of Nanking that it cannot suppress the opium traffic because of the smuggling in the International Settlement of Shanghai. That such smuggling exists must be admitted, but it is the merest fraction of the trade compared with what goes on up and down the Yangtze and in every province of China. In 1929 an official statement

showed that two-thirds of the revenues of Hupeh were derived from opium, and there can be little doubt that other provinces would show up as badly or worse if their accounts could be seen. The wholesale cultivation and unabashed trade in opium throughout China is one of the most serious evils she has to overcome, and as yet she has made no attempt to cope with it. The Anti-opium Suppression bureaux are merely a device for collecting taxes from opium.

The core of extra-territoriality is Shanghai, the wealthiest city in Asia outside India, involving all the municipal problems known to the West and several of its own. Without going the lengths of those who say that the Chinese merely desire to gain possession of Shanghai that they may loot it as they have other cities, the notion of handing over this great important city to the management of Chinese officials is unendurable under present conditions in China. They simply have not men of the necessary experience in municipal affairs to run it. One must go further than that. It is one thing to codify laws, it is another to get them impartially administered; one thing to give an order in Nanking, another to be sure it is carried out faithfully. So long as politicians and soldiers think only of judges and law courts as created to do their bidding, so long neither extra-territoriality nor Shanghai can safely be relinquished. Even Nanking cannot free itself from this way of thinking of law courts, as evidenced by the famous confiscation of the Sheng Kung-pao estates. Yet sooner or later it is now generally accepted that Shanghai will have to revert to Chinese control. If in the meantime the People's Convention prove a success, leading to a real commencement of local autonomy, the way for Shanghai may be made clear. Already a number of Chinese business men have been taken into the Municipal Council and its sub-committees, where they have done admirable work, and this system might well be expanded to bring the Settlement under the joint control of the foreign and Chinese residents, as in practice has been done in the British Concession at Tientsin. Whether the Chinese Government would accept this solution remains to be seen. But since Dr. Sun Yat-sen particularly enjoined local autonomy as the future system of administration for China, and Shanghai is the one perfect example of that system in the country, it would surely be a great pity to wrench its development into other directions.

Too much, of course, must not be expected of the

People's Convention. It is in the nature of a preliminary canter, and the District Assemblies to which it should give birth will at first be a training-ground for wider functions. Only a few weeks ago Dr. Wang Chung-hui emphasized that these Assemblies were in no sense to be subversive of the "period of political tutelage"; the two would be complementary to each other. Dr. Sun, he said, wished the people to have rights; it was never his idea that these should be "used by certain persons for carrying out their own selfish ends." But the people none the less required due training in the exercise and enjoyment of those rights.

It is a wise stipulation. The average peasant or labourer probably does not know whether he is living under an Empire or a Republic. Many of his betters have but vague ideas of self-government on Western lines. The notion of anything resembling a universal ballot-box would be laughable for many years to come. Yet for the practical work of democracy the Chinese merchants and bankers have had no bad preparation in the custom of many centuries. All the duties performed elsewhere by public works departments have been left in China to the citizens themselves, and in many respects they have proved themselves better and more honourable managers by far than the officials. It is particularly noticeable that while the officially run mints have debased the coinage of silver dollars to the lowest point at which they are saleable, the smelting of silver bars into "sycee" (the taels in which wholesale business is conducted), which is entirely done by the Silver Guild, is above suspicion, and the purity of the sycee never varies. Chinese business men are such fine fellows, so shrewd, practical, and reasonable, and now in the main so keenly alive to their country's needs, that the Government can only gain by admitting them to the amplest co-operation.

One matter, conspicuously ignored in the Kuomintang declaration of last November, and to which the People's Convention and the District Assemblies must give earnest attention, is finance. Notwithstanding repeated and most plain-spoken memorials by Mr. T. V. Soong on the truly parlous state of the national finances, no Budget has ever been granted, nor is there any adequate control of expenditure. Loans are resorted to for every purpose, and practically all available securities have been pledged up to the hilt, while the armies continue to devour more than half the country's revenues, and disbandment waits for the funds needed to give the soldiers a fair start in civilian

life, without which they would merely turn bandits. It is a marvel that Mr. Soong has been able to do what he has done in keeping account of outgoings, maintaining the service of loans he has been forced to raise, reinstating the Salt-Gabelle, and faithfully meeting foreign obligations notwithstanding the calamitous fall in the price of silver. But there are things which are beyond even his zeal and ability without radical reform of the present system.

As from the beginning of the present year, the abolition of *likin* and all other miscellaneous taxation in the provinces has been decreed, and a real effort is being made at least at the chief centres to fulfil this promise. But so numerous are the provincial tax offices (over which Mr. Soong has no control and for which he cannot be blamed), so tenacious the swarms of harpies who live upon them, that only perhaps by giving the people, through their representatives in the District Assemblies, control over local finances can the tax offices and their extortions be abolished. The Chinese, left to their own devices, have ways of settling such questions which no official can emulate and no foreigner pretends to understand. But they are effective.

Genuine reform in taxation would cut very deep. There is no space here to deal in detail with the awful ravages of the Communists south of the Yangtze, where hundreds of thousands of people have been butchered and homes innumerable ravaged and destroyed by the Red hordes. Indeed, the tale has been told widely abroad. But it is certain that the Communist leaders would never have attained their present power but for the atrocious taxation, which ruined and drove the farmers to desperation; nor will this power be broken until the evils on which it has waxed fat are removed. Similarly, one might venture to look to local autonomy for the gradual disbandment of the soldiers. It would be for Nanking to remove the contumacious generals, for the people on the spot to absorb or otherwise dispose of the superfluous troops, and the said people would assuredly find the money if they were secured in some enjoyment of their own revenues and not continually squeezed out of every cash and even out of their grain, their beasts, and their farm implements by the tax-gatherer.

All this is looking very far ahead. China has suffered so terribly in recent years from Communists, bandits, soldiers, tax offices, and famine, that even with her famous recuperative powers recovery must be slow, and the full

fruits of reform in so enormous a country will be long in ripening. The situation may perhaps be summed up thus. Never yet have the best elements been given the opportunity of showing what they can do for their country. There seems a reasonable hope that the People's Convention will give it them.

The best brains in the Government are on the popular side, as some of them have always been. But they have a power now which they never had before, derived partly from the obviously exhausted state and the popular longing for peace and good government, partly from the new pressure on China of the world's economic condition and the fall in silver, which urgently requires of her to put her house in order. At this juncture the actions of General Chiang Kai-shek will be particularly worth watching. To his enemies Chiang is simply a military dictator, and it cannot be denied that his manner is dictatorial and his career has been chiefly that of a soldier. Yet at the two great crises of his life it is precisely against a despotism that he has been found exerting himself, first against the Russian Communists in 1927, now against the Kuomintang. That he takes delight in power may be conceded; but one may believe that he is wise enough to exercise his power not only by constitutional means but for constitutional ends. His conversion to Christianity brings a new and as yet incalculable influence into his life. That the head of the Government can become a Christian, while a powerful wing of the same administration, led by the Ministry of Education, is going through a violently anti-Christian phase, merely illustrates the fact that anything can happen in China. Eventually I think the anti-Christian wave will subside, because the Chinese are naturally tolerant and easy-going in matters of religion.

The omens seem to be in favour of the People's Convention. The normal period of disruption and civil war between the downfall of one Government and the establishment of another in China has always been some twenty to twenty-five years, so that it is time that the practical common sense of the Chinese people should be reasserting itself, as it may always be trusted to do in the long run. When it does, it will be interesting to see how the Chinese will look back into their past to recover from it what is best and combine it with what of the new they find most to their liking. Since 1911 China has been experimenting in foreign fashions of all kinds, and has found herself proportionately uncomfortable. Already one may see signs

of a revulsion. Feet are unbound and hair bobbed, but the comfortable Chinese gown is preferred for ordinary wear. Evening frocks from the West are popular, but since it is immodest for Chinese women to show neck and arms, they compromise with high collars and long sleeves. Even in the organs of government the old Board of Censors has been revived, under a new name, but with precisely the same functions, composed of men of integrity specially empowered to watch over official life and impeach delinquents without fear or favour. Indeed, China seems to be coming to herself once more.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE INDIGENOUS SOCIETY OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

BY DR. J. KIELSTRA

UNTIL quite recently, the social structure of the native population in the Dutch East Indies was quite uncomplicated. Like everywhere in the Far East, one found only small communities of a genealogical or territorial nature (tribes or villages), bearing either a religious or cultural character. These communities formed social units in which the individuals co-operated for all purposes known to them. In virtue of the common worship of ancestors or village founders, they were religious organizations. They formed the sphere wherein morality and justice were maintained. In not too remote a past they also constituted defence organizations against similar communities or against any principality which claimed supremacy. In regarding the foreigner as an enemy, they scarcely differed from the classical world of the West. Finally, by virtue of a system of community of goods at least in respect of land, but sometimes also of houses and of produce, and in regarding labour as community service, they were economic organizations. Briefly, the community covered the whole sphere of existence of the persons interested.

The older sociology acknowledged a doctrine of evolution, and the idea was not foreign to the conception that such a social organization suited a certain primitive stage of development. That stage was supposed to be reached by every people at a certain period. I am of the opinion that neither history nor ethnology completely justify this view, and that it is better to confine oneself to stating the data to be met with in a certain society and to investigate in what direction its development moves. But even if one refrains from drawing general conclusions from the results of the limited observations possible, it seems reasonable to accept that social forms which are based on natural relations, such as the descent from certain families or birth within a certain territorial sphere, can only answer require-

ments of the simplest kind. Conscious co-operation between a number of persons on the ground of their suitability for any special work is impossible in such circumstances. And only co-operation of that kind is likely to meet requirements above the standard attainable by everyone; that is to say, the very commonplace. Under those conditions the development of individual qualities, which might render possible greater success in any direction, is rather impeded. When every vital interest is dependent on relation with the same people, the individual is obliged to defer to them in every respect in order to avoid estrangement by any conduct or demeanour. For if expelled from such a community, he is completely cut off from all social organization; he becomes an outcast, and as such a group also bears a religious character, he becomes an outcast to a certain extent not only for this life but for eternity. Hence one finds in such groups a great fear of deviating from the common opinions, views, or customs, a relegating to the background, concealment of one's own views and interests on behalf of those of the community as a whole, not from motives of altruism, but from necessity, as the members, who are permanently in need of each other, fear that otherwise they should be deprived of the indispensable support of the others.

In short, in such a society the group completely overrules the individual. This prevents the development of personal qualities, the free exchange of thought, the penetration of new ideas, conceptions, and customs; such a social structure debars all progress.

Since older days, however, colonization has wrought a change in this social arrangement.

The rule of the Dutch East Indian Government, for example, which has extended over more than three centuries, has offered to the native who wanted an existence outside his own milieu the opportunity to procure a living by entering its service as a soldier or in any other subordinate function. The few planters one found in those early times also offered to those who found native society too restrictive an opportunity of earning an income outside its social units. This, however, cannot have had any important influence on social conditions. According to tradition, a person who availed himself of such an opportunity severed all ties with his own social milieu. He became to a certain extent a member of another social organization. To the soldier, for instance, the regiment in which he enlisted became the new social milieu, in which he obtained as firm a footing as he

formerly had in his own community. In the case of those who in any other function indirectly participated in the life of the European group, the narrow relations with their social unit were also cut off. Thus such a transfer attracted only those who had lost social standing and could not maintain an adequate place in the native social organization. As to native society as a whole, the only consequence of the symptoms was that it passively underwent the secession of a number of its members whom from its own point of view it did not consider to be the best.

Later the opportunity for members of indigenous society to find a livelihood outside their own organization was gradually extended. Both the Government institutions and the various enterprises of agriculture, trade, and industry required labour to an increasing extent. Although not only social outcasts availed themselves of this opportunity, the social structure proper did not change. A state was created in which the members of the indigenous social units, during periods when such a group did not require their services for any purpose, performed labour outside the group. The revenues resulting from such work, however, bore as a rule the character of a supplement to the share they enjoyed as a member of their village community in its social income.

Although, in principle, no great changes occurred in the indigenous social condition, matters *de facto* became gradually different. It was no longer absolutely necessary for the individuals to observe so strictly the customs ruling in their village-life, nor to respect the opinion of their fellow-villagers under the penalty of otherwise completely losing their standing. If need be they could temporarily do without their co-operation. So an opportunity, however limited, was created for the development of personal qualities. Involuntarily, as a result of the more liberal exchange of views which had become possible, some of the new ideas penetrated through those who had become acquainted with them outside their social organization to those who had not had any direct contact. In the peculiar organization of the communities it is generally sufficient for a fact to become known to one member to become common property. It is clear that in this way the soil was prepared for more radical changes as soon as the desire for them became manifest in indigenous society.

Various causes have been at work to arouse such a desire. One may have been stronger than the other, but doubtless all have contributed to the same result.

The first was the growth in the population during the

nineteenth century, which in Java assumed considerable proportions. This necessitated a steady increase of the social income. I should not like to assert, however, that this formed a strong incentive. One might, indeed, point—and rightly—to the fact that during the whole of the nineteenth, and even in the beginning of the twentieth, century Javanese agriculture was in a position to reclaim a greater area, so that there was no reason for society to revise its structure. Further, during the same period in which the population increased so strongly, the opportunity of making a living as coolies on the European estates also increased considerably. In many cases in which an extension of native economics would perhaps have brought no relief, indigenous society was thus enabled to increase its revenues. That it preferred this method to that of intensifying its own production is only natural, as the latter requires capital, which means abstaining from the supply of immediate needs in the hope of compensation in future. This in itself is difficult, but especially so for an indigenous society which hitherto has lived in circumstances in which provision for the future was not yet necessary. How heavily the necessity of a revision of the economic plan presses on society is clear from the experience gained in certain parts of Java, where, when indigenous production approaches the limit of its capacity, the social units sought relief in birth restriction.

The second cause was the requirements of the world market, which wanted ever-increasing quantities of products from the Dutch colonies, especially of goods, such as copra and rubber, which could be produced by indigenous society. In various ways the market endeavoured to stimulate indigenous society to a further increase of production. Here again, in my opinion, it would not be entirely correct to regard this as a preponderant factor contributing to the change in the structure of native society. In many cases the development of indigenous production, which was the result of that pressure, bore the character of crops supplementing those which the indigenous groups had always grown to supply their own needs. Extension of the plantations of native food crops was accompanied by that of commercial products. Thus indigenous society in its old forms afforded an opportunity to increase its income. Thus its existence became easier and internal structural changes less urgent.

Indirectly, however, this influence has been of greater importance. Within a comparatively short time it afforded

indigenous society a very considerable increase in income. It was precisely the sudden nature of this increase which enabled society to use part of its revenues for the supply of all kinds of wants hitherto unknown to it. Moreover, the natives came into contact with all kinds of traders who did not belong to their own society. They discovered that more knowledge than thus far had been theirs would be of value to them. The policy of the Dutch East Indies Government in the direction of intellectual development made it easy to acquire such knowledge in the schools. But the schools gave more, and indigenous society found here a source for all kinds of information which had hitherto been a sealed book to it. Again, as a result of the peculiar group organization, it was sufficient that one person versed in the art of reading had perused the contents of some press organ to make it known to the whole village. Thus, in the old principles of life, which were entirely in accordance with tradition, world traffic brought new views and opinions—in short, a mental change.

Now, during the period in which this widening of the mental horizon began, world history, the knowledge of which penetrated in the manner indicated above, was only too well adapted for preparing the way for a change of mentality throughout the East. The victory of Japan over the powerful Russian Empire was for the East an indication that the existing position was not immutable, and that it was by no means impossible to combat the West with success, if only the means to this end were acquired, as Japan had acquired them. The Young-Turk and Chinese revolutions furnished the practical proof that subjects might cause the fall of a Government against whose rule they had serious grievances. The World War brought Oriental troops to the European battlefields, and the political reforms in India, which were the result of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, gained for that country a larger autonomy within the British Empire. Finally, at the end of the war the demand for the right of self-determination for all peoples was heard, which seemed to promise the end of the supremacy of one people over another. It should not be forgotten that all this attracted the attention of a population the vast majority of whom were Muhammadans who had absorbed just enough of the Pan-Islamic idea to be able to doubt the permanent legitimacy of Western rule—that is, from a Muhammadan point of view, the rule of “unbelievers”—in Islamic countries. So these events created in the Far East, including Nether-

lands India, tendencies raising discontent with the existing state of affairs and awakening an inclination for seeking means to create better conditions in the future. The wish for modernization was born amid the old communities and the desire to attain more than had hitherto been possible. The mental basis was formed which, together with material possibilities, was necessary for a change in the indigenous social structure.

The first new symptoms in the social sphere indicating a modernization were noticeable in Netherlands India in 1908. In that year a number of young men, chiefly of distinguished descent, founded an association called "Budhi Utomo" (The Beautiful Aim), whose object it was to work for the general welfare of country and people. This step, from the point of view of principle, was very important, for such a union was in its essence absolutely contrary to the group organization inherent to society in its old form. Whereas the latter ruled the individuals belonging to their organization only by the accident of their descent from a certain family or their birth in a certain village, the members of this new organization joined it of their own free will. Further, it did not absorb the whole sphere of life of its members, but only that part which was immediately connected with its aims. The members joined it on the basis of their sympathy with those aims, and on the ground of their individual opinion with respect to certain affairs. In short, diametrically opposed to the former state of things, the members ruled the organization.

The example thus set was soon followed by a number of merchants in the "Vorstenlanden" (Native States) of Java and in the western part of that island, who, under the name of Sarekat Dagang Islam, founded a union originally with the object of strengthening their position by mutual support in the face of Chinese competition. This organization, however, afterwards completely changed its character, and ultimately developed into a widespread Islamic political organization. It was the first which turned to the great mass of the population and endeavoured to organize it on a different footing from what was known in the old communities. Its success was due to the fact that the masses considered it as a Muhammadan organization, a conception which was easy for them to grasp owing to the Pan-Islamic idea. As an economic organization it has never been of any importance.

Since then all kinds of organizations have been created in indigenous society. I will not discuss them in detail,

because all of them possess the main features of the two referred to above. They generally try to promote economic or political aims. The first were chiefly trade unions. It is clear that these recruited their members chiefly from those people who were loosely connected with the indigenous all-embracing communities. The members were the skilled labourers in the urban industries and also Government officials in subordinate positions, who, by repeated transfers, had become detached to a certain extent from their own milieu. Some of those unions proved occasionally to be no less militant than their sister organizations in Europe. They succeeded in organizing strikes against European employers, occasionally with effective results. However, the fact must be borne in mind that in such cases European assistance and advice from Socialist and Communist sides frequently played a rôle. The political organizations are also strongly under the influence of ideologies from elsewhere, Nationalist or Communist, and the number of members who are really able to understand the objects striven after is small. To the mass of the people they are unintelligible.

It is clear that as soon as such organizations direct their attention to the masses they have to make their aims intelligible. Much depends, therefore, on the manner in which their propaganda is organized. As a rule sympathy with the eschatological expectations, which as a result of the Pan-Islamic idea are inherent in the population, is necessary. Both Communists and Nationalists have realized this and succeeded in promoting the growth of their organizations by characteristic means found useful for this purpose. In consequence of this method certificates of membership, for instance, are frequently regarded by the masses in the same way as the amulets formerly distributed by Muhammadan fanatics.

I do not ignore the fact that all this might lead to the conclusion that among the masses of the people the wish for a new social structure, if in existence at all, is not strong. Only small groups so far have organized themselves in the manner here described. The fact remains, however, that a tendency manifests itself in indigenous society which must lead to a structural change, even if presumably there is a conservative section which declines to adapt themselves to the new conditions and persist in the old forms. I suppose, however, that no society is to be found which accepts at once and as a whole a series of new social forms.

Although the new organizations are for the present confined to comparatively small circles, their influence may be great. To persons gifted with special abilities they open the opportunity of developing them better than they could do under the former conditions. By affording an opportunity for the exchange of views they promote the penetration of new ideas, indirectly also amongst the old organizations. In this way society is given a chance to develop its potentialities in all directions, a thing which formerly was practically impossible. Thus an opportunity is created for development and progress, contrasting with the immutability which was characteristic of indigenous society in the past. Therefore it seems to me that we should consider the organization of such associations and unions as are referred to above as an extremely important sociological symptom. It shows the birth of a desire for progress and at the same time reveals the means of promoting it.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE AND THE COLONIES

By C. W. H. WEAVER

(Chief of the Native Labour Section International Labour Office)

LAST year the Fourteenth Session of the General Conference of representatives of the States Members of the International Labour Organization of the League of Nations adopted a Draft Convention concerning forced or compulsory labour, the object of which is to limit and regulate, and ultimately to suppress, all forms of forced or compulsory labour, which is defined as "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily." The States Members of the International Labour Organization which ratify the Draft Convention will undertake to suppress such labour "within the shortest possible period," and, meanwhile, to use it "for public purposes only and as an exceptional measure." Five years after the coming into force of the Convention—the Convention comes into force twelve months after it has been ratified by two States—the expediency of placing on the agenda of the International Labour Conference the question of suppression without a further transitional period will be considered by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Although 93 votes were cast in favour of the Convention and none was given against it, the Convention was, unfortunately, unable to obtain the support of some of the States mainly concerned. Of the States possessing colonies, administering mandated territories, or having within their own frontiers conditions analogous to those of colonies, there voted for the Convention the Government Delegates of South Africa, Australia, Great Britain, Spain, Italy, Japan, Liberia, and the Netherlands, while the Government Delegates of Belgium, France, India, New Zealand, and Portugal abstained from voting.

It is not proposed in this article to analyze in detail the reasons for these abstentions. Criticisms of the Convention in some cases related to such matters as the period within which the question of complete suppression of forced or compulsory labour should come under review, the maximum length of time for which any person can be called

upon for forced or compulsory labour, and the extent to which compulsory cultivation should be recognized. Other points of difficulty were the inclusion in the Convention of provisions relating to labour exacted in virtue of compulsory military service laws, and to labour taxes; it was urged that these were military and fiscal matters appertaining to the internal jurisdiction of sovereign States and *ultra vires* any regulations which might be adopted by the International Labour Conference. The provisions relating to the powers of chiefs to have recourse to forced or compulsory labour have also been much criticized in Continental colonial periodicals as being particularly favourable to British colonial practice, and in Great Britain itself by Lord Lugard, who strongly objects to the maintenance of the right of chiefs to exact unpaid forced labour in the form of personal services, and the failure of the Convention to prescribe payment for forced labour called upon by chiefs for public works.

Some other criticisms* are directed at the procedure of the International Labour Organization in dealing with the problem of forced or compulsory labour, and even the fact that the Organization should attempt to deal with colonial labour questions at all. These criticisms it is proposed to examine a little more closely in this article.

Let us consider first the criticism of the procedure of the International Labour Organization. It is argued that the procedure is defective because all the States represented at the Conference are entitled to vote, and a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the Delegates present is necessary for the adoption of a Draft Convention, although the subject-matter of the Convention may only affect a number or even a small minority of the States. Whilst, therefore, it might logically be expected that those directly concerned should be able to exercise a preponderating influence on the decisions to be taken, in fact it is ultimately those States in whose territories the issues to be settled do not arise which turn the scales by their votes. These States have no expert knowledge of the questions under discussion and their judgment must inevitably be influenced by extraneous considerations.

This criticism applies, of course, to many other questions besides colonial labour questions. It has often happened during the past ten years that subjects which affected only a number, or even a minority, of the States entitled

* Dr. Cohen de Boer: "The International Labour Office and the Colonies," *The Asiatic Review*, October, 1930.

to vote have been discussed by the Conference. It might therefore be supposed that the difficulty had been experienced and the criticism made on many previous occasions. In fact, however, this has not been the case; the machinery of the International Labour Organization has hitherto been successful in preventing such a difficulty from being felt. Of course, in some cases, special procedures have been adopted. Maritime labour questions, for instance, have been dealt with at special sessions of the General Conference; in another case, a preliminary expert advisory conference was held. In regard to the question of forced labour, it was considered, without prejudice to any decision which might be taken in the future about the procedure to be followed in dealing with other colonial labour questions, that both theoretical and practical reasons made it desirable that the Draft Convention should be of a general character and should be dealt with directly by the General Conference. Moreover, it was felt that the normal procedure would give reasonable guarantees to the States mainly concerned that they would have a preponderating influence on the decisions to be taken.

The nature of these guarantees provided by the normal procedure of the International Labour Organization can best be shown by describing how this procedure was applied in regard to the question of forced or compulsory labour. The need for international action in this matter had been emphasized in 1925 by the Temporary Slavery Commission, and in 1926 the Assembly of the League of Nations, after adopting the Slavery Convention, drew attention to the importance of the studies of forced or compulsory labour which had been undertaken by the International Labour Office as a result of its participation in the work of the Temporary Slavery Commission and of the Permanent Mandates Commission. In order to assist the Office in the study of this and other forms of native labour, the Governing Body (on which Governments, employers, and workers are represented) appointed a Committee of Experts, including such personalities as Lord Lugard, Mr. van Rees, former Vice-President of the Council of the Netherlands Indies and Vice-Chairman of the Permanent Mandates Commission, M. Gohr, President of the "Comité spécial du Katanga" and Chairman of the Temporary Slavery Commission, and M. Merlin, former Governor-General of many French colonies and member of the Permanent Mandates Commission. After taking cognizance of the stage reached in 1927 in the study of forced labour, the

Governing Body decided to bring the question before the General Conference in 1929. The Office accordingly prepared, with the advice of the Committee of Experts, a Grey Report and draft Questionnaire on Forced Labour, which was laid before the 1929 Conference. The Conference referred the matter to a Committee composed mainly of Government, employers' and workers' representatives of the States chiefly concerned,* and later adopted with a few amendments the Questionnaire proposed by the Committee; it also decided by 101 votes to 15 that the question should be considered again in 1930. Between the Conference of 1929 and that of 1930 the Office circulated the Questionnaire to all the Governments. The replies to the Questionnaire, which were printed in the so-called Blue Report laid before the 1930 Conference, were, generally speaking, the replies of Governments directly concerned. The Blue Report also contained the conclusions reached by the Office exclusively on the basis of the replies of the Governments mainly concerned, and drafts of a Convention and two Recommendations. The Conference again referred the question to a Committee composed in a similar manner to that of 1929, and the Draft Convention finally adopted was the text of the Committee, with the exception of a few amendments, of which one or two only were important.

It may be true that this procedure was not entirely satisfactory and that better results might have been obtained if an expert advisory conference had been held with the object of obtaining the greatest possible measure of agreement among the States most concerned. It cannot, however, be reasonably claimed that the States mainly concerned did not have the lion's share in determining the

* The following twelve Governments were represented on the Committee in 1929: Belgium, British Empire, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Portugal, and South Africa. The employers' group sent to the Committee representatives of Belgium, British Empire, China, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, and Spain. The workers' group consisted of representatives from Belgium, British Empire, France, Germany, India, Japan, Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, and Yugoslavia. In 1930, the Committee was composed in a similar manner, the changes being: Governments—Australia, Brazil, China, and New Zealand were added, and Nicaragua was not appointed; Employers—Estonia, Poland, and Yugoslavia were added; Workers—Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, and Hungary were added, and Sweden was not appointed. The additions to the employers' and workers' representatives were made to allow of increased Government representation.

final decisions. An examination of the proceedings of the Conference and its committees makes it abundantly clear that the discussions were almost entirely conducted, and the Draft Convention drafted, by the States mainly concerned, and if amendments were voted against the votes of some of these States, it was because of divergencies of opinion between the representatives of the principal Colonial Powers themselves.

Nevertheless, as M. Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labour Office, said in his speech to the 1930 Conference, the Office will continue to examine the possibility of extending the use of preliminary advisory conferences, an experiment made this year in connection with the question of hours of work in coal mines. Unfortunately, this experiment did not lead to the successful adoption of a Draft Convention on miners' hours of work, nor was it exempt from criticism on the part of other States which refused to accept the view that this was a question of concern only to the coal-producing countries. But if the Convention came to grief, it was neither through the use of this new procedure of a preliminary advisory conference of the nine coal-producing countries, nor because of any defects of the ordinary machinery of the Conference: the reason for failure was that, in this case also, there was a lack of agreement between the coal-producing countries. Thus, even with improved procedure, a situation arose which was even less favourable than the situation as regards the Forced Labour Convention.

But even if the procedure of the International Labour Conference were beyond criticism, it is questioned whether the Organization has any authority to deal with colonial labour matters. The reply to this criticism is that the authority of the International Labour Organization to deal with colonial labour questions, as well as all other labour questions, derives from the Covenant of the League of Nations and from its Constitution, Part XIII. of the Treaty of Versailles. In his speech in reply to the discussion on his report to the 1930 Conference, M. Albert Thomas said: "Dans notre conception, toute question de travail doit être du ressort de cette Organization, et il est de l'intérêt universel de les coordonner et de les contrôler toutes ici."* The onus of proof that any category of labour questions was intended to be withdrawn from the

* "In our view all labour questions must come within the scope of this Organization, and it is in the general interest that they should all be co-ordinated and supervised in this Conference."

purview of the Organization is on those critics who make this assertion. They will vainly search Part XIII. of the Treaty for anything to justify their case. There is, indeed, Article 421, by which States which ratify Conventions agree to apply them to their colonies, protectorates and possessions which are not fully self-governing, except where, owing to the local conditions, the Convention is inapplicable, or subject to such modifications as may be necessary to adapt the Convention to local conditions. But it would be difficult to draw from the fact that this Article, which imposes a positive obligation to apply ratified Conventions in colonies, allows elasticity in regard to the degree of application, the conclusion that the International Labour Conference should never adopt a Convention which, by reason of the specific labour questions treated, could be applied in colonial territories without modifications or with modifications of a secondary character only.

There is, therefore, full authority for the Organization to deal with colonial labour questions in the terms of the Treaties which brought it into existence. In regard to the specific question of forced labour, moreover, the question of the detailed regulation of forced or compulsory labour was referred to the International Labour Organization by the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations. In 1926, after adopting the Slavery Convention, the Assembly passed a Resolution drawing "attention to the importance of the work undertaken by the Office with a view to studying the best means of preventing forced or compulsory labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery," and the meaning of this decision was explained in the House of Lords by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, who, as Reporter to the Assembly Committee which dealt with the preparation of the Slavery Convention, appears best qualified to give evidence of what the Assembly really meant. Viscount Cecil said that the Office had been almost invited to consider the general conditions of forced labour "and see whether it was possible to draw up a kind of charter for forced labour all over the world, which should deal not only with the graver and more general aspects of that institution, but with the details of the actual employment of the labourers. . . . We did feel (at the Assembly) that this was a matter which it was very difficult for the League of Nations to deal with, in view of the fact that there was another international institution much better equipped to deal with the details of the employment of labour."

This interpretation of the Assembly's Resolution has not been contested by the majority of the Colonial Powers. In answer to the Questionnaire sent by the International Labour Office as to the need, scope, and provisions of a Forced Labour Convention, only the Portuguese Government expressed the opinion that the Slavery Convention was all that was required at present. Belgium, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Spain, not to mention the Mandatory and other Powers with direct interest in problems of colonial labour, all accepted the principle of an international Convention concerning forced labour to be adopted by the International Labour Conference.

Underlying the criticisms I have been discussing as well as others I have not the space to deal with, there is evident what may be called the "internationalization" complex. In some unexplained way international treaties or conventions relating to colonial matters are supposed to derogate from the sovereign rights of States in a different manner from other international treaties, and to be designed to promote the "internationalization of the colonies." The same sinister design is seen in any proposal for the consideration of colonial labour conditions by official international bodies.

It cannot, therefore, be too strongly emphasized that the International Labour Organization does not pursue political aims, and that *a fortiori* it does not pursue such political aims as the "internationalization" or the "mandatization" of the colonies. The objects the Organization pursues are the objects for which it was created by Part XIII. of the Peace Treaty: The establishment of peace on the basis of social justice, and, with that end always in view, the international regulation of conditions of labour in whatever domain such regulation may be found to be needful.

It was in virtue of these principles that the Organization dealt with the question of forced or compulsory labour. In the same spirit, it will continue to consider the desirability of laying down international standards in regard to other forms of colonial labour.

THE INNER EAST

(Conducted by W. E. D. ALLEN, M.P.)

THE ORIGINS OF THE NATIONAL PRESS IN AZERBAIJAN

II

PERIOD OF STABILIZATION, 1905-1910

By JEYHOUN BEY HAJIBEYLI

[The writer of this article, a well-known authority on Turkish history and law, was a member of the National Delegation of the Republic of Azerbaijan at the Paris Conference; he is a member of the Société Asiatique, and a frequent contributor to the *Revue du Monde Mussalman*, the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and other publications.]

THE stabilization of the national Press of Azerbaijan was ushered in, as we have already noted,* by the appearance of the daily newspaper *Heyat* ("Life"), which, after many difficulties in the matter of obtaining the necessary licence from the Russian authorities, began its career during May, 1905, at Baku. It had the same publisher as *Kaspie*—Haji Zeinal Abdin Taguief—and its offices were in the same building. Its joint editors were the well-known Azeri publicist Ahmed bey Agaef (now Agha oglou Ahmed, a Turkish citizen and a member of the National Assembly at Ankara), a former contributor to *Kaspie*, and his fellow-countryman from Saliani (Azerbaijan), Ali bey Hussein zade, who, after studying in Russia, emigrated to Turkey, where he entered the Faculty of Medicine at Constantinople, becoming eventually Professor of Dermatology; on being implicated in the "Young Turk" movement, Ali bey had to abandon his post and returned to his native country. He was a poet of philosophic temperament and much appreciated as a writer.

Heyat was greeted everywhere with enthusiasm, and telegrams poured in from all parts of the Muhammadan Caucasus upon Ahmed bey, whose popularity was considerably increased by his activities during the conflicts which took place in certain districts of Transcaucasia between the

* See *The Asiatic Review*, Vol. XXVI., October, 1930.

Muslim and Armenian populations. With a powerful pen he defied all the attacks of the Armenian and Russian so-called "liberal" Press, which took the side of the latter on the grounds that the former had not rallied to the revolutionary movement which was then spreading over Russia.

Heyat was frankly nationalist in tone, with a tendency to lay stress on Islamic tradition and solidarity—a perfectly natural attitude at a time when Muhammadans were still ignorant of class divisions and even more of class struggles, their national ideas being influenced by questions of cult and religious beliefs. Socialists were merely isolated units and their influence upon the masses was of no account, more especially as these conflicts in Transcaucasia had demonstrated that the Armenian adversary made no distinction between "bourgeois" and "proletariat."

In general, the period can be described as one in which complete harmony reigned among all classes of Azeri society, which presented a united front in the face of external dangers.

In addition to its task of social and political education, *Heyat* contributed greatly to the development of the Azeri literary tongue and its orientation towards Ottoman Turkish, thanks mainly to the linguistic attainments of Hussein zadi, who replaced Persian or Russian technical and administrative words, which had crept into popular use, by the corresponding literary terms employed by the Ottoman Turks; and where these were wanting, he invented new ones.

This period was in fact the starting-point for the formation of the literary tongue of the Turks of Azerbaijan and their abandonment of a style and phraseology modelled on the Persian.

Heyat had a considerable number of voluntary contributors among the intellectuals, the bourgeoisie, and even the progressive clergy. It seemed as if all these people were animated by a keen desire to exchange ideas on a variety of subjects with their compatriots. The circulation had reached 2,500, and was increasing still further, when personal ambitions on the editorial staff threatened to undermine the useful work which had begun so favourably. There was friction between Ahmed bey and Ali Mardan bey Toptchibachi, director (though on a purely nominal basis*) of *Heyat* and editor of *Kaspi*, and the administration of that

* It was in his name that permission to publish *Heyat* had been obtained.

journal, which—according to the assertions of Ahmed bey—endeavoured to intervene in editorial matters. As *Heyat*, however, depended on its publisher, M. Taguief, who bore all the expenses, Ahmed bey, in order to maintain his liberty of action and his ideas, left the staff towards the beginning of 1906. The paper continued to appear under the sole editorship of Hussein zade, though it lost much of its influence and popularity. Ali bey Hussein zade, though a man of great merit, had neither the nerve nor energy of Ahmed bey; a refined nature with the mentality of a poet, æsthete and philosopher, he disliked all bustle and agitation.

Heyat came to an end towards the middle of 1906, when the publisher decided that he could no longer carry on at a loss.

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On the other hand, a man of Ahmed bey's capacity and reputation was incapable of remaining long inactive. With the financial assistance of Issa bey Ashourbeyli, a young dilettante of liberal ideas, who belonged to an aristocratic family of landowners of Baku, he founded a paper of his own, with the title of *Irshad* ("Guide towards the right way"), which appeared at first four times a week and then afterwards daily.

Immediately a select band of the intellectual youth with liberal ideas began to form round the new venture. Among its regular contributors were: Uzeir bey Hajibeyli, who had left *Heyat* together with Ahmed bey, and who now, under the pseudonym of "Filankes," provided a daily chronicle of events, which was much appreciated for its humour; M. E. Rasoul zade, the present leader of the Mousavat party, who played a considerable part in the proclamation of the independence of Azerbaijan, and who began his political career with *Irshad*, acting as proof reader as well as contributor; Dr. Nariman Narimanof, who at that time was imbued with pronounced nationalist tendencies; the present writer at the beginning of his journalistic career, and others.

Under the influence of the "movement for liberation" which was sweeping over the Russian Empire, *Irshad*, while maintaining its character as a nationalist organ, began to introduce liberal and democratic ideas, and devoted much space to the working classes and to the relations between them and their employers. At this period neither intellectuals nor even the Muslim bourgeoisie re-

garded manual workers in the light of class enemies; at the very least, they strove to ameliorate their conditions of life where necessary or act as mediators in the case of conflicts. The appearance of a socialist movement among a very limited portion of the Muslim youth dates from this period, as well as the formation of a Muslim Socialist party bearing the title of *Hummet*.

Irshad seemed destined to expand and its readers increased daily. Unhappily, from the point of view of administration, things were far from satisfactory. The functions of editor, manager, and publisher were not clearly defined, with the result that there were frequent encroachments on both sides, which added to the existing chaos. The publisher was unable to bear all the expenses himself. It was in these circumstances that in 1907 the Russian authorities decided to suspend the paper, giving as their motive the purport of one of "Filankes'" chronicles.

Irshad's circulation at the moment of its disappearance exceeded 3,000.

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The year 1906 saw the first satirical journal in the Azeri tongue, the famous weekly *Mulla Nasreddin*, which was published at Tiflis, outside the ethnographical boundaries of Azerbaijan, a circumstance which enabled the promoters to indulge in banter and criticism of a more energetic and independent nature. Its founder and director was Mirza Jalil Mahmed Kuli zade, an intellectual who, without being highly educated, was exceptionally well versed in local literature and customs. His immediate assistants were men of a like erudition, Omar Faik Neyman zade, the publicist, and Sabir, the talented satirical poet, who contributed pamphlets under the pseudonym of "Hop-Hop."

The influence of this periodical was greater than any other in the history of the Azeri National Press. With exquisite wit and good humour it poked fun at extravagant or antiquated social customs, sparing neither individuals nor classes. The bourgeois, the aristocrat, the clergy were all ridiculed in turn for their various failings: the first for their narrowmindedness, greed, pettiness, and pusillanimity; the second for their infatuation, vanity, and indifference to national and social problems; the third for their religious fanaticism and obscurantism. It was Sabir, especially, who excelled in the art of composing sonorous verses full of pungent satire. In addition to him, there was

a Pleiad of young pamphleteers to whom the columns of *Mulla Nasreddin* served as a school for literary and social studies.

As for its external aspect, it was well presented and contained excellent illustrations and caricatures. Its circulation reached the figure of 4,000—the record for a periodical published in the Azeri language.

Mulla Nasreddin continued to appear down to 1915, when publication was interrupted owing to the political events which were then taking place in the Caucasus. After the Bolshevik occupation, the editor, who had taken refuge in Persia, managed to bring out a few numbers. But in 1922 he returned to Azerbaijan, where the Soviet authorities, taking into account his popularity and with the object of making use of it for their own ends, allowed him to resume publication. Naturally, in these conditions the journal is not permitted to extend the objective of its banter and criticism beyond the limits imposed on all communist organs under the general title of "auto-criticism." However, by subtle and prudent allusions, the journal occasionally attempts to criticize "high politics," though it takes every care to prove its loyalty to the régime, as, for instance, by opening a subscription list for the purchase of an aeroplane, under the name of *Mulla Nasreddin*, which was offered to the Ossoviachime during the course of an armament campaign and shown round the country by the Soviets as "our reply to Chamberlain."

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The example of *Mulla Nasreddin* was followed at Baku, where, in 1906, appeared a humorous journal, which was given the name of *Bahlul*; it speedily came to an end after a few numbers had been issued.

Among other organs which came into existence in 1906, a Turco-Armenian journal called *Kotch-Da'avat* ("Invitation") requires a brief mention. It was founded by a group of Azeri and Armenian intellectuals for the purpose of calming the passions aroused by the sanguinary conflicts in Transcaucasia, to which we have already referred. A few numbers only were published.

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About the same period weekly reviews made their appearance in Baku, such as *Dabistan* ("School"), edited by a pedagogue, A. I. Jafarof, and *Rahbar* ("The Guide"), by

Mahmudbekof, a member of the same profession. Both were chiefly concerned with scholastic matters, though they also dealt with literary subjects. Their importance was limited. The first lasted till 1908, but not more than twenty-seven numbers were published; the second came to an end after its fourth.

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With the object of providing "spiritual nourishment" for *Heyat's* disappointed readers, Ali bey Hussein zade persuaded his publisher to launch a literary review—the first of its kind—which received the name of *Fewzat* ("Charms"). It was weekly, illustrated, and in every way well got up. Ali bey had found his true vocation, and, having turned aside from politics, was able to show his real measure as poet, æsthete, and philosopher. He was assisted by several learned contributors, both from the Caucasus and abroad, among whom was his personal friend Abdulla Jevdet, the well-known Turkish poet and politician.

Fewzat supplied an abundance of literary and æsthetic matter and contributed not only to the development of its readers' literary and artistic taste, but also to the formation and crystallization of the Turko-Azeri language. It was extending its activities and had increased its circulation to 1,500—not such a bad figure considering that it appealed only to the élite—when fortuitous circumstances put an end to its existence. Hussein zade had enlisted the services of an erudite Young Turk, by name Ahmed Kemal, who had taken refuge in the Caucasus from the wrath of Abdul Hamid. It was not long before the new contributor gave vent to his grievances against the Sultan, and as the editor refrained from toning down these somewhat exuberant expressions of animosity, a certain uneasiness was manifested in Azeri circles where the Sultan of Turkey was regarded with esteem.

Intrigues were set on foot and rumours were spread abroad of a Young-Turk plot against the Sultan. Representations were made to the publisher, the aged Haji Zeinal Abdin, who, incidentally, had just been decorated by Abdul Hamid, with the result that he decided to put a stop to all rumour and intrigue by ceasing publication.

Thus *Fewzat* came to an end in 1907 after a year's existence, with thirty-two numbers to its credit.

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By way of offering some recompense to the public, the publisher of *Heyat* and *Fewzat* decided to resume publication, changing the former's name to *Taza Heyat* ("New Life") and placing it under the direction of Hashim bey Vezirof, a former pedagogue, contributor to *Kaspie* and *Irshad*, and brother-in-law of Ahmed bey, a man of energy and tenacity, though extremely ambitious. He had left *Irshad* in consequence of a difference of opinion with his brother-in-law, and the publisher of *Taza Heyat* had no wish to leave Ahmed bey alone in the "field of glory."

The new journal adopted an attitude of exaggerated traditionalism due on the one hand to the mentality of its publisher and those associated with him, and on the other to his desire for vengeance on *Irshad*, which had assumed leadership of the liberal and progressive Azeri youth movement.

Under mature social conditions an attitude of this kind would not be regarded as a "sin" or a "crime"—Europe has furnished us with many an example to the contrary—but in a young society in process of formation, and especially at a time when, in consequence of the Russian liberal movement, everything that was not liberal was considered "anti-social"—a newspaper, which, instead of encouraging its readers in the search of new social aspirations, ridiculed the rush towards liberalism, drawing a line between "old" and "young" Muhammadans, could not fail to call down the thunder of the latter on the head of its editor, Hashim bey, who was accused not only of defending retrograde and pedantic ideas, but of attempting to divide the Azeri people against itself and cause dissensions among the élite.

At the instigation of a few hotheads, the intellectuals and the "socializers" declared a boycott against Hashim bey.

These facts were scarcely of a nature to imbue the Azeri public, which was only just beginning to grow accustomed to the idea of the Press, with an enthusiasm for periodical organs. *Taza Heyat's* circulation dropped to such an extent that its publisher, who was, nevertheless, a millionaire, decided to terminate its career.

This took place in 1908, after 440 numbers had appeared.

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Among the periodicals with a leaning towards the left which appeared in 1907 was the weekly *Tekamul* ("Per-

fection"), edited by M. E. Rassoul zade, contributor of *Irshad*. This journal was soon suspended by the authorities for "extremist ideas," and its place was taken by another organ of socialistic tendencies, which, however, only survived two numbers; its name was *Yoldash* ("Comrade"), and its editor was S. M. Efendief.

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To return to Ahmed bey Agaef. A man of his boundless energy was not long in finding the means of resuscitating his paper, which began to appear four times a week at first, under the name of *Tarakki* ("Progress"). The publishing expenses were defrayed by a company composed of Azeri intellectuals. The capital was divided into shares of 75 roubles each, the largest subscriber being Beshir bey Ashourbeyli with 500 shares, who was a relative of the former publisher of *Irshad*—a somewhat picturesque dilettante, but capable of chivalrously spontaneous gestures.

Ahmed bey succeeded in producing, though it was soon suspended by the authorities, a Russian edition of *Progress*, the cost of which was borne by a benevolent oil industrialist, Mutuza Mukhtarof, who subsequently committed suicide in 1920, after having killed a number of Bolsheviks in the act of requisitioning his house.

But although *Tarakki*, so far as its editing was concerned, began to interest the public and gain new adherents, both readers and contributors, the business side left much to be desired. Difficulties and misunderstandings of a financial nature speedily arose between the publishers and the management, with the result that several shareholders declined to advance any more money.

The journal's days seemed to be numbered when, thanks to fresh efforts on the part of Ahmed bey, the same M. Mukhtarof consented to make himself financially responsible for the publishing side. In addition, he provided new offices, a new printing plant with up-to-date machinery, and placed one of his relatives in charge of the business arrangements. In a word, everything was done to ensure its success. Its format was enlarged, and it appeared daily. M. Mukhtarof alone spent more than 40,000 roubles on the enterprise.

Thanks to his aid, *Tarakki* speedily gained ground and began to exercise a considerable influence in Azeri circles, more especially as it had no serious rival. It also penetrated abroad, notably into Persia, where the late Shah

Ahmed Mirza, then heir to the throne, was a subscriber. Among its contributors were the two Hajibeyli brothers and M. E. Rassoul zade; the latter, however, was not on the spot, but in Teheran, having been expelled from the Caucasus by the Russian Government.

Notwithstanding all these efforts to make it a success, *Tarakki* was evidently born under the unlucky star which had continually thwarted the stabilization and development of the Azeri Press.

Just as everything seemed to be progressing satisfactorily, a fortuitous incident occurred which shattered the whole edifice that had been so laboriously erected. Ahmed bey, excitable and impulsive as he was, took offence one day in a club at something which, in view of the interest which he took in the progress of the Turkish revolution, decided him to leave his native land. He left Baku in 1909 for Turkey, where, thanks to his intimacy with Ahmed Rza bey during their sojourn in France, he was nominated to the post of inspector of schools in the district of Constantinople. In his spare moments he contributed articles both to the Turkish Press and to *Tarakki* and *Kaspië*.

His departure was the object of much concern, not only to the intellectuals, but to the public in general of Azerbaijan, with the exception, possibly, of a few envious persons for whom Ahmed bey's activities had become too vehement. But the disappearance of one man, even of the importance of Ahmed bey, could not have a lasting influence on the normal progress of a national Press. Unhappily, the word "normal" in the conditions of contemporary life and in the presence of a mentality far too narrow among certain elements of the local bourgeoisie could not be justified. On the other hand, in addition to this mentality must be counted the personal passions and ambitions of a certain section of the intellectuals. There resulted, in consequence, a social *malaise* which had unfortunate repercussions on the national interests of the Azeri people.

After Ahmed bey's departure, *Tarakki* appeared under the direction of Uzeir bey Hajibeyli in close collaboration with the present writer.

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About this time, at Baku towards the beginning of 1909, a new humorous journal *Zenbur* made its appearance,

founded and edited by a doctor of the name of Abdul Khalik Akhundof, belonging to the bourgeoisie of that town.

After *Taza Heyat* was suspended, its editor, Hashim bey, a fairly energetic man, as we have said, and, above all, tenacious, found the means for starting in 1908, at Baku, another paper called *Ittifag* ("Alliance"), which was run on a sort of co-operative basis, even the compositors being unpaid, but having instead an interest in the concern. Notwithstanding its modest appearance, it was not badly got up, and its matter bore the incisive mark of the combative spirit which characterized its editor's personality.

In one of its numbers appeared a short paragraph, one day, on the subject of religious instruction as practised in a certain school, where a master, so it was stated, developed the thesis before his pupils that the Prophet was only a simple shepherd, and the Koran a compilation made from books picked up in various Russian towns. The paragraph aroused considerable comment, and the Russian authorities were scandalized and perturbed. The mass of believers, for their part, without taking the trouble to perceive that it was only a question of a detached piece of news, interpreted the paragraph in the direct sense as emanating from the newspaper itself. A regular tumult ensued, and a demonstration was organized in front of *Ittifag's* offices, during the course of which the fanatical crowd, under the impulse of an act of provocation, called for the editor to be lynched. It then proceeded to the Governor's residence and demanded the suspension of the paper, a request which entirely suited the government's book. Thus the Governor received the deputation with marked cordiality and promised to do justice to this manifestation of "public opinion."

Ittifag was suspended and its editor requested to leave Baku. This incident dealt a mortal blow at the national Press of Azerbaijan, and, in the circumstances, *Tarakki's* existence was far from secure, especially as the intrigues of which *Ittifag* was the object began to have a marked repercussion on the position of this sole national journal. Rumours were spread abroad, for instance, that the offending paragraph had appeared first in *Tarakki*, etc.

All this finished by irritating its publisher, M. Mukhtarof, to such a degree that he decided to cease publication.

Thus *Tarakki* came to an end in October, 1909. Its circulation had at one moment exceeded 3,500.

Zenbur soon followed suit after twenty-eight numbers in all had appeared.

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This brings us to the end of the second period of the introduction of a national Press in Azerbaijan.

There was a momentary pause of short duration, and a few months later new organs began to appear.

We will deal with this phase in a subsequent article.

WESTERN MUSIC AND RAG-RAGINIS

BY MISS BENI TAGORE

IN this new era, wonderful progress has been made in all the branches of human knowledge. One can easily see that music has also its share in this awakening. It cannot, however, be gainsaid that music is not keeping pace with the other branches of knowledge in the general awakening, probably because of our clinging blindly to not a few century-old wrong notions regarding it.

Of these notions, the outstanding one is thinking of music in territorial divisions. It has been the practice, even with many a thoughtful musician, to draw an imaginary broad line of demarcation dividing music into the Eastern and the Western varieties. Simultaneous harmony is generally accepted as the distinctive characteristic of Western music, and the rag-raginis embodied in melody as that of the music of the East. The natural effect of this erroneous notion has been to preclude the musicians, both Eastern and Western, from taking a broad and comprehensive view of music and thus rightly understanding and appreciating the beauties inherent in it. We are, however, glad to see that both in the East and in the West efforts are being made to free music from sectarian narrowness and to take whatever is good from one another: the sonorous grandeur of harmony from the Western music and the melodious sweetness of rag-raginis from that of the East. I have no doubt, however, that before long the artificial line of territorial demarcation will disappear.

There does not seem to be any reasonable ground for such a conception or, rather, a misconception. A little consideration will convince one that Indian melody and Western harmony are but the two wings upon which music will soar high on its way to liberation, being simply two different ways or methods of expressing music. Like the law of attraction manifesting itself in two different ways in the waterfalls and in the solar attraction of the earth, music tries to express itself in two different aspects, either through melody unfolding the rag-raginis or through simultaneous harmony, according to the difference in time, place, and circumstances.

Anyone who knows the A B C of Indian music is well aware that, according to the Indian musicians, a song or a musical piece rests on a distinctive rag or ragini, which

again expresses itself through its inherent characteristic *thât*, or scale. A rag-ragini is visualized when its scale is made to blossom forth into fulness with the help of melody. The rag-ragini will thus appear to be the central point or the soul of music, and the scale its framework or outer body only. The analogy of a picture is perfectly applicable. In a picture of the mother-love, it is this love which should naturally be the centre or the soul of the picture. To give an outward expression to this central idea, a child in the motherly embrace of its mother or something like it should be painted as the framework or the outer body of that picture, no other details being essential to the expression of this idea. In the Oriental pictures like those of Jaipur, China, and other Eastern countries, an effort is more often than not made to bring out the central idea with the help only of those parts that are absolutely essential and indispensable.

Similarly, in the sphere of music, to express a rag-ragini requires the unfoldment of its indwelling scale by giving the latter full play in its characteristic essentials. When the different forms of a scale obtained by a combination and permutation of its different notes in different octaves are correctly blended together, or when different concordant scales are properly combined, the figure of a rag-ragini, pure or mixed, as the case may be, becomes visualized. In Indian music particular stress is laid on revealing the true form of a rag-ragini, pure or mixed, by especially amplifying separately or consecutively those notes in particular of its respective scale, pure or mixed, on which the character of the rag-ragini depends. In European music, however, importance is attached to picking out the concordant and related notes from a scale and to their joint and simultaneous unfoldment, of course in consonance with the entire scale, thus giving each component element its true value in relation to the whole and not of itself. Herein lies the chief difference between the music of the East and that of the West. As a result of this differentiation, rag-raginis and their best medium of expression, melody, have taken a deep and firm hold on Indian music, whereas Western music has developed mostly on the lines of simultaneous harmony. This, however, does not warrant us to say either that the music of the East is altogether void of simultaneous harmony or that the music of the West is wholly divorced from the rag-raginis.

I have already dealt at length on the existence of simul-

taneous harmony in Indian music in my article on the subject in the *Asiatic Review* (October, 1927). Combined harmony is discernible in the method of singing the hymns of the Sama Veda. The method of setting the strings of instruments like the *Vinâ*, *Sitâra*, and the practice of producing combined harmonious sounds called "*Jhankâr*," give us undoubted proofs of there being an elementary form of simultaneous harmony in Indian music. The use of words like "*Slishta-Tantrî-Swanam*"—i.e., "combined notes of the *Vinâ*"*—in ancient Sanskrit literature fully supports this view. All this proves that the stringed instruments of the East, with a few exceptions, if any at all, were conceived with the playing of combined harmony kept in view directly or indirectly. We also get in the *Kîrtan* the *Râmâyana*-songs, etc., of India, something like the part-singing of the West. Part-singing is also in favour with the aboriginal hill tribes of India like the Kols. Part-singing would not have been possible had there not been a sense of combined harmony in the singers.

Let me reiterate my point that neither Eastern music is altogether void of combined harmony nor is Western music void of rag-raginis. To my mind, it is on account of the prevalence of the congregational spirit among the Western nations that combined harmony has attained a wide scope of development there. As, however, a congregation cannot altogether leave aside individualism, so rag-raginis cannot be altogether absent from a harmonized piece. The existence of rag-raginis even in the music of the West becomes at once apparent to us when we listen to musical pieces like Beethoven's "*Sonata Pathétique*" or Gounod's serenadas, or the bagpipe music of the Scottish Highlanders. Monsieur Ph. Sandré (Mus.Doc.) agreed with me in my view, at least so far as Chopin is concerned, when I lately discussed this matter with him. In fact, Chopin's nocturnes are permeated with the spirit of different evening raginis like *Puravî*, *Chhâyânot*, *Khâmbâj*, etc. Songs like "Go where glory awaits thee" have such a distinct stamp of one or other ragini underlying them, and their tunes are so like the Indian, that they have easily been adapted with success to Indian music.

Although music is developed either on the lines of

* *Mrichhakatikam*, the oldest drama extant, and said to have been written at or shortly before the beginning of the Christian era. Raja Sir S. M. Tagore's (Doc. Mus.) "*Universal History of Music*."

harmony or rag-raginis, it will be evident that a universal spirit is behind the music of all countries and of all classes. It is because of this universal spirit transcending all limits, territorial or otherwise, that a vein of similarity is traceable between the music of the Highlanders of Scotland and that of the hill tribes of India. The music of both the Highlanders and hill tribes easily places before our mind's eye a picture of the wilds, hills, glens, and dales. The vigour inherent in harmony is observed in the music of the hill people of both countries, although they are thousands of miles apart and are separated from one another by mountains, deserts, and oceans. Because of this universal spirit, we find also a similarity between the music of the southern plains of Europe like Italy and that of the Ganges-washed verdant plains of Bengal. In the music of both countries is observed a predominance of rag-raginis with a touch of the sad and soft languor of the South on the one hand and that of the bright effulgence of the radiant sun on the other. It is because of this universal basis that the compositions of the Italian musician Rossini approach so near to melodical compositions of the musicians of the East. It is not surprising that there should be this universal spirit underlying all music, as it is a divine gift to humanity.

A few instances may perhaps be cited here testifying very cogently to the existence of this universal basis. The seven principal notes form, as it were, the foundation of all music, Eastern or Western. The modes of expression in music—the spirit of morning, light (or evening, darkness)—run on very similar lines, both in the East and in the West. It will be interesting to see what the well-known musician Mons. Ph. Sandré says on this point: "Take a piece written in C major modulating to C# major. You will obtain an effect of more and more light (*lumière*), as a progressing sunrise; and go from C major to D^b, you will obtain an effect of darkness—of something 'going to sleep,' of sunset." In fact, the similarity in the modes of expression is so marked that, when I heard the Morning Hymn played on the gramophone without knowing it to be so, it automatically suggested to me the morning sun rising rythmically in all its splendour. Similarly, I have heard many a European musician express, on hearing the morning rag-raginis of India like the Rag Bhairo or the Ragini Bhairabi, that they suggested to them at once the idea of morn. Again, the evening rag-raginis of the East such as the Puravi,

Imankalyan, Behag, and the nocturnes of the West, cannot but suggest the sad and soft spirit of the still night, and are sure to carry the audience along in a stream of nocturnal impressions.

It is but natural that the songs composed in the dead of night or meant to convey the picture of night to us should have an impress of the deep solemnity of night; and that those composed in the morning under the bright sun, or those composed with a view to conveying that idea to our mind, should have an impress in them of the brightness of the morning. In this connection, the well-known story of Tansen, the famous musician of Akbar the Great, as related by Lord Ronaldshay in his "Heart of Aryavarta," may bear repetition here: "Tansen was commanded by the king to sing a night-raga at high noon. In Indian music, different ragas are, as is well known, associated with different periods of the day, and are intended to awaken appropriate emotions accordingly. Obedient to the Imperial command, yet contrary to all the laws of custom and tradition, Tansen sang a night-raga when the sun blazed overhead. As he did so, so the story goes, darkness covered the land as far as his voice reached. That is, night became a tangible, visible experience through the suggestive power of the melody." In support of what we have said, let me also quote what a writer has said recently in the *Calcutta Statesman* regarding the compositions of the famous Western musician Debussy: "It is almost impossible for a sensitive performer to play 'La Lune Descend' (The Setting Moon) on a bright sunny morning, so closely have his pieces surrounded themselves with their own appropriate times and seasons." Margaret Cousins (Mus.Bac.) aptly calls it "the pathway of æsthetic correspondences between East and West." Man is man, after all, all over the world, and the music implanted by Divinity in the heart of every man stands on the same fundamental basis. Music, therefore, of all climes and times stands fundamentally on one common basis, notwithstanding all the difference in the ways or methods of expressing it.

The existence of the universal basis of music is again proved by one nation being able to perceive the expressions of pleasure or sorrow in the music of nations other than their own. Indeed, a strong similarity is very often discernible, even in the style of expression when tunes of gladness or sorrow are composed, in the East or in the West. Every musician of the West knows full well that

Beethoven has tried to express deep sorrow in his "Sonata Pathétique," and has used the most suitable style for the same. You hear the piece played and your heart melts into tears of sorrow. The whole spirit, however, of the piece finds expression in the first few bars. The striking correspondence of these bars to the ragini *Pilu-Bâroân*, even to the mode of expression, struck me when I played a song—"To whom, O to whom shall I unburden my heart's sorrow but to Thee?"—composed in that ragini by my father, Rev. Kshitindra Nath Tagore. It is obvious that the words of the song are expressive of sorrow; and every Indian musician knows well that the ragini *Pilu-Bâroân* itself is more expressive of sorrow than of pleasure. Now, both the sonata and the song press home the idea of pathos with greater and greater intensity until the climax is reached, after which the tension is gradually relaxed. Thus the main difference in the music of the East and of the West seems to be, as I have said above, that, in the East, the rag-ragini or the essential spirit of a tune is made to unfold itself more fully by giving prominence to each individual note of the respective scale; whereas in the West predominance is given to harmony, the outer periphery of music, by allowing more than one concordant note to unfold themselves simultaneously, and thus, in many cases, keeping the spirit in the background, but in no case is rag-ragini, the root-basis of music, left out altogether.

In harmonized music we realize unity in diversity, while in rag-raginis it is unity alone that reigns supreme. As in nature unity is the binding link in the midst of variety, so in harmonized music it is the underlying rag-ragini that holds the whole thing together. In fact, no harmonized piece can stand alone except on a rag-ragini, pure or mixed. When one or more notes of the scale of a rag-ragini are amplified with chords, etc., on the Western lines, we get the rag-ragini harmonized—the Eastern music is transformed into Western music. On the other hand, when the essence of a harmonized piece of music is extracted, we at once get a rag-ragini, pure or mixed, underlying the same. A rag-ragini is, as it were, the mantra or the enunciated principle of music, the *thât*, or scale, being its direct and correct interpretation and harmony its elaborate commentary. The scale that helps in the unfoldment of a rag-ragini, with the melody depending upon it, is so closely related to harmony that illustrious Western musicians like Beethoven and Chopin, in their efforts to improve harmony, which was their chief aim, could not help

developing, though unconsciously, the melody suggestive of the rag-raginis which underlay their harmonized compositions.

It is the musician-sages of India who, through intensive application and deep meditation, perceived the rag-raginis as the underlying soul of all music, and they made a special gift of it to the world. In consequence, they devoted themselves whole-heartedly to finding out the ways and means of expressing rag-raginis as fully as possible. They seem to have considered simultaneous harmony as the outer rind of music, and did not therefore bestow much attention on it for its development; whereas the musicians of the West applied themselves more to the development of simultaneous harmony, the external side of music.*

From what has been said above, we come to this inevitable conclusion, that neither is harmony, the outer drapery of the universal music, the monopoly of the West, nor are the rag-raginis, the universal truths underlying all music and written in indelible characters in the heart of every man, as expressed through the melodical scales, the monopoly of the East. We do not admit that the introduction of simultaneous harmony into Indian music will cause it to lose its special characteristics and thus deal it its death-blow, nor do we admit that an application to a larger extent of rag-raginis to the music of the West will necessarily destroy it, as is supposed by some, and relegate it to a thing of the past. It may not be out of place here to mention that when I played Beethoven's "Romance in G" on the violin with its accompaniment on the piano, it was highly appreciated by the Indian audience. Again, when Chopin's nocturnes were played by me on the piano, it also received a ready response in the heart of the Indians. On the other hand, ragini Jhinjhrit-Khambaj, as harmonized by me on Western lines, when performed before a mixed gathering of Indians and Europeans, was very well received by both the sections of the audience.

In these days of general awakening, it behoves us to extend our right hand of fellowship to each other and to effect union, even in matters musical, between the East and the West. To effect a real improvement in music requires a wider application of rag-raginis to the Western music on the one hand, and greater opportunities being given, on the other, of introducing into the music of the East simultaneous harmony on Western lines.

* Cp. *The Asiatic Review*, October, 1927, "Indian Music and Simultaneous Harmony."

Like mathematical truths, universal musical truths transcend all time, space, and circumstances. There is therefore nothing to be ashamed of if an interchange of ideas is effected and a sympathetic give-and-take policy is adopted in music between the East and the West.

M. Ducoudray has been giving recently a series of lectures in Paris on the subject, which have attracted much interest. We are at one with him in what he says in this matter, and we cannot do better than quote him. He says: "We hope to have shown how much fecundity there is in the application of harmony to the Eastern scales. Western polyphonic music, hitherto confined to the use of two modes, may by this means escape from its long reclusion; and the fruit of this deliverance may be to furnish resources of expression altogether new, and colours which hitherto have been unknown to the palette of the musician."*

Let me conclude by saying that it will be evident to anyone who has delved deep into the spirit of music that rag-raginis and harmony are not antagonistic by nature, but are, as it were, complementary to one another. They are but two different ways of expressing music that has been instilled into the hearts of men by God. Once this is clearly understood and the universality of music is perceived, it will neither be difficult to embellish the Indian rag-raginis with a little of the Western harmony nor to interweave a little more of the Indian rag-raginis into the harmony of the West. In this new era of worldwide international relationship and intermixing, when old traditions and new ideas meet at every point and give birth to results unthought of before, it would not be wise for anyone to put obstacles in the way of union between the East and the West through music. Let harmony of the West and rag-raginis of the East unite and intermingle, and thus open out a newer and broader road to higher music.

* "Philosophy of Music," by William Pole, F.R.S., Mus.Doc. (Oxon.).

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

THE ARTISTIC POSSIBILITIES OF LITERARY CHINESE—II

(Continued from January Issue)

BY PROFESSOR G. MARGULIÈS

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I WILL now recapitulate all the elements we pointed out to make a short résumé of what may be called the artistic qualities of Chinese literary language. The distinct qualities given to it by its peculiarities are the following: richness of vocabulary, precise and capable of endless increase, excelling in description, both abstract and concrete, by its preciseness and the independent value of the words; rhythmic and parallel effects of structure, often reducing syntactic structure to a mere ornamental element; visual literary effects, allowed by ideographical writing, rendering most subtle and complex allusions and thoughts; a vast repertory of quotations, allusions, and historical examples.

Having such qualities, Chinese literature is naturally rather descriptive than narrative. Nature has a still more important place than in Europe; love-stories, on the contrary, that form the immense majority of Western poetry and even prose, are not so highly regarded in China. The cause must not be merely moral; it is one more consequence of the analytic and generalizing, impersonal spirit of Chinese literature, already noted above. Chinese authors do not use the direct expression, as being often brutal—they analyze the feeling and the state of minds; while Western authors narrate exterior effects, Chinese analyze interior causes and note successive psychological aspects. The soul of a Chinese is poetic, almost romantic. But the expression, using the most perfect instrument of literary Chinese, is purified and condensed; by the notation of a few essential details it brings the particular case to the level of an all-human and not merely occasional and personal feeling.

Thus, while the Chinese soul is romantic, yet of all

Western literary forms, romanticism, with its vehement movement and insistent emphasizing of personality, is the remotest from the Chinese. Naturalism, too, is not very much nearer to them. On the contrary, classical poetry, didactic and miscellaneous works of the ancient times, literary productions of the Middle Ages, and, lastly, some of the tendencies of the sixteenth century, come often very near to Chinese forms and ways of expression. Certain tendencies of modern literature do the same, but often intentionally.

I have now, within the limits of my capacities, exhausted my task, giving a rapid list of the peculiarities of literary Chinese and explaining them by the particular qualities of the language. All the time I was making a parallel between Chinese and Western, monosyllabic and polysyllabic technique, and emphasized all the elements characterizing each of the two groups. The impression doubtless is that the two groups of literature are as far from each other as can be, that there can scarcely be any common interest. This would be, needless to say, far too quick and superficial a conclusion. Let us remember what was said in the very beginning of this paper: I wished to show the differences between Western and Chinese literature, and thus based my whole comparison on the differentiating elements of the language, peculiar to every literature. No wonder the differences appeared essential and numerous, affecting the whole structure of the works. But should this be a sufficient reason to neglect Chinese literature as Europeans do? Certainly not.

Considering literary evolution, not from the point of view of its interior unity, but of its exterior variety, we may say that every literature contains all tendencies, however opposed to each other they may be; there are Western authors seeking conciseness and abstraction, and there are Chinese narrators—though the former often suffer from the incompatibility of the language with this tendency, and the latter appear in China in a period when literature is either not yet formed or already showing the first signs of decay. But the fact is, that differentiations do not alter the essential problems of human thought and feeling, which are the same all over the earth. Thus, peculiarities of Chinese artistic method of thought and feeling are not essential differences but differences of conceiving the same problems. There can be no incompatibility of minds, there are only new and different views of problems, and this is the more interesting.

I should like, after this theoretical analysis, to give a few

examples taken from both Chinese and Western literature, to show how very alike they can be in their form and even expression, and yet what differences may be observed. As the differentiation belongs to the language, while the similarity belongs to the thought, I have preferred to take examples of the latter, still showing in every case, behind the exterior likeness, differences of conception. I take the examples at random, as I encountered them among many similar ones while reading, merely to show that, generally speaking, all human literatures have points of similarity, and that differences due to the characteristics of languages do not impede that similarity. I preferred not to take modern Chinese productions, to avoid any suspicion of imitation.

Here are, first, two descriptions of autumn landscapes :

"The dew is icy at dawn. It is autumn. Everything is melancholy, quiet, limpid. Clouds, like swans, are floating in the sky."

"What is the aspect of autumn? Mist is gathering and clouds are floating away. The air is pure and clear, the sky seems higher, and the light is limpid."

The elements noted in these two pictures are identical; they seem to be taken in the same climate at the same season. Yet I translate the first from Russian and the second from Chinese; the first piece was written in Northern Russia and the second in Central China, the first in the twentieth, the second in the eleventh century. The Russian text is that of M. Remisoff, one of the best contemporary Russian authors; he was very much astonished when I told him I intended to make the above parallel, as he had never read any Chinese literary work. The second piece was written by the great writer, poet, and statesman, Ou-yang Siou. In that very simple example of artistic production, a pure and impersonal description, we can register only similarity; the author's point of view is not shown.

Now let us proceed further. As we have had descriptions of autumn, here are two more, unveiling the symbolism of the landscape :

"A year has three hundred and sixty-five days; wind and frost, like sword-points, are restlessly pricking us. Beauty's charm and freshness last but little; there comes a day when they vanish and no one can get them back again."

"A day passes—another—unsafe and vague as ships under the wind. Here have I seen shades and flowers, water and grass. . . . Now all is silent and quiet."

Those variations on the theme of autumn seem very close in their inspiration. Yet I translate the first from the Chinese text of Ts'ao Hs'ue-chin of the seventeenth

century, and the second from the Portuguese text of Francisco Sa de Miranda, sixteenth century. And, as it is more than a bare statement, we can easily find characteristic differences in the ending of the two poems.

Here are the last verses of the Portuguese sonnet :

"I had still other causes of grief. But though everything can be renewed, that alone is without remedy."

This explains the whole poem as lyrical allegory of love ; the author reduces nature to the state of a picture of his personal feelings.

Here is the end of the Chinese poem, fairly long, inserted in a novel, both conditions which may have allowed it to display strong personal feeling :

"Some day the spring is over, rosy faces become old. Then flowers fade, young girls die. . . . They never knew each other."

The conclusion is generalizing ; from the particular case of the young girl to whom the whole poem is ascribed the author comes to a consideration of the brevity of youth and its charms.

The vanity of life is a subject that poets like to develop. It naturally brings out the brevity of life. Here is an illustration :

"His battle ships covered a thousand miles, his banners hid the sky. He was a hero of the time, and yet, where is he now ? But where are the saint apostles, where the noble kings of France ? So much the wind blows away."

This is not, as it seems to be, one single poem. The beginning is translated from the Chinese text of Su Shi, eleventh century ; the end, starting with the words "But where," etc., is translated from the French of François Villon, fifteenth century. Once more the ending of the two poems shows clearly the difference of conception, though the passages taken are strikingly similar.

The French author makes a long list of famous people of the past, and comes to the conclusion : "So much the wind blows away." He takes the personal point of view and deplores the complete disappearance of everything. In the Chinese text the author says to a friend who makes analogous observations :

"Do you know the water and the moon ? This water, that flows away, is never gone ; that moon, now full, now decreasing, in fact never changes. If we consider everything from the point of view of that which changes, then heaven and earth will vanish in a second. But if we

consider everything from the point of view of that which does not change, then all beings and ourselves are endless; what else could we wish?"

That is the difference between personal Western philosophy and impersonal Chinese conceptions.

The idea of brevity of life naturally brings forth the idea of the vanity of human deeds. Here are two striking pictures of it:

"I met a traveller from an antique land
Who said: Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
Stand in the desert. . . . Near them, on the sand,
Half sunk, a shattered visage lies, whose frown,
And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command,
Tell that its sculptor well those passions read
Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things,
The hand that mocked them, and the heart that fed:
And on the pedestal these words appear:
My name is Ozymandias, King of Kings;
Look on my works, ye mighty, and despair.
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,
The lone and level sands stretch far away."

"In ancient times the king of Liang was rich and magnificent. Many a man of valour came to his court. But a thousand years rolled indolently by, and this high terrace is now the only survival of the past. Silent and deserted, it is invaded by autumnal herbs, and mournful winds blow there from a thousand miles afar."

The first poem, of course, is written by Shelley, the second by Kao Shi, eighth century. Here, too, under the striking analogy of the development, we note the same characteristic differences between Western and Chinese mentality: the English poet shows the vanity of personal effort, of the glorification of individuals; the Chinese poet shows the brevity of human life, the instability of human works. One fact is characteristic of both mentalities: Shelley gives the name of the king, who for him is rather a fictitious person; Kao Shi does not give the name of the King of Liang, though he was a well-known historical person.

If we come to more exclusively lyrical poems, in the Occidental meaning of the word, we can as easily find the same analogy in their work, and yet the same characteristic difference of the author's point of view.

Here is one of the most frequently treated subjects—parting lovers:

"We had much love for each other, but it seemed to us we had none. Only, at the moment we parted we saw we could laugh no more. We did not cry, we did not sigh; tears and sobs came later."

Once more, this is not one single poem. The beginning of it is Chinese, the end German (Heine, nineteenth century). And, though the two fragments seem perfectly homogeneous, it is sufficient to consider the end of the Chinese poem and the beginning of the German one to see the usual differences.

The end of the Chinese poem says :

"The candle, though without feeling, pities our parting and sheds tears for us up to the dawn."

This gives the only concrete detail of the parting, characteristic for the whole scene, giving at once the whole picture. At the same time it is of an exquisite sentimental delicacy ; the poet says nothing about the lovers' tears, he says only they can laugh no more, yet things themselves are crying over them.

Now the beginning of the German poem :

"When two persons are parting, they stretch their arms, they start to cry and sob continuously."

This gives a very general picture of parting in its most common aspect, and thus emphasizes the strictly personal character of the parting described in the end, as something quite individual.

These examples, as can be seen, might be continued indefinitely. I shall give but one more, in which the similitudes and differences are particularly well seen. Here are two poems in which a married woman is supposed to refuse gifts from a man whom she still likes.

The first says :

"Though your jewels are as beautiful as you say, you came in an improper moment to show them. I should have loved to see their splendid display if you had come earlier, but you came late. What would people say of me, married, and expecting the arrival of my noble husband, if I was not grieved, but pleasantly surprised at the sight of this heart of diamonds? Take your diamonds back, although I know that, losing them, I lose a beautiful and lasting light, equal to the sun himself. Do not complain of my fierce temper, accuse yourself, you that come when the time is passed, when circumstances are no more favourable."

The second says :

"You know I have a husband, and yet you offer me two shining pearls. I pitied your anxiety and fixed them on my red silk dress. The high pavilions of my home are close to the Imperial Park, my husband is on duty in the Emperor's palace. I know that the feelings of your heart are as pure as the sun and the moon, but you will understand that I must serve my husband, to whom my faith is given for life and death. I give you back your shining pearls, but two tears are slowly falling. Why did we not meet at the time when I was not yet married?"

It is difficult indeed to obtain more perfect analogy. But the circumstances of the composition of the texts reveal their deep differentiation. I translated the first of them from a play of Pedro Calderon de la Barca, "*A secreto agravio secreta venganza*," seventeenth century. The plot shows us how, after this refusal, the woman still secretly meets the man who courts her, and finally both perish by the hand of the jealous husband. The whole story is an action. As to the second poem, I translated it from the Chinese text of Chang Chi, ninth century, and the commentators explain it as an allegory. Chang Chi was on imperial service when a mighty rebel-chief solicited him to join his party; in this poem, though flattering the mighty rebel, Chang Chi explains he is bound to be faithful to the Emperor. Never, I think, two poems as close as these in their form and meaning were inspired by more different intentions.

I can now close my list of examples. It is sufficient to have taken them from Russian, English, German, French, Spanish, and Portuguese literatures, from the sixteenth, seventeenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, to show that constant analogies may be found between Western and Chinese literature, and the differences being permanent and great, nevertheless do not indicate incompatibility of minds, or the impossibility of mutual study and translation, but, on the contrary, make this study the more interesting and useful, showing a different mentality, a different way of thought, due, as we saw, to the differences in the principles of the languages.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

LIFE OF SAYAJI RAO III., MAHARAJA OF BARODA. By Stanley Rice.
Two vols. (*Oxford University Press.*) Price 31s. 6d. net.
(Reviewed by L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

Mr. Stanley Rice is much to be congratulated upon these two handsome volumes. He has, indeed, accomplished far more than the mere biography of a remarkable individual, distinguished alike as a man and as a ruler. He has thrown a clear light upon the life and working of an important Indian State. In tracing the life of the Maharaja of Baroda, he succeeds in familiarizing us with Baroda itself. Perhaps from one point of view it is fair to say that these two volumes contain more about Baroda than of Sir Sayaji Rao. Possibly it was some subconscious realization of this fact which induced Mr. Stanley Rice to expend so much space upon the travel notes accumulated by the Maharaja in the course of his various visits to Europe. To shorten the account of these various journeys would unquestionably have helped to preserve the artistic unity of the whole book; and yet it cannot be denied that the extracts from the Maharaja's diaries, containing as they do his own shrewd observations upon men and things, assist in some degree to bring his character and personality vividly before the reader.

Almost from the time of his accession, the present Maharaja has been an impressive figure. He has devoted his life unsparingly to the service of his State and of his people; and, as Mr. Rice clearly shows, the common charge of "absenteeism" finds its origin in the Maharaja's constant, and indeed pathetic, quest of physical health. As Sir Sayaji Rao himself frankly said, there has been no room in his life for relaxation; and he feels that if he could live his life again, he would rectify the mistake. Yet the progress which Baroda has made under his rule is eloquent testimony to the practical advantages which his people have derived from their Prince's anxious and careworn days. Viewed from the Western standpoint, the efficiency of the administration suffers in some degree in Baroda, as in many other States, from over-centralization. Yet, as anyone who has worked in a State can testify, there are so many things which can only be done by the ruler himself. There is thus something far stronger than a mere personal habit of mind behind the Maharaja's meticulous control over the details of administration; and Mr. Stanley Rice might perhaps have emphasized that even more clearly than he does.

Mr. Rice's book abounds in quotable passages; but he is perhaps at his best in his judicious summing-up of the general nature of government in Baroda: "His Highness has been on the whole very well served, but his desire—a very natural desire—to perfect the work of his life impels

him to warn, to exhort, to point out what is wrong, to suggest remedies for the future. The reputation for good government which Baroda has enjoyed during many a long year is a subject of legitimate pride not only to the Maharaja but to all his Officers. A gardener cannot work without tools, an architect cannot build without bricks. If it is to His Highness's credit that he has led Baroda for fifty years along the right path, it is to the credit of his Officers that they have responded so generously to his inspirations. The Maharaja is feared because he is an exacting and severe master; in times of irritation, if the truth be told, apt to be capricious; but the Maharaja is also loved because he is kind and considerate, because his people know that he has worked for them throughout his long reign. The love transcends the fear. His Officers have carried out his orders to the best of their ability, not grudgingly because they are orders, but loyally and heartily because they are good orders. In moments of depression His Highness may have felt that he is a lonely man slaving for the good of his people in an atmosphere of indifference and incompetence, but when the clouds have disappeared, his better self has reasserted itself, and he knows that it is not so. Black sheep there are in the flock, and black sheep in such flocks there always will be. Many an Officer—not excepting the highest—has done many a foolish thing; the administration is not perfect, and never will be, since a realized ideal ceases to be an ideal. It would be easy, if it were not ungenerous, to point to defects—defects of detail, defects of execution, defects of outlook, defects even of organization, since we do not all think alike. Great as has been the Maharaja's achievement, lofty as are his ideals, that which most redounds to his credit is that he has been able to surmount obstacles, to carry his people along with him, and to instil into his Officers that loyalty of affection which grow ever more and more into the perfect co-operation on which he has set his heart."

The judicial tone, so plainly exhibited by the author in this extract, is among the most remarkable features of the whole book. It is particularly noteworthy in Mr. Rice's examination of the difficulties confronting the relationship between a progressive State like Baroda and the Paramount Power. Mr. Rice has obviously undergone an experience not unusual with retired Government officials who have entered the service of an Indian State. He has passed through the stages of incredulity and amazement, and has arrived at the realization that many of the actions of the Paramount Power, although admittedly inspired by the best of motives, take far too little account of the constitutional rights, to say nothing of the legitimate sensibilities, of many an Indian State. The story of the relations of Baroda with the Paramount Power during the long reign of the present Maharaja is not on the whole a record of which an Englishman can be proud. The Maharaja admittedly was "a bonny fighter" fully disposed to stand upon his rights. But a stricter regard for these rights, and a more generous estimation of the wonderful work which the Maharaja was doing, would have saved many a painful incident.

Mr. Rice's book is most heartily to be commended. It deserves to be read and to be pondered by all who are interested in India in general,

while its importance cannot be overestimated to that increasing body of opinion which has come to realize the immensity of the part which the Indian States play in the political composition of India. I personally hope that it will be found possible to republish these volumes later in a cheaper edition.

PAPERS ON INDIAN STATES DEVELOPMENT. (*East and West, Ltd.*)

5s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR PHILIP DAWSON, M.P.)

India has an area nearly equal to two-thirds that of the United States of America and a population two and a half times as great. Its history reaches into the dimmest antiquity, and it is the cradle of our civilization and the greatest jewel in our Imperial crown. The future of our great Empire is intimately linked up with that of India; and any decisions which the Government may take as the result of the Round Table Conference, and which, to be really effective, must have the wholehearted support of all parties in the State, will have a momentous influence on our destinies. Either it will be the first step in the closer linking up of all the various parts of our world-wide Empire into one economic unit, self-contained and self-supporting, united for reasons of mutual interest and co-operating for the benefit of all, or it will be the first step in the dissolution of the British Empire.

No one doubts that the times are rapidly changing owing to the development of the methods of communication, the more general penetration of modern ideas, the growth of education, and the rapid transfer of news by the Press, by wireless, the cinema and the talkies, all of which have transformed the conditions which existed at the end of last century, and new methods must be adopted to cope with the new conditions which have been created.

To enable any constitutional Governments to carry out satisfactorily and successfully its task, it must have the support of public opinion, and it is therefore of the utmost importance that public opinion should be well informed if its decisions are to be of benefit to the country.

India, and the past and present glories of that country, the great deeds our ancestors have performed there, the blood and treasure we have spent there, and the importance of securing the goodwill of the people of that great country, are generally grasped by all; but more detailed knowledge is necessary before any opinion can be expressed as to proposals which the Government may place before the country as a result of the Round Table Conference.

Here it is that "Papers on Indian States Development" come to the assistance of the public by enabling them to secure unbiassed and useful information, both from an historical, administrative and economic point of view. How many people realize the importance of the "Indian States," which are not part of British India, but practically independent States bound to us by their being allies, and their rulers willing servants of the King-Emperor? And Sir Gilbert Vyle justly draws attention in the preface to this so little appreciated and most important factor.

The first Paper of the set gives an admirable survey of our past and present relations with the Sovereign Indian States, the status of which was clearly indicated in the proclamation of Queen Victoria when she became Empress of India, in which she acknowledged the independence of the native States and said: "We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of native Princes as our own"; and in which the native States were recognized as constituting a permanent element in the political composition of India. When we consider that the native States represent roughly one-third of the area and well over one-third of the total population of the whole of India, we get some idea of their importance—a fact which in the past has not been generally understood by the man in the street.

So far back as 1860, immediately after the Mutiny, Lord Canning pointed out the importance of satisfying the native rulers that their independence was safe and that there was no idea of ever trying to convert their country into British territory. In the past, Lord Canning's admonition has not always been observed, and the British administration to Queen Victoria deploring the manner in which English political Officers frequently treated many of the native Princes.

King Edward VII. when, as Prince of Wales, he visited India wrote to Queen Victoria deploring the manner in which English political Officers frequently treated many of the native Princes.

Lord Lytton in 1877 pointed out the importance that to hold India it was essential to secure the loyalty and goodwill of the Indian Princes. The whole position of the native States, and their importance in dealing with the Indian problem, is clearly set out in the first article of the pamphlet and well worthy of careful study. Mr. Rushbrook Williams, its author, has rendered a great service in the manner in which he has dealt with this interesting and vital part of the subject.

The following chapters deal fully and thoroughly with economic resources of four of the native States—Mysore, Kashmere, Gwalior, and Travancore. They give most useful and valuable information and show how thoroughly native States are not only taking stock of their resources, but also show their variety and the modern methods which are being adopted to preserve and economically exploit them. They contain complete and valuable statistics which enable one to gain a very clear idea of the vast resources of the native States, and show how greatly these have benefited from the knowledge which we have been able to put at their disposal.

In the last chapter Mr. John de La Valette's experience of the East has enabled him to present a very valuable picture of the economic possibilities of the native States. He gives some very interesting comparisons between the relations of the native States and those which existed between the States which comprised Imperial Germany, and also draws a parallel between the Indian States and the South American Republics.

He points out the need of the native States securing British assistance and co-operation in their economic and political development, and that this can be given without in any way hampering the reasonable fulfilment of National aspirations.

European enthusiasts often overreach themselves in their attempt to confer upon the Indian people what they consider to be the blessings of industrialized Westernism.

On the other hand, if native traditions and customs are rated at their proper value and the natural aptitude of the native rulers to adopt foreign modes and borrow from alien civilization are taken advantage of, great and beneficial development is bound to follow—a development which should be as advantageous to us as it will be to the native States.

Experience all over the world has shown that the premature introduction of democratic constitutions into unprepared countries has hampered true progress and retarded economic improvement. This fact the Indian Princes fully appreciate, and they do not believe that it is true wisdom to accept the verdict of the majority by giving the vote to the greatest number of incompetents, but they believe that the proper course is to entrust Government to those who by training are able to show themselves capable of constructive thought and fruitful initiation.

This method gradually increases the number of people who are capable of understanding the problems with which the State is faced and who are able to collaborate with the dynasties in governing the State.

Mr. de La Valette points out many ways in which Great Britain in helping India to adopt modern methods in agriculture, such as have been introduced by the Dutch in Java, might herself reap material benefits.

There are other suggestions made as regards developing trade in India and thereby increasing its purchasing power which deserve the most careful attention.

The Indian States appreciate that Britain must share with them not only the burden of developing their resources, but also the advantages which will arise therefrom.

They are, as has been stated by them over and over again at the Round Table Conference, bound by the strongest ties of loyalty to the "Crown," and they appreciate the great achievements of this country. Mr. de La Valette points out that this will ensure to all British men of ability, understanding and goodwill a great and fruitful opportunity to harness their best efforts to the task of developing the vast latent resources of the Indian States to the mutual benefit of Great Britain and the native States. All those interested in the future of India and in the rôle which India can play in consolidating the ties which should link the Empire into one great economic unit will welcome these "Papers on Indian States Development."

LEAVES FROM INDIAN FORESTS. By Sir Eardley Wilmot.

(Reviewed by MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.)

"It is unfortunate that in these reminiscences nothing theatrical is recorded; neither the sportsman nor his companion were maimed or killed, none of them had even a 'tiger roaring in his ear,'" remarks the author of this interesting record of adventure in the forests of Northern India.

We cannot regard it as unfortunate, considering the slaughter of wild animals sufficient spice of tragedy for any book, and preferring as we do the practised woodman's contribution to the hunter's in the present work, where the pursuit of big game is but the pretext for a ramble in the jungles which the author knew and loved so well. Eardley Wilmot was not a big game hunter after heads, but a forest officer who cared for every living thing in the forest. He hunted down the malefactors of the wild, or shot a deer for food. His home was in the forest, and he often mentions the regret with which he left its lights and shadows for the congregation of the civilized. And all the while he was observing little ways of plants and animals at first hand—a fact which gives his book especial charm. There is plenty of adventure in the book, including the hunting-down of many tigers, though the interest is not centred in the chase, but in the author's understanding of the ways of wild animals and keen appreciation of their point of view. Only once did he stoop to head-hunting, and that was when he went after wild buffalo in the Gorakhpur district, where buffalo were becoming sadly rare, and shot a fine young bull. The excuse he gives for that delinquency is that many hunters were out after the dwindling herd, and his abstention could not have postponed their fates: "When on every hand there are hunters fired with the ambition of securing a trophy, in the present so rare, in the future unobtainable, then even the naturalist may be forgiven for falling into temptation and entering with zest into the pursuit of a noble and difficult quarry." The naturalist will be forgiven in this case for his account of the chase.

Especially noteworthy are the chapters on the supernatural powers often possessed by jungle men and women, but never by the higher castes or educated people, particularly in regard to wild animals. He met a man who was able accurately to predict what animals he would see upon the following day, and in what places, and another who could cast a lethargy on tigers. Of the *bhuts* and *churels*, all the goblins, ghouls and ghosts which haunt the jungle in the popular imagination, he saw nothing; the only ghost story he tells is of a haunted house. But of the sorcerer, the yogi, and faqir he stood in wholesome awe, born of experience. He has written: "For my own part I would not willingly incur the ill-will of one who claims supernatural powers; on the contrary, I treat him with respect and consideration and am glad to see him go in peace, content if, in exchange for my offering, he gives me his blessing, or, maybe, as a powerful charm, some of the ashes off his sacred body! I have no desire to try by personal experience the efficacy of his witchcraft, and this is a good example of the triumph of experience over beliefs instilled from earliest childhood."

It is true that Englishmen who base their conduct only upon preconceptions formed in childhood and in wholly different surroundings are apt to come to sudden grief in India.

THE SPLENDOUR THAT WAS 'IND. A Survey of Indian Culture and Civilization (from the Earliest Times to the Death of Aurangzeb). By K. T. Shah, Professor of Economics, University of Bombay, with a Foreword by the Marquess of Zetland. (Bombay: *D. B. Taraporevala*. Sole agents for Great Britain: *Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd.*) £2 10s. net.

(Reviewed by JOHN CALDWELL-JOHNSTON.)

One has heard the tale, no doubt entirely mythical, of the earnest-souled Chicago millionaire, who, having stood entranced within that magnificent mausoleum at the Invalides where lie the bones of Napoleon Bonaparte, lost no time in ordering from some London bookseller a copy of every published work upon his hero's life. Having done which, he departed to his native land. After the lapse of six weeks, or perhaps two months, he is said to have received one day the following cablegram: "Am despatching to-day first consignment of twenty thousand volumes; remainder will follow at short intervals until order is completed."

I cannot say whether a similar instruction given at Quaritch's for descriptive books on India would produce a lesser or an even greater earth-shaking result. Nevertheless, the output of such volumes is somewhat appalling to contemplate. It is one of the minor phenomena of our terrifying age.

Professor Shah has, of course, done his work very well. He has written a kind of handbook—if one may apply such a word to this tome—for the cold-weather visitor, the winter tourist, to peruse in his comfortable deck-chair, while crossing to age-old Jambu Dwipa. Such books must, one presumes, be written; and if they are written, it is plainly in the common interest that they should be written by one who knows his India as intimately and compendiously as does Professor Shah. To the scholar this book will doubtless not prove so attractive: to the humbler student it will recall many pleasant wanderings through the highways and byways of fabled Hindostan, the home of men-like gods and god-like men; and if at times there are statements and observations which may make him smile, there are also many which will attract agreement and, at times, applause.

The work as a whole has been quite sumptuously printed and produced; and it has been copiously, if perhaps somewhat miscellaneous, illustrated with subjects that vary from reproductions of Rajput, Mughal, and other works of art, to photographs from the portfolios of the India State Railways.

Lord Zetland has contributed in his Foreword an excellent and scholarly survey of the subject-matter of the book.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE EARLIEST SOCIAL HISTORY OF INDIA. By S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D.PH. (Oxon). (*Oxford University Press.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by A. L. SAUNDERS.)

Dr. Sarkar gives us here an extensive collection of facts bearing on Hindu social life in pre-Buddhist times. He deals in the first part with

houses, furniture, dress and costume, and in the second with marriage and sex relations. Recent archaeological research bears out the view that when the Aryans entered India they found there, in the North at any rate, a civilization fully as developed as their own. The social life here described is free from much of the evils with which recent writers have reproached Hindu culture; there was no infanticide, widow remarriage was allowed, widow-burning, if not unknown, was rare. There was extensive freedom of choice in marriage both for individuals and classes. The domestic position of women was high and there was much social freedom. Incest, though often mentioned in Vedic writings, can hardly have been a common custom; such references are merely the exaggeration of the separation of divine or royal love affairs from the common herd. Altogether Dr. Sarkar's is a work of great learning and scholarship which will prove a store-house of material for the study of Vedic and pre-Buddhist India.

THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM OF MOSLEM INDIA. By W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E. (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons.)

(Reviewed by MARY E. R. MARTIN.)

Mr. Moreland is one of the best writers on the Mogul period, specially with regard to the revenue system, and therefore anything he writes on that subject demands close study and consideration. In the book under review the author has explained very fully the position of the peasantry and the conditions of land tenure during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries under the rule of the Moslim Kings in Delhi, the Sayyid and Afghan dynasties, and the Mogul Emperors. It is an agreed conclusion that prosperity in agriculture is essential to the well-being of all countries, and their greatest asset a happy and contented peasantry. Yet the whole question of land tenure, as Mr. Moreland explains, was, beginning from Hindu times, beset with difficulties for the peasants, from the hand of man as well as from natural causes. The taxes paid by the peasants formed the largest part of the revenue, supporting both the sovereign and his army, but in the times of the Moslems the nature of their rule never allowed of any consideration being shown to the landlords or to the peasants who were their tenants. The duties, not the rights, of the latter mattered most in the eyes of the rulers. It is suggested that the peasants are in a better position now as regards their rights than at any other time in Indian history. During the Hindu period the duties of the peasants were defined by the Sacred Law, and though they had the benefit of the King's "protection," the King had the power of settling the amount of the produce of their lands due to him, which might be in proportion or the reverse. It is interesting to find that problems in modern farming can be traced back to very early times; for instance, in harvesting the farmers had then to choose (as they do now) whether they should hire men at high wages to gather in the crops or whether they should do the work themselves and thereby incur the risk of damage to their crops from protracted harvesting.

Mr. Moreland records the curious fact that the agrarian system existing in India in the fourteenth century harmonized with the "Sacred Law of Hindustan" as well as with "the Law of Islam." There was therefore no reason why the Moslems should inaugurate a new system by force, and they showed diplomacy in merely translating technical terms and names into either Arabic or Persian. There was consequently no difficulty in collecting revenue as far as that fact was concerned. The poverty of the farmers and smaller cultivators of the present day is frequently attributed to overtaxation; but in comparing their condition with that obtaining in Moslem times, we find that much of the poverty then was owing to an insecurity of tenure which did not warrant outlay on land of time or money beyond the barest amount required. The Moslem policy, generally speaking, was to extract as much revenue as possible from the land, without much regard to the interest of those who tilled it.

There were exceptions to this attitude. The Moslem kingdom of Delhi lasted for two centuries, the thirteenth and fourteenth, and Balban, who ruled during the latter part of the thirteenth, realized the futility of exacting too much from the peasants, as that would impoverish the country. At the same time, the peasants were not allowed to accumulate much more than to enable them to live in comfort. Another Moslem King, Firuz Shāh (1351-1388), in order to improve the condition of the peasantry and supply new cities with water, introduced "irrigation works," which in turn resulted in a large increase in the revenue.

The perusal of the book leaves upon one's mind the great importance of communal life in the villages in previous times as well as in the present day. Education in the country is far less advanced than in the towns in India, and there is, besides, the innate conservatism of the peasant to contend with. They cling to the old customs of their forebears, and it will take long to induce them to adopt better methods of agriculture. The low standard of living in the villages may perhaps tempt the younger generation to seek better conditions of livelihood in the towns, with employment in the factories, as industrialism grows in India. From the political point of view, the ban on "foreign cloth," by greatly increasing the manufacture of home cloth, may promote immigration to towns, and if this happens to any large extent, the villages will suffer as they do in England now, through other reasons than unemployment.

In conclusion, we may congratulate Mr. Moreland on having compiled a book of the greatest value for those desirous of studying the various and complicated conditions of Indian agrarian systems from Hindu and Moslem times. It will assist them in estimating the present condition of agriculture. The author has added an Appendix containing valuable information on various subsidiary subjects, an important Glossary of names and terms useful for English readers, and also a very concise Index.

MURRAY'S HANDBOOK FOR TRAVELLERS IN INDIA, BURMA, AND CEYLON.
(John Murray.) 24s. net.

(Reviewed by A. L. SAUNDERS.)

The price (24s.) may seem high for so small a book, but it is worth much more. It is a guide-book, encyclopædia, gazetteer, and whatever else there may be designed to impart information about India to all interested. Not only is it indispensable to visitor and traveller, but the permanent resident would be well advised to keep it at hand, especially if his business or official interests are widespread throughout the East. Murray's handbooks have a great reputation which is more than sustained by this issue. This valuable work has now reached its seventieth year; its first publication was in 1859. It has a long list of distinguished contributors and editors, not least Sir John Cumming for the eleventh and twelfth editions and Sir Evan Cotton for this the thirteenth. There is no sign of the staleness, the *crambe repetita*, which is the besetting sin of guide-books. Its information, on every point examined, is absolutely up to date. Mr. Murray is to be complimented.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE INDIAN TRADE COMMISSIONER DURING
1928-29 AND 1929-30. By H. A. F. Lindsay, Esq., C.I.E., C.B.E.,
I.C.S. (Office of the High Commissioner for India.)

(Reviewed by JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

The importance of the recently published account of the work of the Indian Trade Commissioner during the years 1928-29 and 1929-30 lies not only, nor even to the greatest extent, in the valuable survey it affords of the useful activities of India House in promoting Indian trade, but in the clear summary which Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, the Indian Trade Commissioner, gives of the modern tendencies which make themselves felt in Indian trade. Quite rightly he declines to ascribe the general "slump" to the "Wall Street crash" of 1929 which aggravated, rather than originated, the decline. He considers it more correct to speak of a "general falling-off in purchasing power following industrial depression and unemployment," and believes the real cause of the slump to lie mainly in a lack of co-ordination between producing and consuming markets, and particularly between the agricultural industry and the other great industries which consume agricultural products. As some, at any rate, of the consequences are likely to leave a permanent mark upon the conditions under which Indian production and trade have to be carried on, the appeal to "the application to industry and trade of lessons drawn from the natural and economic sciences" is timely; and Mr. Lindsay notes with satisfaction that, although much still remains to be done, there are many and gratifying signs of sound "rationalization," also in the form of improved agricultural methods along the lines recommended by the Royal Commission on Agriculture.

In connection with outside influences affecting Indian trade and production, Mr. Lindsay refers to the tendency towards the formation of big purchasing units in foreign countries. While there is an obvious danger that large purchasing units may attempt to squeeze the small and unorganized producer, there is the counterbalancing consideration that the big concern must be sure of a steady supply of its raw materials. The producer of raw materials, having almost invariably an alternative crop to fall back upon, or else a local market in which to sell, is not, therefore, as much at the mercy of the big buyer as would at first seem the case. The evidence so far offered appears to be "that economic prices are at present offered and that the operations of the big purchasing unit have on the whole a steadying effect on prices." Moreover, there are indications that such units may adopt the method of cash advances to growers and thus lead to the development of agricultural credit systems where these are most needed.

Another interesting point raised relates to the incidence of exaggerated advertising. Retail demands at high prices, bolstered up by extensive advertising, do not provide the same guarantee of sound future business as is provided by reductions of price and the wider consumption which usually follows. This would certainly appear to be the long view to take and one which may well be recommended to the Consumers' Council recently organized in this country. The Indian Trade Commissioner, as Trade Commissioners in other countries have done before him, urges upon the producers the value of constantly improving the quality of their goods. As he truly says, "high quality goods nearly always command a premium which would more than compensate for the additional cost of careful preparation." Where India loses ground is not through any deterioration of her existing standards, but through failure to improve them as rapidly and as consistently as her rivals are improving theirs.

Finally, at a time when standardization is the generally accepted panacea, it is refreshing to hear a plea for breaking away from it in those trades where the æsthetic tastes of the public count. Rightly it is pointed out that, though in commercial artware cheapness may be an important factor, it may be still more important that designs should be periodically changed to meet changes of taste and fashion. This lesson is being taken to heart by Indian craftsmen with resulting expansion of their trade and, doubtless, of their individual profits.

Altogether an interesting report which should be studied by all who are concerned with Indian trade.

WOMEN IN MODERN INDIA. Fifteen Papers by Indian Women Writers.

Collected and edited by Evelyn C. Gedge and M. Choksi. (Bombay : D. B. Taraporevala, Sons and Co.) 7s. 6d. net.

Of books on Indian subjects there has been no lack lately, and yet very few of them can tell the tale of recent progress in India as the one of unpretentious appearance now before us. Fifteen women of the

present generation and of many communities and of various professions have here gathered into a kind of nosegay and given an account of their activities. The articles refer to social work and progress, to painting and music, to law, to maternity and welfare work. This is, indeed, very promising for the future.

GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES. (Baroda : *Oriental Institute*.)

The latest volumes of this series continue to be a delight to the Sanskrit scholar. It is one of the best series issued in the East as regards the get-up of the individual volumes as well as the able editorship of the series and separate works. Each volume has the benefit of an introduction in English of considerable length in which the author and his work are dealt with, and special points of interest are raised and fully explained. No. 45 is the Bhavaprakasana of Saradatanaya ; No. 46 is the Ramacarita of Abhinanda, presented for the first time in the original Sanskrit ; No. 48 is the Nāṭyadarpaṇa, a work on the science of dramaturgy by two authors, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, with their own commentary ; and No. 49 contains some valuable pre-Dinnaga Buddhist texts from Chinese sources. The Tarkasastra and Upayahrdaya have been retranslated into Sanskrit from the Chinese. The Vīgrahavyartanī, by Nāgarjuna, is translated from the Chinese and Tibetan texts, and, further, contains the romanized Tibetan text. Finally, Āryadeva's Satasastra has been rendered into English from the Chinese. Full notes have been added to each work. The translator and editor is Prof. G. Tucci, well known to Sanskrit and Chinese scholars.

COLOURED PLATES OF THE BIRDS OF CEYLON. By G. N. Henry. With a short description of each bird by W. E. Wait. Part II. (*Ceylon Government*.) 30s. net.

The sixteen plates of birds are again well chosen, and the arrangement in showing generally two birds of each species is happy and artistic. Messrs. Taylor, Francis, the well-known printers, have succeeded in finding and rendering the true colours, and thus make them worthy of the textbook which Mr. Wait provided a few years ago. The present edition, both of the text as well as the plates, will make a competition for another bird book on Ceylon impossible.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. I., Part 2. Comparative Vocabulary by Sir George Grierson. (Calcutta : *Government of India*.) £1 os. 3d. net.

The stupendous work, "The Linguistic Survey of India," has now come to an end with a befitting volume dealing with a Comparative Vocabulary. The learned author has selected 168 English words or grammatical forms to which have been added their renderings into 364 languages and dialects. Few students will realize the wonderful knowledge and patience which are exhibited in these pages ; and if Sir George Grierson had published nothing but this single volume, he would be

acknowledged readily as the first authority in Indian and Asiatic philology. At the top of each page is given the English word, and this is followed by the systematic enumeration of its meanings in the various languages. The introduction, although containing only thirty pages, is a work in itself, and will be of the greatest importance to the student of comparative philology. Transcription has been a vexed question for many years past, but it seems that it has found here a final solution. The languages are divided into groups: Agglutinative non-Indian, Austronesian, Austro-Asiatic, Sinitic (Tai-Chinese), Karen, Mon (China and Indo-China), Tibeto-Burman, Dravidian, Semitic, Indo-European, Aryan sub-family. Congratulations to authors have been offered on many occasions, but, failing to find a better word, once more they are due to this indefatigable research scholar who will leave behind respectful admiration on the part of all who will make use of his work. This man is Sir George Grierson.

BURMESE VIGNETTES. By C. Harcourt Robertson. (London: *Thacker and Co.* Calcutta and Simla: *Thacker, Spink and Co.*)

These scenes of life in Burma, which are illustrated by sketches made by the author, are very pleasing, and also instructive and interesting for those who are unacquainted with the country. Mr. Harcourt Robertson freely uses words that are commonly employed in Burma, and at the end of each story gives a list of them with their meanings. There is also appended a short chapter on Burma and her Peoples, which is very appreciative of both. The author writes attractively and knows the subject: it is to be hoped that he will be rewarded by a good harvest of sales.

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

LOYALTIES: MESOPOTAMIA, 1914-1917. A PERSONAL AND HISTORICAL RECORD. By Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold Wilson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O. Twenty-eight portraits and four maps. (Oxford: *Clarendon Press*; London: *Humphrey Milford.*) 25s. net.

(Reviewed by E. O. LORIMER.)

This most valuable book lays the reading public under a multiple debt of gratitude. It is an historical record of the first magnitude, written by a man who was at the heart of the events he writes about, and who noted them with care and accuracy from day to day; but it is more human than such historical documents are wont to be, for it embodies also the personal experiences and recollections of such a soldier-administrator as perhaps only the Indian Political Service can beget. This Service of great traditions has written many an honourable chapter in the history of the British Empire in the East; on none will it in future look back more proudly than on that which tells the story of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia during the war; and few names will take a higher place on its

roll of honour than those two gallant and indefatigable leaders, Sir Percy Cox and his right-hand man, Arnold Wilson.

The tale of the military operations is inextricably interwoven with that of the administration, and both are here told with admirable clarity. Sir Arnold's pen has skill to evoke with telling phrase and chosen word the very essence of a man, and he shows a large humanity in the justness with which he can appraise even those whose characters, ideals and methods were most divergent from his own. Justice is done for the first time to the courage and endurance of all ranks in all branches; neither more nor less than justice is done to those in high places whose incompetence increased unnecessarily the sufferings of those below.

It is impossible not to admire the self-restraint which sets so temperately on record folly after folly wantonly committed where the informed wisdom and ripe experience of the political advisers on the spot were ignored or set at naught: the omission to supply the Intelligence Departments with the garnered and accessible knowledge of a hundred years; the obscurantist censorship, far in excess of prudential requirements, against which civil and military protested in vain; the attempt to buy off the Turks from Kut with two million golden pounds. This last was a propaganda titbit for the foe which he exploited to the full; many readers will learn of it here for the first time. Finally, the Baghdad Proclamation: "To the ears of those who survived and had knowledge of these events . . . the wording of the proclamation, drafted by Sir Mark Sykes, but sponsored by the Cabinet at home, and put into General Maude's mouth, rang hollow and false." This composition of a "romantically-minded traveller" had not been discussed with Sir Percy Cox, nor through him, with any responsible persons in Mesopotamia. The pronouncement was foisted by an eleventh-hour telegram on a protesting General, in lieu of the simple and manly declaration he had heedfully drawn up in consultation with Sir Percy, than whom no man alive knew better the phrase and metaphor that would bring a straightforward statement home to Arab head and heart. It would have been illuminating—but doubtless indiscreet—if Sir Arnold had allowed himself to print that still-born document.

To many the book will most appeal as an eloquent and worthy tribute to the fallen. Few will be so hard of heart that they can read unmoved the terrible chapter *Væ Victis* that tells the tale of the prisoners of Kut. It may prove almost too painful for surviving relatives, but Time is a healer and Truth a healer too: *Magna est veritas—prævaleat*.

So vivid as you read becomes the recollection of "A. T." that you turn instinctively to the frontispiece to refresh the vision of him in his habit as he lived. No photograph is there. The omission is characteristic. Disappointment bows before a delicacy more subtle than one's own.

This is a great book by a big man, *vates apud suos non ignobilis*, a book that will live and be an enduring monument to the author himself as well as to the comrades whom he so loyally and so royally commemorates.

A HISTORY OF PERSIA. By Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G. With maps and illustrations. Two volumes. Third edition. (*Macmillan.*) 42s. net.

(Reviewed by J. V. S. WILKINSON.)

The third edition of Sir Percy Sykes's "History" appears at an opportune moment, for the holding of a great exhibition of the Art of Persia has naturally stimulated interest in everything that concerns that country.

The book is too well known for a detailed review to be necessary, but it may be useful to recall that it is far the most comprehensive and up-to-date work on Persia's long history, and that the author has a genius for supplementing his own extensive local knowledge of the country, in peace and war, by summarizing the conclusions of specialist workers; while he has taken counsel with many living authorities. Sir Percy Sykes's volumes contain over 1,100 pages, they are beautifully produced and finely illustrated, and there are two admirable maps, with a valuable bibliography.

The new matter consists mainly in a narrative of the momentous changes of the last ten years, which are altering Persia almost out of recognition: the growth of nationalism, the abolition of the capitulations, and the series of reforms initiated by the dominating personality of the present Shah. There are also interesting summaries of Woolley's recent extraordinary discoveries at Ur, and of that, by Sir Aurel Stein, of the Aornos site.

GÉOGRAPHIE UNIVERSELLE, publiée sous la direction de P. Vidal de la Blache et L. Gallois. Tome VIII. *Asie occidentale*, par Raoul Blanchard. *Haute Asie*, par Fernand Grenard. (*Armand Colin.*) Francs 100.

(Reviewed by L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

This magnificent volume is fully entitled to its place in the important series of which it forms a part. With its sixty-four illustrations and fifty-nine maps, it is the most readable and attractive of all the authoritative works dealing with the geography of the regions of which it treats. Of the two contributors to the text, Professor Blanchard claims the major portion of the space, as is only natural from the extent of the ground that he has to cover. After dealing generally with the structural formation of Western Asia, he proceeds to devote successive chapters to the Caucasus, to Asia Minor, to Armenia, to Persia, to Arabia, to Syria, and to Mesopotamia. Through the whole of his treatment there runs that clarity of outline, that happy subordination of the trees to the wood, in which both the scientists and the *littérateurs* of his nation excel. He discards the unessential, and concentrates upon causes more than upon happenings. Take, for example, his brilliant elucidation of the fundamental importance of Western Asia:

"Le rôle de pays de contact, de zone de passage, de champ de bataille, tantôt entre Nord et Sud, tantôt entre Est et Ouest, qui apparaît si clairement pour la Mésopotamie, c'est, en fin de compte, celui de toute l'Asie Occidentale, pays où les peuples défilent sans cesse, au contact de trois continents; où tous les conquérants ont chevauché, pour la plus grande

gloire et le plus grand dommage de ce théâtre de leur exploits. Chacune des régions qui la constituent, participe à ce rôle insigne et redoutable : l'Asie Mineure ; éternel champ de bataille ; l'Iran, sans cesse livré à l'étranger ; l'Arménie, toujours prisonnière ; Syrie et Mésopotamie, grands chemins de peuples et de conquérants ; Caucasic marqueterie de races. L'Asie Occidentale y a gagné de posséder l'histoire la plus attachante et la plus ancienne du monde, mais aussi de ne jamais connaître, sauf à de rares intervalles, le calme, la paix et la prospérité."

In the second part of the volume M. Grenard, a distinguished diplomatist with first-hand knowledge of many of the regions he describes, deals with the vast mysterious "Roof of the World." His chapters on Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet are models of compressed information concerning relevant facts, together with shrewd indications of political problems, past, present and future.

A notable feature of this volume is the elaborate bibliography, an invaluable aid to the advanced student.

MAGICIAN AND LEECH. A study in the beginnings of Medicine, with special reference to Ancient Egypt. By Warren R. Dawson. With 6 illustrations. (*Methuen.*) 7s. 6d. net.

The author of this most interesting study has become known through his various articles in scientific journals on the history of medicine. He has studied Egyptology rather intensely, and, therefore, his information is up to date as well as reliable. An outline is given of the evolution of medicine from the older phase, magic, and he devotes a whole chapter to the ideas of the Ancients regarding the prolongation of life. Another chapter deals with the making of a mummy, and this is followed by an account of the actual early beginnings of medicine and then literature. It is a pleasure to note that Mr. Dawson gives numerous references, and quotes the respective literature. Another chapter has for its subjects Drugs and Doses, and a number of translations are given from the various languages. We know that the Greek system of medicine was more highly developed, but the foundation was laid by the Egyptians. This concise volume will be of interest to the student of Egyptology and of medicine, but no less to the intelligent general reader. We can recommend it to all.

EXPLORATIONS IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA. Season of 1926. By H. H. von der Osten. 4to, with 242 text illustrations and 24 plates. (*Chicago University Press* [*Cambridge University Press.*])

The author of this important volume issued only recently a preliminary report of his work done for the Oriental Institute of Chicago, and although we are delighted to see the complete account ready before us, he has certainly not spared any time to complete his work. It may be remembered that Mr. von der Osten was sent by the Oriental Institute to Anatolia in order to investigate the origin and civilization of the Hittite. So far only two cities, Boghaz Kol and Hüyük, had been discovered and exploited, and evidently on the advice of a German scholar, Dr. E. Forrer

the new site was chosen with very happy results. There is a chapter describing in detail the course of the expedition, for which a most useful map has been prepared. Then follow the eleven monographs, wherein the finds on the various stations are summarized. The illustrations represent scenery, traces of buildings, bas-reliefs, plans, tombs and huge sculptures. On Plate VI. is an Egyptian statuette found at Kirik Kaleh. The Institute, and the officer-in-charge, M. von der Osten, are to be congratulated upon the work achieved so far, and it is sincerely to be hoped that they will continue their work in expectation that thereby one of the most interesting riddles (?), *i.e.* that of the civilization of the Hittites, will be solved.

ELEMENTARY ARABIC. Second Reading-Book. By R. A. Nicholson. Second edition. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.

The want of suitable reading-books makes the reissue of this volume most acceptable to the student of Arabic. Specimens of various topics are given for the sake of variety, such as on the manners of the Arabs, on poetry, and stories. The Arabic words are accented for the convenience of the reader, and a Glossary is appended. The clear printing of the Arabic type should specially be noted. Only few corrections in the new edition were necessary. Owing to our new expansion in the Near East, officers cannot do better than read this book preparatory to their intercourse with the people.

THE HANDBOOK OF CYPRUS. Edited by Sir Ronald Storrs and B. J. O'Brien. Ninth issue with map. (*Christophers.*) 7s. 6d. net.

This is, in every respect, a valuable guide to the Island of Cyprus, brought up to date from previous issues—in fact, it is a veritable encyclopædia. The volume is divided into eight parts: Geography and History, Peoples and Religion, Places of Interest, Communications and Information for Tourists, Government and Government Activities, Geology and Allied Industries, Natural History and Sport, Miscellaneous. At the end are a Glossary, Bibliography, and Index. The information is, of course, reliable, though somewhat brief. For fuller details in each sphere the specialist should consult works quoted in the list, though many of them are difficult to find—for instance, those by Mas Latrie, and even that most interesting book on the "Historic Monuments of the Island."

THE LANDS OF THE EASTERN CALIPHATE—MESOPOTAMIA, PERSIA, AND CENTRAL ASIA—FROM THE MOSLEM CONQUEST TO THE TIME OF TIMUR. By G. Le Strange. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 21s. net.

The original edition of this scholarly work had become inaccessible to the younger generation of Near Eastern students, and as the demand for it is constant and no other book can take its place, the publishers took the wise course in reprinting it, and it speaks highly for its standing that no additions and alterations were deemed necessary. Readers should be

reminded that the volume is largely based on Arab geographers, that a number of good maps and an Index of forty-six pages adorn it. The reprint will arouse new interest in the subject and in Professor Le Strange's accomplishment.

THE PERSIANS. By Sir E. Denison Ross. Illustrated. (*Clarendon Press.*) 5s. net.

There is no lack of books on Persia ancient and modern, and yet a new handbook written by a scholar on popular lines is a gift for which the numerous visitors to the Persian Exhibition must be grateful. The book is handsomely issued at a price which will ensure a wide circulation. The author gives, therefore, in short outline an account of the country and the people, a Persian history, a description of towns and ruins following the main caravan routes, and two chapters on Persian art and literature. Anyone wishing to obtain information of a general character on Persia cannot do better than turn to these pages. It is to be hoped that especially schools, both elementary and secondary, will offer to their pupils something new of this kind in these days of educational progress. A list of books for further study is to be found at the beginning of the volume.

LA PRÉHISTOIRE ORIENTALE. Par J. de Morgan. Ouvrage posthume publié par L. Germain. Three vols. (Paris: *Paul Geuthner.*) 300 fr.

Mr. de Morgan has always commanded a high place amongst scholars of the Near East, and it is painful to note that now he can no longer speak to us except through this posthumous work of great research, which appears to be a summary of life-long study. We remember his stupendous publication "*Les Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse,*" and yet a particular love seems to have attached him to this final conclusion issued in these three stately volumes with which the well-known French publisher Paul Geuthner has honoured the name of J. de Morgan. The author is of opinion that, with the first discovery of metal and its preparation, the world was entering on the path of civilized life, which he assigns to Syria and Mesopotamia, and which took its wandering course to further parts of the Near East and thence to Greece with its islands. At any rate, Mr. de Morgan maintains that the civilization of Egypt was subsequent to the purely Semitic element, but he insists that the most fruitful factor in this development were the Celts, on which he dwells at considerable length. It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. de Morgan did not live to see the results of the excavations carried out by the Indian Government, which we understand are at last to be published shortly in London. The latter civilization, styled by Sir John Marshall that of the Indus region, would show a very high state of culture at about 3000 B.C., where the use of cotton, of various metals, was known in an advanced state, and we wonder how far Mr. de Morgan would have been influenced by these discoveries. However, there is no finality in research, and we must be

grateful to have before us this mass of learning contained in the three volumes. The last chapter deals with the origin of pictorial writing, which alone should be of great assistance to the students of the earliest script, which still requires elucidation. The coloured plates are of great excellence. There is further a long general index to the three volumes.

THE SUMERIANS. By C. L. Woolley. Illustrated. (*Clarendon Press.*) 6s. net.

This is the first general account of the Sumerians addressed to the English-speaking public. Since the discoveries at Ur by Mr Woolley, of which samples have been shown in the British Museum, interest in the old civilization of the Sumerians has taken hold of the public, and to anyone who has seen the crowds of visitors to the Museum, the appearance of a handbook will appear as a necessity. Mr. Woolley has in fact prepared an extremely useful volume, and all questions as to their origin, the country and life, culture and art, are answered satisfactorily. In looking at the beautiful illustration, one really marvels at the high state of perfection reached in Sumerian civilization, and the reproduction of the gold vases and other goldsmith's work can be copied to advantage by our own craftsmen.

THE ASSYRIANS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS. By the Rev. W. A. Wigram. With map and illustrations. (*George Bell, 1929.*) 15s. net.

The author of "The Cradle of Mankind" has continued his work with a history of the Assyrians (or Nestorians) from the ancient times right up to the present day. This history should appeal to a fairly wide circle of readers. It is written in a most readable style. Apart from their history, we learn on page 33 how Christianity entered Assyria from Edessa in the Parthian period, how the Church was organized and the Syriac version of the Bible was made. The vicissitudes of the Nestorians are well divided under the various Persian, Arab, and Turkish dominations, and every page denotes the author's familiarity with the past of the Syrians. References to the language and a whole chapter on the customs of these Christian people help the reader to obtain a clear knowledge of them.

FAR EAST

KOREA OF THE JAPANESE. By H. B. Drake. (*The Bodley Head.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by C. M. SALWEY, Hon. M.A.S. of Japan, etc.)

Korea, formerly named the Hermit Nation, has lost this synonym since it came under the influence of Japan—the driving-wheel of the extreme East. Korea was, in the past, the highway through which the traditional civilization of China was disseminated. Priests worked their way through that part of the world, diffusing as they went, knowledge of many arts and

various industries. With stout hollow staffs in hand they, for instance, concealed the silk-producing worms, and taught the value and usefulness of other materials, preaching, as they journeyed, various religious doctrines.

Mr. H. B. Drake's "Korea of the Japanese" is a delightful book, one of those works that transport the reader into the land which he himself has traversed; drawing out our sympathy for a people whose history has been for long of so little concern to the world in general.

How different is this slow awakening of Korea to that of Japan, described in the many volumes published since the opening of the gates of the now *Land of the Risen Sun*. Japan, at the termination of her dual form of government in the sixties, rose like a giant refreshed, and gladly accepted and elected to acquire the civilization of the West as quickly and thoroughly as possible. Korea's awakening was apathetic, slowly realizing that changes were coming, paralyzed by the effect of the energy of her surrounding neighbours, who realized the expansion of life and their inadequate preparedness in case of invasion, the value of trade, and the adaptation of numerous necessities that must influence their future if they were to join the comity of nations.

Into whoever's hands Mr. H. B. Drake's book will fall, it will be read and re read by old or young. It will prove a delightful companion for a long journey. The anecdotes the author relates of the people, especially the recently taught scholars, are very original and give a good idea of the simplicity, kindness and gentleness of the Koreans. The student who boldly asserted he wished and intended to become a novelist because he had studied the books of others for five years; the incident where the author had been invited to tea, and the excitement of the lady of the house who, in her eagerness to add buns and cakes to their daily fare in his honour, rushed to a shop to purchase some, but came back in her hurry without the dainties, promised to post them to her guest the next day, and thus make up for the meagre appearance at the special meal.

There is nothing the least unpleasant in Mr. Drake's book except the description of the uncleanly state of the roads, and the running streams of odorous water, into which debris of all kinds pollutes the atmosphere at times, and of which pieces of vegetable and other rubbish are, alas! collected and made sufficiently palatable to the hungry and the poor.

As regards their religion, the late Mrs. E. A. Gordon, who resided in Korea for some time, after ceaseless search for comparative tenets between Buddhism and Christianity, has left her literary work on Korea in a highly intellectual study for the benefit of us all. She found so much good among these people, lovable almost in their manners and devoid of all that we so often find distressing to recount of crime and cruelty in people so long left to themselves.

Many years ago an early writer visiting Korea enquired of an old Korean what he considered the best rule to guide a man through life, on which he deliberately answered with a look of conviction: "*Do nothing in a hurry, not even that which is good*"—a theory evidently carried out until the energetic Japanese and neighbours had willed it otherwise.

The pictures, produced from photographs, are delightfully artistic, and the description of the scenery, especially the Diamond Mountain with its "Hanging Temple," add additional interest to Mr. Drake's impressions of "Korea of the Japanese," produced as usual in the publishers' artistic and clear type which adds so much value to this work as a gift for the coming season.

BANGKOK: ITS LIFE AND SPORT. By Lieut.-Col. C. H. Forty (late of Royal Siamese Gendarmerie).

(Reviewed by REGINALD LE MAY.)

Lieut.-Col. Forty, who spent a good many years in Siam in the Gendarmerie Service, has written a slight but readable account of life in Siam from the European point of view, and at the same time has recorded a number of practical hints for the man who is keen on snipe-shooting, but is new to tropical conditions.

The book makes easy reading, and most of the advice given is sound common sense, with the proviso that the individual must, of course, find out for himself in time what suits him best, both in clothing, food and drink. One cannot lay down hard and fast rules. For instance, Col. Forty suggests that garments may be either cotton, linen or silk. Silk cannot honestly be recommended by the writer either for shirts or coats. It is expensive and is apt to become uncomfortably clammy on a perspiring body, but silk Chinese trousers with a cotton singlet make admirable night wear. So with cold baths. Some can stand them, others cannot. Everyone can, and probably does, start with cold baths, but it won't take a person long to find out whether they suit him or not, and if they don't, he will be wise to give them up. With alcohol the same. The best advice to give a man or a woman coming East is to use their own judgment, if they have any, but in any case to try and keep in mind "the golden mean." To speak of extremes first, the present writer has known teetotallers to thrive in the East, but never drunkards. To take the average man, most drink too much alcohol and would be better off with less. But even here the writer has known men who can toss off half a dozen stengahs after dinner without apparently turning a hair, while others' heads have been affected by a couple.

In the second part of his book Col. Forty treats first of guns, what to avoid and what to look for, then of shooting kit and ammunition, and finally discourses on snipe-shooting in and around Bangkok, with the mishaps that attend it, in an entertaining way which will appeal to many readers whether snipe-shots or not.

Col. Forty has neither over-painted nor under-painted Bangkok or its life, and if his book is the means of attracting more visitors to Siam or of starting off the youngster in the way he should go, he may well feel satisfied with his effort.

ORIENTALIA

STUDIES AND TEXTS IN FOLKLORE, MAGIC, MEDIEVAL ROMANCE, HEBREW APOCRYPHA, AND SAMARITAN ARCHÆOLOGY. With 14 plates and 5 illustrations. Collected and reprinted by Moses Gaster, PH.D., London. 3 vols. £3 3s. [Index volume to follow.] (*Maggs Bros.*) 1925-1928.

(Reviewed by N. M. PENZER.)

When does an author feel the warmest glow of satisfaction? Is it when he has at last found a man to publish a work he has longed to see in print, but has been prevented from so doing by lack of funds? Or is it when he has put the last full stop to his MS. on which he has been working for years? Gibbon's "sober melancholy," which so quickly succeeded "the first emotions of joy" on the recovery of his freedom, was due to the sudden realization that with the completion of his work he had lost an old and trusty companion.

Perhaps the warmest glow comes with a sheaf of favourable reviews; or even of *one* review that shows that the reviewer has got behind the author's mind, has seen what he saw, and must have felt as he felt. True and unbiassed appreciation is then the greatest reward the scholar asks.

There is still another means by which the author can obtain a glow, or perhaps I should write afterglow, of satisfaction; and that is by personally supervising "the feast of ingathering" the past "labours out the field."

The great pity is that so few scholars have thought of so doing while there was still time, or have been in a position to do it.

No one knows better than the present writer how weary is the search in dusty tomes for long-forgotten papers, forgotten in some cases even by the authors themselves! Apropos of this, I remember hearing a story about Sir George Grierson. He was trying to find something on a certain Indian subject, and for a long time could discover nothing. At last he hit upon a reference to such an article as he was looking for in the index of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Bombay*. He eagerly devoured the article in question and was surprised at its excellence. Looking to see the signature of the author, he read his own name!

I do not suggest that such a thing is of frequent occurrence, but I do wish scholars would realize when they are in sight of their allotted span how much we would appreciate a collected edition of the more important papers they have contributed to learned societies during their writing life.

It is, then, with a feeling of gratitude and real appreciation that I take up the three volumes of "Studies and Texts," by Dr. Moses Gaster. Before reading a line I examine the publication as a tool for the student. I criticize its size, printing, general "get up," and *most of all its index*. Dr. Gaster always thinks of the student, and I have yet to encounter a work of his that is not amply provided with all the *et cetera* so invaluable

for quick reference. In this particular case the index is to occupy a fourth volume, and has yet to make its appearance. The numeration of the pages deserves a special word of praise, for, in addition to the usual continuous pagination, the original numbering of each article is also included, thus allowing previous references from other works to be at once traceable. The articles themselves are printed in facsimile, thus producing, as the author himself states, a somewhat incongruous appearance. I find, however, that this in no way detracts the attention of the reader. The practice could not always be followed, as some of the publications of several learned societies (e.g., the Royal Society, the Akademie der Wiss, etc.) are a large quarto.

With these few preliminary remarks we can glance at the papers themselves—or rather at some of them, for the work contains no less than sixty-one reprints.

Vol. I. includes several papers dealing with the literature of the Apocrypha.

The first four are reprints from the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, dealing respectively with two unknown Hebrew versions of the Tobit legend, the Aramaic original of Theodotion's additions to Daniel, the Hebrew text of one of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and an unknown Hebrew version of the history of Judith.

The latter is especially interesting, as it gives the original simple tale of Judith before the longer recession added trimming and altered names for a very different kind of audience. Instead of the Holophernes, of whom nothing whatever is known, we have the historical Seleukos. Judith is a virgin, not a widow; the name of the city is Jerusalem instead of the unknown Bethulia. The excuse for her appearing before the enemy king and the reason for her bath are clearly stated. The MS. belongs to the tenth or early eleventh century, and by its heading shows it to be of Maccabæan origin.

From the *Journal of Apocrypha* is reprinted an interesting article on the story of the daughter of Amram, the Samaritan parallel to the Apocryphal story of Susanna. As a variant, Dr. Gaster refers us to the story of Ali Hodja in the *Arabian Nights*. This is the Ali Khwajah of Burton (see the original edition, supplement, vol. iii., p. 405 *et seq.*; and further parallels by Clouston, pp. 596-600) and the Ali Cogia of Chauvin (see his *Bib. des Ouvrages Arabes*, v., pp. 85, 86). Another important article is that in the Roumanian version of the history of Aḥīqār (Aḥīqār, Hikār, Haykar, etc.), also found in the *Arabian Nights*. Useful references (later than the date of the article) are: M. Lidzbarski, *Ency. Rel. Eth.*, vol. i., pp. 231, 232; and Chauvin, *op. cit.*, vi., pp. 36-43. For those interested in early magic the "Sword of Moses" (pp. 288-337) will prove a mine of information and of exceptional value. So, too, the next paper on "The Logos Ebraikos in the Magical Papyrus of Paris." Several authoritative articles on Samaritan phylacteries and amulets and kindred subjects follow.

Turning to Vol. II. we find among others an article on Jewish coins and Messianic traditions, and one on the origin and sources of Shulchan

Aruch. To the present writer, however, two of the most interesting deal with the Hebrew versions of the "Secretum Secretorum" and the romance of Alexander. The former of these purports to be a medieval treatise ascribed to Aristotle, consisting of instructions to Alexander which were sent him when Aristotle was too old to visit his pupil personally. Owing to the varied and curious information they contain, and bearing in mind the early date of the "Secretum" (twelfth century) and the wide distribution it enjoyed, we must look upon the work as a highly important vehicle of folklore from East to West. In my study on the amazing subject of the poison damsel of Sanskrit romance, I found in this article the link that bridged the gulf of transmigration from India and Persia on the one hand and the *Gesta Romanorum* and other similar European collections on the other (see Penzer, *Ocean of Story*, vol. ii., p. 275 *et seq.*). The latter article is "An Old Hebrew Romance of Alexander," and deals with fabulous stories attributed to Alexander, apart from those contained in the well-known collection of Pseudo-Callisthenes. Several *motifs* will be found here that will sorely try the folklorist in his search for parallels, while we meet several old friends (such as the "water of life," the "cap of darkness," etc.) who figure in nearly every large collection.

The next eight papers are reprints from *Folklore*, and include many highly entertaining studies on such subjects as the Legend of the Grail, the Round Table, the Legend of Merlin, Roumanian child-stealing charms, Gulliver among the Lilliputians in the twelfth century, and the tale of the dog-headed men. The paper on "The Modern Origin of Fairy-tales" is really most entertaining, and forms an interesting prelude to the essay that Dr. Gaster recently wrote as an Introduction to Vol. III. of the *Ocean of Story*.

The article on "Parallels to the Legends of Candahasa" contains the well known "letter of death" *motif*, for numerous examples of which we can now refer to Bolte and Polivka's great work, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinderund . . . der Grimm*, vol. i., p. 276 *et seq.* The same work will also afford many parallels to the German folk-tales discussed in a later paper, "Zur Quellenkunde Deutscher Sagen und Märchen."

Space will not permit mention of all the eleven remaining papers. They are in English, German, Italian, and Roumanian, and include studies on English charms, Roumanian legends of the Lady Mary, the killing of the Khazar Kings (for which I can find no reference in Frazer), and the history of Pavál, the fool, for which reference should now be made to J. R. Reinhard, "Strokes Shared," *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. xxxvi., pp. 380-400.

Sufficient has been said to show what a feast of learned, highly interesting, and curious information has been now collected into a single publication. Our thanks to Dr. Gaster are as genuine as they are merited.

Vol. III. consists of Hebrew originals, while, as before mentioned, the index volume is yet to come.

TIBET'S GREAT YOGI MILAREPA. A biography from the Tibetan, being the Jetsün-Kahbum, or biographical history of Jetsün-Milarepa, according to the Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English rendering. Edited with introduction and notes by W. Y. Evans-Wentz. Illustrated. (*Oxford University Press.*) 16s. net.

Milarepa has not escaped the attention of European scholars. Samples from his work were first translated by Jaeschke and Dr. B. Laufer, who now lives and works in the United States. A few years ago we had a French version by M. Bacot, and now is published a complete translation by the Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup. It is very probably that but for Mr. Evans-Wentz, who obtained the author's MS. from his son in India, we should still be looking for a complete version of this great Tibetan genius. We owe to the editor our thanks first for his interesting and informative introduction on Milarepa and his work, on the description of the Tibetan schools of Buddhist philosophy, and on the esteem in which he is held by all Tibetans.

LA VIE DE MAHOMET. Par Emile Dermenghem. (Paris: *Librairie Plon.*)
Francs 15.

(Reviewed by MRS. H. H. SMYTHE.)

This Life of Mahomet is volume 23 in a series named "Le Roman des grandes Existences," and its dramatic quality is strikingly apparent from the opening sentences with their vivid *mise-en-scène*, suggestive of cinema studio projection, throughout chapters of varying interest, the cumulative effect being, not so much a fresh or more salient portrait of the hero, as a marvellous evocation of that hero's *milieu*.

Indeed, Mahomet, in some aspects of this book, resembles one of those Byzantine saints whose features, halo included, are partially dimmed by the brilliance of a glowing mosaic background.

The crowded marts of Arabia, the jealousies of municipal life, and such facilities for cosmopolitan intercourse as fall to the commercial traveller—all these create a different atmosphere to the nomadic desert environment commonly associated with the founder of the Islamic faith. The latter was not lacking, but it came from his foster-parents' habitat; and there is some evidence that Mahomet himself distrusted the call of the wild as liable to cause a reversion to idolatry. The child of a French bourgeois subjected for five years to the pastoral surroundings of his Alsatian Nou-nou, would find no difficulty in resuming the urban traditions of his own family.

In spite of the formidable list of authorities cited in the preface, M. Dermenghem gives scarcely sufficient emphasis to the apocalyptic conditions prevailing at the time of Mahomet's birth, one of those eschatological crises which can be traced periodically in the Syrian tradition from Joshua onwards, due perhaps to the phenomenon of an outstanding solar eclipse recurring at an astronomical interval of 521 years.

It may be when Mahomet renounced his child name of Qotham or Zobath for the more solemn appellation of "Amin," the faithful, that he, cognizant of the wen or physical peculiarity known as the "seal of the Prophet," felt that he was in the same tradition as Amen, the "Faithful Witness" of the Christian Apocalypse, destined, when the time was ripe, to become the Eon of the Age. It was as such that he was hailed by the Christian Waraqa.

M. Dermenghem gives full credit to the disinterested aspect of Mahomet's mission, his early misgivings, amounting at times to a dread of insanity and the physical havoc wrought by his spiritual exaltation. The necessity for human affection and support which such a mental state demands is also noted. Mahomet, more fortunate than Socrates, was to find this in his wife, Khadija.

Political sidelights include the repercussions of the Byzantine-Persian struggle on Central Arabian affairs. Mahomet's own sympathies are shown to have been with the Greeks against Chosroes, and his antipathy to the Jews is ascribed to racial jealousy.

One of the picturesque episodes is that in which Mahomet is portrayed as "getting his chance" by a deft manipulation of the suzerain of the Meccan Olympia, whom later he was to dethrone. Very obscure is Hobal, this bearded deity of the Korachites, a god of fortune, and bearer of riches. Although M. Dermenghem suggests a cthonic origin for Hobal's consort Manata, it would be more convincing to equate the pair with those even vaguer luck-bringers, Gad and Meni, who, as Professor Barton suggests, probably possessed the land before the Israelitish coalition, and survive embalmed in a verse of the later Isaiah (Barton: "Religion of Israël").

Even where a language is less poetical than Arabic, the tendency of allegory is to personify ethical abstractions. Many a modern sage known to Geneva prays for the intervention of an hypostatized "Pure and Peaceable Wisdom," and those Christians who deride Mahomet for backsliding in respect of Al 'Lat and Al 'Ozza, might recognize in these names those aspects of the Morning Star which, under their Latin equivalents of Pax and Virtus, are still remembered at the Christmas festival (*J.R.A.S.*, 1927, pp. 319 *et seqq.*).

The reverence which Mahomet felt for the Founder of Christianity, and the acknowledgment of His divine destiny, is akin to that of Spinoza, who held that it was impossible to "deny the eternal son of God, that is, the eternal wisdom of God which has manifested itself in all things . . . and most of all in Christ Jesus," though he failed to understand why "certain churches added to this that God assumed human nature."

The varied and chiefly heretical sources from which Mahomet gained acquaintance with a religion which he claimed to fulfil rather than abrogate are enumerated at some length, and his friendly attitude to Christians as differentiated from Jews is rightly stressed. How interesting it would be if, in addition to the Nestorian Bahira and the famous preacher, Bishop Quoss, some personal link could be established with Northern Palestine, since Dr. Gaster's discovery that the Fatma is a

direct translation of a Samaritan slogan suggests another reason for the animus shown to the descendants of the Samaritan's Judæan neighbours.

In one chapter M. Dermenghem leaves the more trivial task of the historian to attempt a philosophic concordat between Christianity and Islam worthy of an Akbar, and probably more acceptable to an age where science, with its unifying principle of natural law, fosters a monotheism in which the rigour of predeterminism can only be sublimized by the ardour of acceptance—or Islam.

Concerning the Prophet's relations with Aïcha and the other wives for whom the harem was to become "a sort of pious and voluptuous convent," the author writes with a detachment which resembles a pathological précis, though he allows himself the qualm of having preferred his hero less polygamous.

But it is strange that M. Dermenghem, showing marked sympathy for the several tenets of opposed religions, should become sectarian and prejudiced when he touches on the rift within Islam, for there is a decidedly Gallic flippancy in his description of "le ménage 'Ali-Fathima." Driven by historical accuracy to admit 'Ali's prowess as a warrior, he belittles both his status and personal appearance, ignoring the peculiar difficulties of a prince consort's position. For 'Ali was not only to assume the mantle of St. George, Al Khidr, and those other paludin descendants of the sun-god, but, from the outset, his race shared the tragic grandeur of predestined victims, "doomed to an arduous immortality through the ritual of recurrent immolation."

That Abou Bakr was the right man at the right moment is indisputable, but it is not necessary to return to the seventh century to find clash inevitable where the democratic right, inherent in a religious corporation to choose its own leader, is challenged by the dynastic pretensions of the founder's family, more especially when the claim comes through the distaff side.

In conclusion, it can safely be predicted that this book will be more acceptable to the darker parts of Africa, now ruled by men of Latin descent, where Islam is an up-to-date and civilizing force, than, as the author himself implies, to the more academic and intransigent atmosphere of Al 'Azhar.

ART

MURAL PAINTINGS OF THE BOMBAY SCHOOL. By W. E. Gladstone Solomon, I.E.S. (Bombay: *The Times of India Press*.) Illustrated.

(Reviewed by JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

The *Times of India Press* has published an interesting book on the mural paintings at New Delhi, executed by students of the Bombay School of Art. The text is by Mr. Gladstone Solomon, who, as director of that school, has been the controlling spirit behind the enterprise. All those who desire the stimulation of the living artistic forces in India will congratulate Mr. Solomon on his enthusiasm and perseverance in fighting

for his ideals. Realizing that the decorative tradition is one of the strong forces which influence Indian artists, he secured some ten years ago the necessary support for the establishment of a class of mural decoration at the Bombay School. Thereafter he did not rest until he had obtained a practical outlet for the use of the talent which had been trained. New Delhi provided an obvious—but not, therefore, easily secured—opportunity. In the end the sympathetic support of the Governor of Bombay, the persuasiveness of Mr. Solomon, and the excellence of the sketches submitted by the students, carried the day. The Bombay School was commissioned to decorate the dome and walls of what, with the exuberant imagination of official language, is known as “Imperial Delhi Secretariats, North Block, Centre Part, First Floor, Committee Room ‘A.’” The enthusiasts from Bombay were not to be subdued by the drab respectability of Imperial Delhi’s nomenclature. In the eight parts into which the big dome of Committee Room “A” is divided they painted eight “Apsaras” or “Peris,” representing eight important periods in Indian art—namely, Sanchi, Gandhara, Gupta, Ajanta, Ellora, Jehangir, Shah Jehan, and Modern India. The periods are indicated in the dresses and ornaments of the eight-winged figures which, though treated with a certain amount of individual liberty, maintain a general harmony of design. In the seven lunettes symbolic scenes represent the arts. Of these, “Drama,” “Painting,” and “Dancing” are inspired by the Rajput style. “Architecture” follows Muhammadan conceptions. “Music” is composed in Mughal tradition, whilst the Ajanta Caves contribute their influence to “Sculpture.” In “Poetry” modern motifs. There are, further, eight spandrels with a medallion in the centre of each, and a narrow frieze in which ornamental lettering blazons forth the most excellent, if slightly hackneyed, statement of Keats as to a thing of beauty being a joy for ever. Perhaps, however, this reminder is not superfluous in an age which all too often assumes that every object of joy is necessarily a thing of beauty. The paintings are in oil on canvas, executed in the studio, and thereafter fixed into place. Mr. Solomon advocates that no one medium should be exclusively used for mural paintings, and states that his experience in Western India has satisfied him that both oil on canvas and fresco (properly understood) provide mediums of adequate durability there.

The illustrations in the book, some of which are in colour, afford some means of appreciating the details of the different pictures. Unfortunately no attempt has been made to show them in their architectural setting, or to convey at least a general impression of their decorative effect as a whole, a matter which, in a case like this, is far more important than the degree of excellence of any individual section of the whole. Even though the pleasure of judging them from this point of view must be restricted to the few who will be favoured enough to ascend the steps to the domed room in “North Block, Centre Part, First Floor,” the present work gives sufficient proof to those who may still be doubters, that, with adequate patronage and opportunity, Indian artists of our day can cover the barren walls of our modern buildings with that well-disciplined, yet inspiring,

wealth of colour and richness of design the tradition of which surges through their veins and tingles in their finger tips. For since this is the work of students, the achievements of those among them who will blossom into mastership should satisfy the highest requirements. If Indian artists will but persevere, future generations may yet derive inspiration from the miles of now barren walls of New Delhi.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Nos. 38 and 42.
(*Government of India.*) 1930. ✓

No. 38 embodies the monograph "Kushano-Sasanian Coins," by Ernst Herzfeld. The Survey should be congratulated upon having obtained the services of this great scholar who became known, apart from his numerous German publications, through his large work on Paikuli. The present monograph is a masterpiece of scholarship. The coins analyzed represent those of the Sassanian prince-governors of Bactria. There are several tables deserving special mention: I. Kushan legends in the original script. II. Parsik legends. III. Development of Greek cursive script in Iran and Bactria. IV. Kushano-Sassanian coins, which are subsequently described, and four plates of coins.

No. 42 contains: "Archæological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill Tracts," by Sir Aurel Stein, and represents another eminent treatise of exploration. In a more popular work, "On Alexander's Track to the Indus," Sir A. Stein has described the country known to the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, which abounds in Buddhist antiquities. The chapters deal with the ancient remains, scenes of Alexander's operations in Swat, ruins of Central and Upper Swat, the search for Aornos, and an account of the author's journey from the Indus to Mount Ilam. This handsome volume includes sixty-six illustrations on plates, a plate of specimens of pottery, several plans, and two maps.

It is a thousand pities that the financial state of the country does not permit the Government to have better technical illustrations for these two valuable monographs.

ÉTUDES SUR L'ART MÉDIÉVAL EN GÉORGIE ET EN ARMÉNIE. Par Jurgis Baltrusaitis. With map and 101 plates. (Paris: *Ernest Leroux.*) 1929.

It may be remembered that in 1918 Professor Strzygowski, of Vienna, published an important volume entitled "Die Baukunst der Armenier," which aroused the greatest attention amongst students of Oriental art. In these two volumes that learned author demonstrated that the elements of Armenian art were responsible at least for the rise of that of Byzance in particular, and of the Middle Ages in general. In the new French work we are introduced in a most informative and brilliant preface, which might be termed a treatise, by Monsieur Focillon, and it is our duty specially to recommend this essay to all students of Near Eastern art. Therein Monsieur Focillon shows very convincingly the connection between Armenian and Byzantine, Persian and Arabic art. The author himself

draws attention to the similarity between the Georgian and Romanesque ornament, and gives a number of text illustrations to prove his case. He next proceeds to the sculpture reliefs in Georgia and Armenia, and in a final chapter shows the character of architecture and decoration in Georgia; and he rightly makes the statement that "*Le Géorgien était sculpteur de masses et géomètre; les maîtres qui ont bâti les églises romanes étaient architectes et constructeurs.*" There are, besides the text figures, 101 most beautiful collotype plates, and we confess to having never seen any clearer and better illustrations. Not only have we a list of these plates, but also a complete and detailed index to them, with due references to previous writers, especially Brosset, Kondakoff, Strzygowski. We can but draw attention to this fine work, and recommend it to all students of Near Eastern and Romanesque art.

✓ MOHENJO-DARO AND THE INDUS CIVILIZATION. Edited by Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology in India.

We understand that this important work, embodying the results of excavations made in Sind during the seasons 1923-1929, will be issued in the coming summer by Messrs. Arthur Probsthain, of 41, Great Russell Street, London, W.C. It will comprise two large quarto volumes of text, with some text illustrations, and one volume of 164 collotype plates.

In addition, there will be a plan of Mohenjo-daro in two colours, and an original map of Sind in four colours. The price of subscription, before publication, will be approximately £10.

Our readers need not be reminded that Mohenjo-daro represents an Indian city of 5,000 years ago, and important new discoveries may be looked for.

GENERAL

LORD CARMICHAEL OF SKIRLING: A Memoir prepared by his Wife. Illustrated. (*Hodder and Stoughton.*) 21s. net.

Lord Carmichael, the subject of this memoir, is best known to the British public as the Governor of Madras, and later of Bengal, which appointment he held from 1912 to 1917. Lord Curzon had carried out the partition of Bengal, and the pacification of this province was chiefly due to Lord Carmichael. A chapter is devoted to this work. Other chapters deal with his early years, home politics, Australia, and art; the latter is by Mr. Borenius. Lord Carmichael took a real and great interest in art; he paid a number of prolonged visits to Italy, and became a collector of mediæval metalwork, enamels, bronzes, carvings in ivory, and paintings. He was for many years Chairman of Council of the India Society.

EMINENT ASIANS: Six Great Personalities of the New East. By Josef W. Hall (Upton Close). (*Appleton and Co.*) 21s. net.

Is it not difficult to guess who these six Great Asians are? The first on the list is Sun Yat Sen, of whom a sketch of his life and work is given, and on page 67 the reader is reminded of how Japan was promised by the then President Wilson, at the Versailles Conference, the Chinese Province of Shantung in compensation of her dropping the "racial equality" motion. The next two are Yamagata, called the Japanese Bismarck, and his opponent in politics, Prince Ito; and here again we find on page 235 a sentence referring to Yamagata: "Political Party Rule was to him positively immoral." Of Kemal Pasha Mr. Upton Close writes that he deserves recognition as the world's greatest living statesman. Josef Stalin, the iron man of Russia, is considered a Caucasian. The last of the eminent Asians is Mahatma Gandhi, whose words are quoted: "Man shall conquer anger by love, evil by good, avarice by generosity, and the liar by truth." It will be noticed that all kinds of characters are represented amongst those personalities, and it is difficult to judge whom Mr. Upton Close favours. They are certainly outstanding figures with all the strength and frailty of human nature.

EL PRE-DESCUBRIMIENTO HISPANO-CATALÁN DE AMÉRICA EN 1477.
Xristo-Ferens Colom, Fernando el Católico y la Cataluña Española.
By Luis Ulloa. (Paris: *Maisonneuve Frères.*)

There are a number of questions connected with Columbus which have been eagerly debated for many years, without any complete solution of them being reached. Different theories have been put forward concerning his origin and early life, concerning the factors which led him to undertake his great adventure, and concerning the object which he had in view when he sailed from Palos. It has been argued that he owed almost everything to Martin Alonso Pinzón, as it has been argued that Pinzón was a traitor who attempted to steal the credit due to Columbus. It has been argued that Columbus derived his inspiration from the Florentine savant Toscanelli, as it has been argued that the letters of Toscanelli are palpable forgeries. It has been asserted that Columbus learned the secret of the New World from a dying pilot whom chance had carried to the West Indies, and that he used the information which he had thus gained, without acknowledging his debt.

To most of these questions Señor Luis Ulloa offers answers which have at least the characteristic of novelty. Stated shortly, the theory which he puts forward in the present volume is that Columbus was a Catalan, Juan (Bautista) Colom, who had fought for the cause of Catalan independence against John II. of Aragon, the father of Ferdinand the Catholic, and who had spent some years in the service of France under the command of his relative, the corsair Jean Casenove. Having been wrecked on the coast of Portugal, he went to Denmark, and is to be identified with the Johannes Scolvus who is stated to have

visited Greenland in 1477. Señor Ulloa holds that Columbus did more than visit Greenland; he sailed down the American coast and landed in Haiti in that same year. His "discovery" of 1492 was thus not a discovery at all; it was his second visit to a land to which he had already been.

According to this theory, Columbus allowed his true origin to be concealed because, had he revealed it, he could never have secured the support of Ferdinand and Isabella, the King hating Catalans as having been rebels against his father and the deadly enemies of his mother. In order to deprive Aragon of any share in the New World, Ferdinand sedulously propagated the legend that Columbus was a Genoese, and, thanks mainly to his efforts, the truth has remained hidden to the present day. It is obvious that Columbus owed nothing to Pinzón or to Toscanelli; he went in 1492 in search of lands which he already knew. He was himself the "pilot"; that legend really concealed the fact of the "prediscovery" of 1477.

TWELVE DAYS: An Account of a Journey across the Bakhtiari Mountains in South - Western Persia. By V. Sackville - West. Illustrated. (*Hogarth Press*.) 10s. 6d. net.

A travel book by a clever and charming lady in the company of four Englishmen amongst the most savage tribes of Persia! The account is in the author's vivid and stimulating style, and includes not only the various adventures in all wind and weather, amongst rain and snow, across the high mountains, but gives also a most interesting account of the life of the Bakhtiari. The journey was undertaken by Miss Sackville-West who displayed great courage and enterprise. The illustrations are some of the best we have seen, and give an excellent idea of the scenery described. The author is an experienced traveller, and it is hoped that she will not remain at home, but go out again and add to our pleasure with another volume.

THE PUBLIC AND ITS PROBLEMS. By John Dewey. (*Allen and Unwin*.)
(Reviewed by JOHN CALDWELL-JOHNSTON.)

This volume is the result of lectures delivered by the author at Kenyon College, Ohio, two years ago. The intervening period has permitted a full revision and expansion of the lectures as originally delivered, and there are accordingly occasional references to books published in the interval. Written from that peculiar angle of vision from which the untravelled Transatlantic publicist views both his own country and the world in general, these essays in political science present few points of interest to the European, whether British or Continental, but they are doubtless not without their value for moulding the young citizen of that Great Republic, where bootlegging flourishes side by side with the principles of the purest democracy.

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The carpet and incense burner shown on the opposite page are from the collection of treasures sent to the Persian Art Exhibition by H.I.M. the Shah. They were specially photographed for *The Naft*.

The incense burner is of gold overlaid with enamel and richly set with cabochon jewels, the knob being formed of a pear-shaped emerald. The incense burner, which is 40 centimetres high, was made in Isfahan early in the nineteenth century, and was sent from the Gulistan Museum, Tehran.

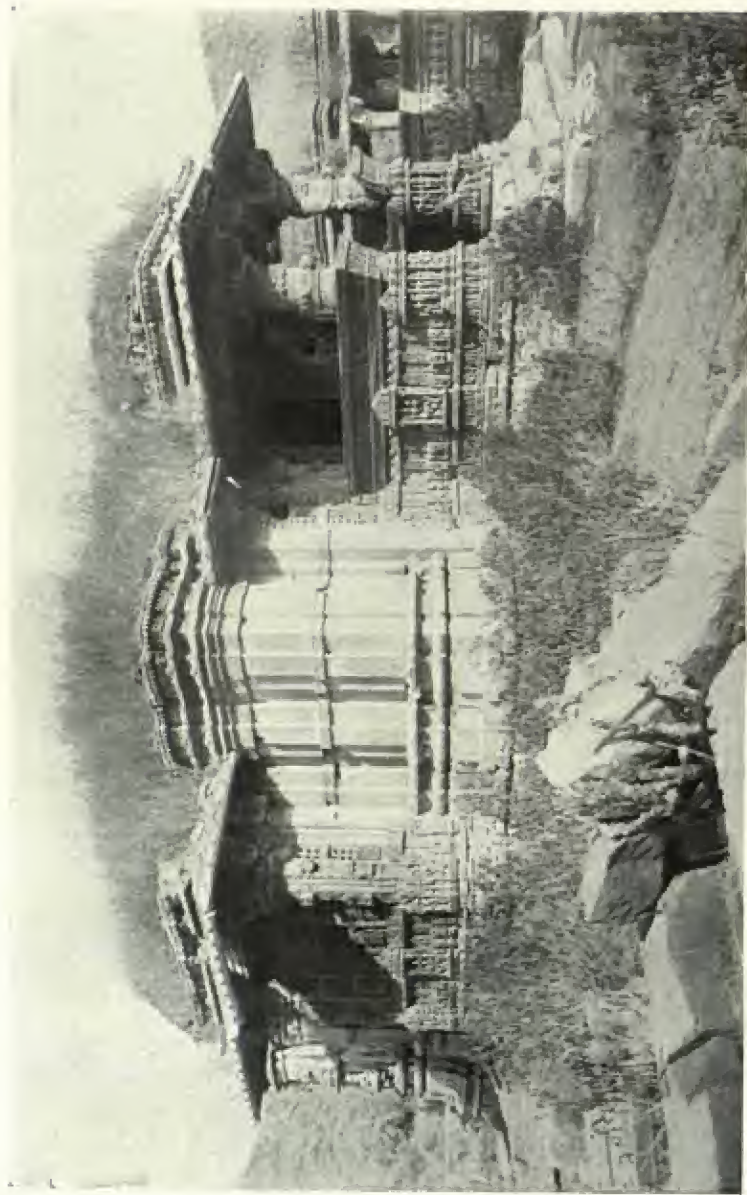
Forming the background is a prayer carpet from the Mashhad Shrine, made of crimson and green velvet with silver thread. The lower part of the carpet (folded over the support for the incense burner) has conventional floral patterns, while the upper part contains inscriptions from the Islamic profession of faith.





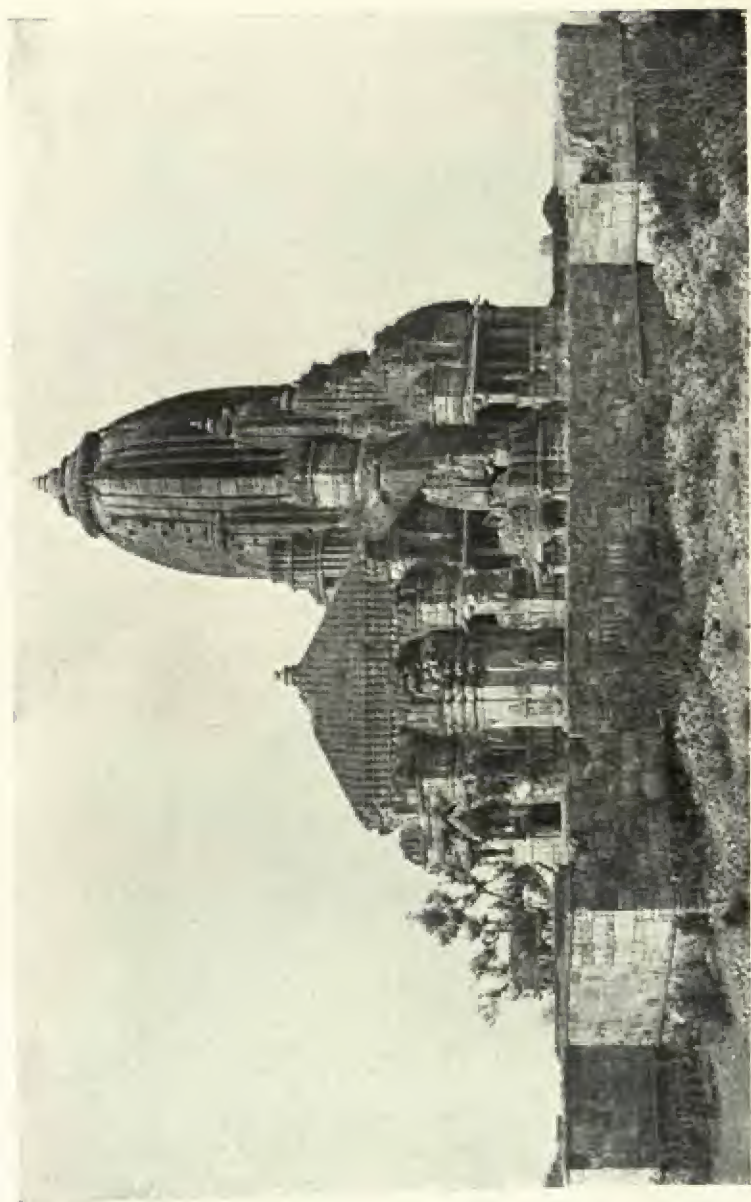
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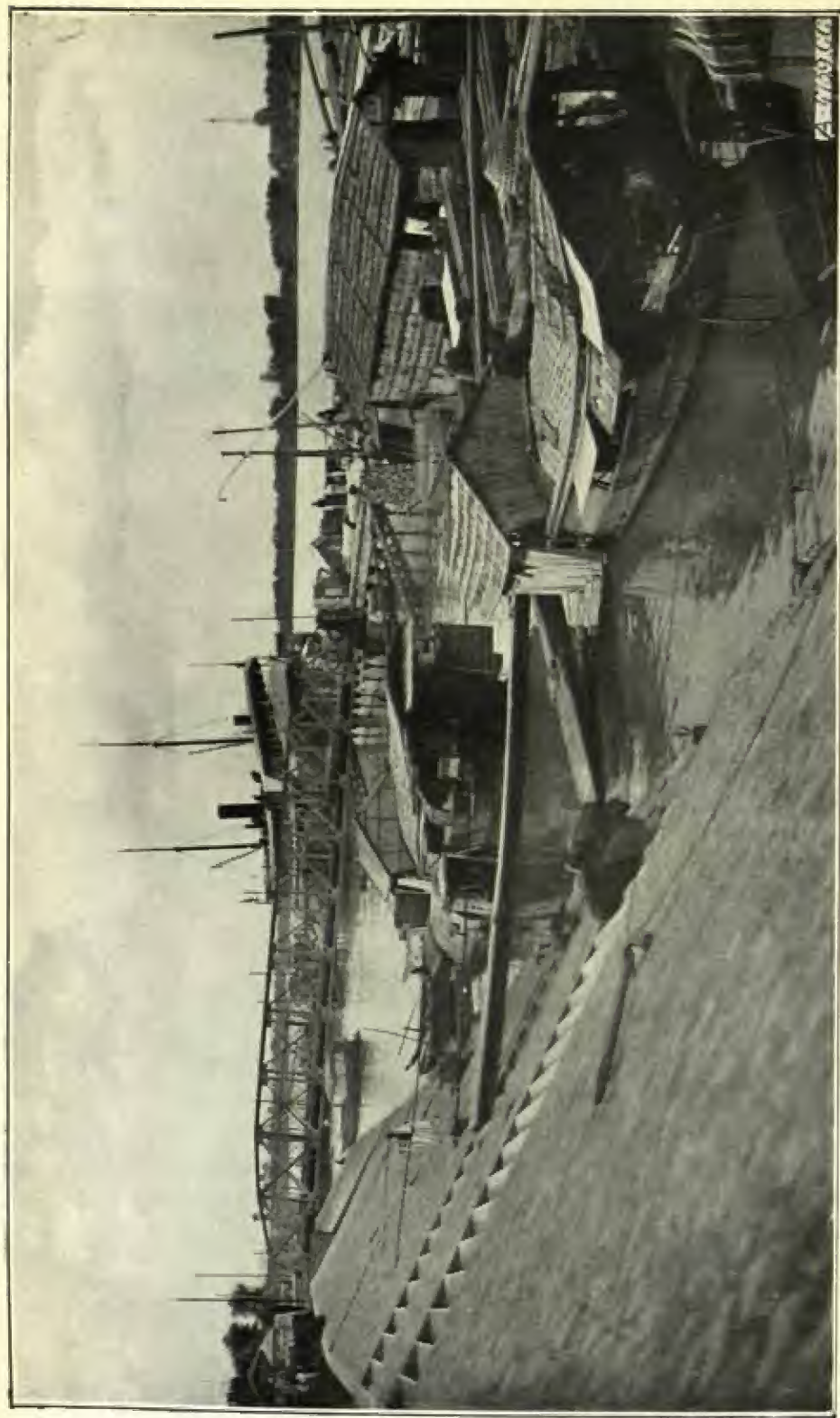
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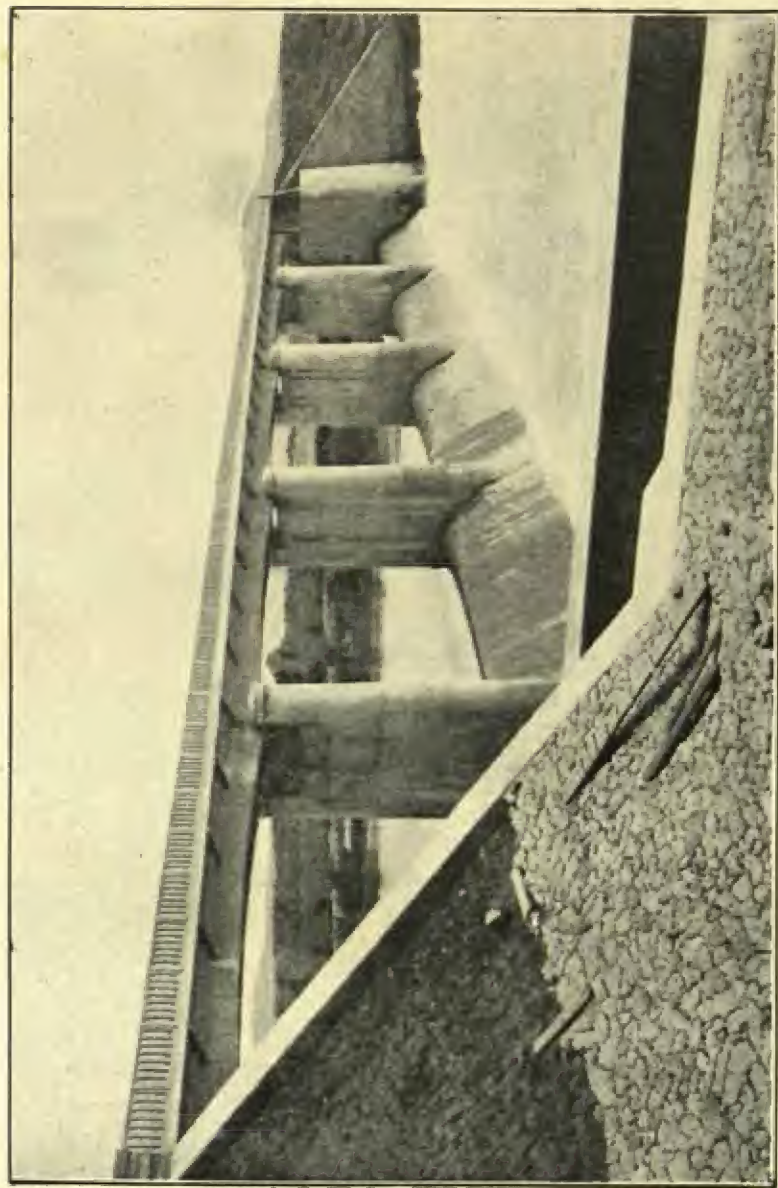
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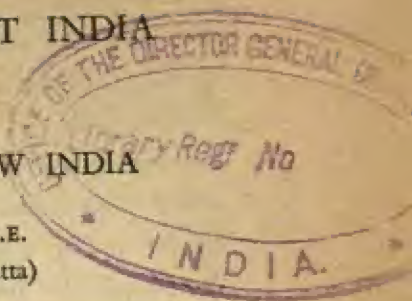
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

LAW AND ORDER IN THE NEW INDIA

By SIR REGINALD CLARKE, C.I.E.
(Late Commissioner of Police, Calcutta)



FROM the recommendations of the Simon Commission and the debates of the Round-Table Conference, it may be taken for granted that any future Constitution for the Indian Empire will make local provincial assemblies responsible for law and order in their territories. Nobody knowing India and the failure of dyarchy will object to this provided that officers responsible for the peace, whose duties may bring them into conflict with different sections of the public, particularly the intelligentsia, are assured of adequate and unfailing support. No country can pretend to be governing itself unless it can keep order and administer the law, and there is no more certain cure for political criticism than the responsibility of office. At the same time, the transfer of law and order on paper and its maintenance in practice in a country such as India are two very different matters, and before undertaking a momentous change of this kind it is as well to face the facts.

There is nothing in the past history of the legislatures in India to encourage the presumption that they will suddenly become reasonable on the question of law and order, but their position in the past has simply invited irresponsibility. Under the new régime it is not for a moment to be supposed that these assemblies will encourage disorder, but in certain provinces, at all events, there will have to be a complete change in their attitude towards officers responsible for law and order, particularly the police. Mr. Montagu, who was certainly a sympathetic observer, records in his diary that the Indian wants to control the police because he hates them, and if this is the spirit in which the new order of things is to start there will be a very poor future for it.

There has been no detailed discussion yet as to how the new powers given to provinces would be administered, but from the first and for several years they must work through existing channels, so we may take it that the old hierarchy, which commences with the village constable and runs through the District Superintendent of Police and the District Magistrate to the Divisional Commissioner, will continue for the present to keep order on the Indian countryside. This chain of officials represents to the people the *Sircar*, and as long as they are at their posts and doing their duty a considerable amount of political ferment can happen in the towns without affecting the villages and the country in general. If, on the other hand, there is the slightest indication that the authority of these officers is being undermined, there are elements of disorder waiting to arise in India which, if not checked at the outset, will swamp not only India but the Empire.

CRIME AND COMMUNALISM

It must be remembered that although India is on the whole a law-abiding country it contains a number of lawless men—in fact, there is no form of crime which has not got its expert exponents there. In spite of our long occupation and a well-organized police, we have never succeeded in doing more than keeping dacoity at bay. In the same way, in the cities there has always been a large hooligan element waiting for a chance to loot, and any disturbance immediately brings *goondas* to the fore.

This, however, is ordinary routine police work, but behind it is the Hindu-Muhammadan question—one of the great human problems of the world. Nothing, neither race nor language nor colour, can divide men like religion, and no round table that ever was fashioned can settle this business; it is too old and too basic. Even men who have spent their lives in India never cease to be astonished at the suddenness with which this ancient animosity can blaze up for quite trivial causes, and the appalling ferocity and blood-lust which it engenders.

Furthermore, it is unfortunate that the statesmanship which has brought the representatives of Congress to the Round Table

and the Ruling Chiefs to an idea of federation has at the same time alienated Muhammadan sentiment and induced a feeling of isolation and bitterness amongst this great and virile community, which has religious connections throughout the East. This was inevitable, and no doubt everything possible will be done to satisfy Muhammadan aspirations; but the feeling is there, deep-rooted, the fear of being handed over to a numerically superior Hindu Raj, which has got a long start in education and in wealth. This feeling will have to be reckoned with, and is the major issue in any scheme for law and order in New India.

It may be argued that Hindus and Muhammadans lived side by side in India for centuries before the British came there, and that they do the same in Indian States; but in these instances the question of rulership had already been decided by the sword, whereas we are asking these hostile communities to settle their differences around a table—a very different affair.

BRITISH OFFICIALS

The superior officers responsible for the peace in India belong to what is known as the Security Services—that is, the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police—and in accordance with the recommendations of the Lee Commission it has been decided that these Services shall be Indianized year by year on a scale which will leave the Indian Civil Service half British and half Indian in 1939, and the Indian Police the same in 1949. It is generally admitted that this cuts down British officers to the absolute minimum required to keep order in India, and any new constitution will have to ensure that this proportion is maintained.

It would be superfluous to refer here to what India owes to the British officers of the Indian Civil Service. They have created our Indian Empire, and if they were to depart in a body tomorrow—old as Indian civilization is—they would leave a standard of administration behind them which would never entirely disappear. If it is now intended to place the key-officers of this Service, the Divisional Commissioners and District Magistrates, under elected assemblies for their most important duties—namely, the maintenance of order—they will have to have the protection

of the Governor of the Province in case of any attempt to sacrifice them to popular clamour when their duty brings them into conflict with large sections of the people, as at times it undoubtedly will.

It is not that Indian Civilians are in any way opposed to the political emancipation of India—in fact, the manner in which they have accepted and worked the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms proves the contrary. They recognize and are quite willing to co-operate in a future administration of India which will mean that their authority will be less personal and more advisory, but they are bound to be critical of hasty reforms which they know will lead to disorder, and in view of their paramount responsibility their position must be safeguarded.

THE POLICE FORCE

The police in India today is the result of a definite policy initiated by Lord Curzon and followed steadily for a quarter of a century. It is almost entirely Indian with a small stiffening of British officers, and though it numbers 187,000 men it is none too large for what we are staking on it—that is, the safety of life and property over a British Indian territory of nearly 1,100,000 square miles and amongst a population of 270 millions of people. Actually India is being policed with one police station to 100 square miles, which means that the Indian Government is not prepared to face sporadic disorder in too many places at the same time.

It is true that the army, British and Indian, is in the background, but the employment of troops in any large numbers to assist the civil power means martial law and connotes the breakdown of civil government. Further, in the event of widespread civil disturbance coinciding with trouble on the North-West Frontier (and we know from recent happenings that it will), the army in India would have to be very quickly reinforced, and a state of affairs would have arisen almost too serious to contemplate, which the present suggestions are particularly designed to avert.

The Indian Police, like the Indian Army, is one of the things

which inspires one's faith in the future of the country. It is composed of the sturdiest of the peasantry in the ranks and the best, physically, of the intelligentsia in the officer grades. Its organization, discipline, and leadership are such that its neutrality can be relied upon in all communal and religious disputes. In addition it has had to face, for the last few years, a deliberate and intensive campaign to break its morale. Taunts in the streets, boycott in their homes, complaints of brutality to headquarters—nothing has been neglected. It is to the everlasting credit of the Indian Police that they have never wavered in their loyalty to the British Government whose salt they eat.

At the same time, the strain that is being put on these men by the continued agitation in India is becoming intolerable, and a new Constitution will have to ensure that they are not asked to shoulder a burden greater than they can bear. All police work is based eventually on the goodwill of the people, and civil disobedience, if allowed to continue, will defeat any police force. It is nothing more or less than an insidious form of anarchy, and a government which does not face it at the outset is doomed.

The British officers of the Indian Police, though they number only 1,400 in all India, supply the cement which holds the whole force together. The bond between them and the Indian officers and men in the force is a very close one, and it would be impossible for the police to carry on in times of strain and doubt without this impartial element to lean upon. As in the case of the Civil Service, if in future the police is to be controlled by provincial assemblies, the Inspectors-General and Commissioners of Police will have to be provided with the means of protecting their officers if they are unjustly attacked. Not merely emergency, but special powers will have to be vested in Governors of provinces until such time as it is apparent that elected Police Ministers can stand on their own. By special powers is meant a control which will be vested in the Governor personally, and which he will exercise for the present as part of his routine duties. If this is not done there will be a ministerial crisis every time the Governor interferes.

RELATIONS WITH THE INTELLIGENTSIA

There is no disguising the fact that the relations between the police and the people in India, particularly the intelligentsia, are far from satisfactory. No doubt there are faults on both sides. In the police, unlike the army, complete authority has to be delegated right down to the lowest ranks, and these ranks in India have not yet got the education and the training which would prevent them from, at times, abusing their powers. On the other hand, the educated classes in India resent discipline in any form, and they resent it doubly when it takes the form of a British uniform and is standing between them and a political campaign for breaking the law and embarrassing the Government.

It will be necessary, therefore, to protect the police in the earlier stages of any new form of government in India, until, by the exercise of authority and the association of local bodies with police work through some such medium as watch committees, a civic sense is developed which recognizes the necessity for the public to support its police. This will take time, and British officers in the Indian Police will in future have to undertake a dual rôle—control of their force on the one hand and co-operation with local and municipal bodies on the other. If the spirit of compromise is genuine, and India is really going to settle down and learn gradually to govern herself, there is no reason to fear that the British police officers will not do everything in their power to foster Indian aspirations and help her on her way.

The foregoing suggestions are based on the assumption that an agreement has been arrived at for the future government of the country, which all parties in India are pledged to support. If statesmanship, British and Indian, can accomplish this, it will open a new chapter in the history of the Empire, but it can only be done by a clear appreciation of the Indian situation in this country and a constitution approved by all parties in parliament. The Security Services in India are now between the upper and nether mill stones and, the law is not being enforced. There is no sense in minimizing the gravity of the state of affairs, as a crisis in India is imminent and will have to be faced.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, April 21, 1931, when a paper was read by Sir Reginald Clarke, C.I.E. (late Indian Police Service), on "Law and Order in the New India." J. S. Wardlaw-Milne, Esq., M.P., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present :

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, General Sir George Barrow, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., and Lady Barrow, Miss Barrow, Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Clement Hindley, K.C.I.E., and Lady Hindley, Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., and Lady Seton, Sir Arthur Knapp, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Henry S. Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir Daniel Keymer, O.B.E., Sir Reginald Mant, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Vincent, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Lady Mary Grey, Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, K.-i-H., Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Murray, C.I.E., Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Lady Clarke, Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. E. Villiers, Mr. H. B. Holme, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. O. C. G. Hayter, Mr. G. Pilcher, Mr. Waris Ameer Ali, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mrs. Nolan, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mr. Hugh MacGregor, Mr. A. H. Joyce, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mrs. Dreschfield, F.R.G.S., Mrs. Barns, Miss Cumming, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. J. K. Das Gupta, Mrs. Weir, Mr. S. J. Gubbay, Mr. Raphael D. de Gala, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. F. Vincent, Mr. G. H. Ormerod, Mr. K. Swarup, Miss Caton, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Willmott, Mr. W. H. Jones, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mrs. Carnegie, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. John Cantlon, Mr. J. Bellman, Mrs. J. M. Walter, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : We have received one or two apologies from gentlemen who are unable to be present, but I am glad to see there is a good audience to hear what I am quite sure will be a most interesting address. I have not had the pleasure of meeting our lecturer before, but I know of him, and I have been careful to make inquiries about him. I know that he is an authority on the subject which he is going to speak to us about, and his long record in the Indian Police Service will enable him to fully deal with the question of law and order, which is a matter of the greatest possible interest to everybody who has the interests of India at heart at the present time, and I hope we shall not only have an extremely interesting paper read to us, but an interesting discussion upon it.

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN : I want to say, in the first place, what I have no doubt will be said more formally later, how grateful we are to Sir Reginald Clarke for the most interesting address which he has given us on the subject of the

future of the control of law and order in India. Those of us who are almost daily concerned in this country with matters connected with the future of India have in the last year done one thing that has never been sufficiently done before—that is, that irrespective of party politics and classes or sections of the people, we have helped the British people over and over again to express their definite appreciation of the wonderful work of the police in India in the last two years under the most trying conditions that could be imagined. (Applause.) I am glad to say that that tribute has been paid publicly, and it is certainly very well deserved. I cannot imagine a time when any police force could have been subjected to more tremendous influences and more difficulty in the carrying out of their work than has been the case in India. If one imagines what would be the position in this country if our police here had to carry on their work under stress of misrepresentation and veiled or unveiled attacks day after day, we could get some idea of the conditions under which the Indian police, who, so far as the rank and file are concerned, are less educated and less advanced, have carried on their wonderful work in India. I do not think any tribute that could be paid in this country is more than thoroughly deserved both by the rank and file of the police and the British and Indian officers in charge of them. I think Sir Reginald Clarke has made it quite clear that he accepts, if I may put it in that way, the future establishment of the police under the reform scheme as being, in the provinces, under the control of the Provincial Assemblies. Whatever may be the future in that respect I cannot tell, but I agree that there is no school for responsibility like responsibility itself, and it is at any rate very much to be hoped that if and when we get an Indian Assembly in charge of the police force in each province we shall get a new outlook on the question of law and order, and one very different from that which have been so very prominent in the reports from India in the past two years. Sometimes I feel, as I am sure all of you must feel, as Sir Reginald Clarke has said, that if even for a day control was removed and licence took its place, we should find even in twenty-four hours a complete change in the minds of the people of India on the subject of law and order. It is very much to be hoped that the change will not come in that way, but that it will come by greater realization of the duties of citizenship and of the efforts necessary for common protection. But I do realize, and I think all of us in this room realize, that the future of the police force in India is certainly one of the most important matters which will have to be discussed when the whole future of the constitution of India comes to be settled. I am personally very grateful to Sir Reginald Clarke for the most interesting address which he has given us on this complicated problem.

I have received the names of several gentlemen willing to take part in this debate, and I call upon Sir John Cumming, who, as you know, was a member of the Bengal Government and is the founder and editor of the *Police Journal*, which deals with the question of the police forces all over the world. (Applause.)

SIR JOHN CUMMING said he was grateful to the Chairman for endorsing so cordially the well-deserved tribute which the lecturer had paid to the loyalty, courage, and impartiality of the police forces of India during the recent

troubles, the extent of which it would be difficult to exaggerate. The subject of the lecture was one of great importance at the present time. He wished to offer one or two observations on the subject of the preservation of justice and the maintenance of law and order, and to give one or two reasons as a justification for speaking on the subject. One was that ten years ago he had had the honour of delivering a lecture on the same subject before the East India Association. Secondly, for some years past it had been his privilege to be associated with the police administration, not only in England, but practically all over the world. His first and main observation was that there was very little margin between law and order and the forces opposing it. In recent times they had seen both Berlin and Vienna, which were well-policed cities, with forces very much stronger than anything they had any conception of in this country, faced with danger and difficulty in view of a possible uprising. They had seen in Paris the whole of the garrison of that large city, in addition to the police force, mobilized against conceivable outbreaks, and in the city of Westminster they had seen the mounted police charging a mob, even in Whitehall. It was therefore apparent that there was very little margin, even in the Western world and in Great Britain. In India the factors which had been mentioned by the lecturer were all present—the banditry, the communal element, also the frontier problem, and the difficulties owing to outbreaks among the aboriginal tribes. In spite of all their labours and difficulties, as had been explained by the lecturer, the police stood firm, to their everlasting credit.

His second observation was that the working of police forces in any country under any constitution was dependent upon the goodwill of the people. That was understood in this country and in most civilized countries. The goodwill of all law-abiding citizens was on behalf of constituted authority. In India for some years past the police forces had come to mean the agent and weapon of an alien bureaucracy; and for this reason, if any measures were taken by the people against the Government as such, it was the police force who felt the brunt of the attack. Under any system of reform it was essential that there should be some police agency strong enough to preserve the peaceful avocations of the people. As the Simon Commission had pointed out, the time had come when it ought not to be possible to misrepresent the agents of authority, who were supplying the first needs of a civilized existence. Unfortunately, the non-co-operation movement, as the lecturer had stated, was an insidious form of anarchy, which not only entered the vitals of the economic condition of the country, but even entered the vitals of the whole social fabric. Those Indians who had encouraged it were now complaining bitterly that parental control was at a discount.

His third observation was that any methods for the future must be workable. As to what those methods should be, there had been certain suggestions, both outside and inside the Round-Table Conference. The methods, however worked, depended ultimately upon the attitude of the intelligentsia of India and upon the fact that it was as essential to have an organized police force under any new constitution as it was under any present constitution. The lecturer had made one new suggestion with

regard to the adoption of the watch committee system, which raised at once the question of central control *versus* local control. It was an interesting thing that in Great Britain outside the Metropolis they had had for centuries the local control to which the lecturer had referred, but in the Dominions, which were the descendants of Great Britain, they found that the contrary was the case; that is to say, there was central control. In South Africa and in Australia there was central control of the police forces, and in Canada the Federal Police was a central body. There had been a certain development of municipal control in Canada, but in that country opinion was changing very seriously, and the Canadians were in some ways reverting to a system of central control. In India there was one of the largest systems of central organization in the world; and the question was whether, in view of experience in other parts of the world under the ægis of the British Crown, local control could be brought into existence with any satisfaction. The fact remained that the position of India was extremely difficult in view of the local conditions; it was rendered much more difficult by the deliberate action of the civil disobedience movement to make Government almost impossible, with the sequel of disorder and disaster; and it would be made doubly difficult if the British were to hand over to Local Assemblies the responsibility for law and order. On this point the Simon Commission had come to the decision without any doubt that the proper way to cure irresponsibility was to enforce responsibility.

Mr. E. VILLIERS, President of the European Association of India, said that he agreed with the Chairman that if the charge of the police force in the provinces was made over to the Provincial Legislatures there would be a new outlook on the question of law and order. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, contrary to the intention of the early plans, were so changed that instead of giving India responsibility we had taught her irresponsibility. India liked law and order instinctively as much as we did.

Mr. HAYTER said it had been a great pleasure to listen to a distinguished member of the Indian Police Service and to see Mr. Milne occupying the chair. They knew how generously he had always paid tribute to the work of the police in India. He thought the greatest tribute ever paid in India to the work of the police was when the General Officer Commanding at Amballa offered to the Inspector-General the place on the right of the line at the Proclamation Parade for a police detachment. Trying to delve into the meaning of that gesture, he thought there might be something to be learned and that it was not an ordinary compliment. It seemed to him that the Army, however great and fine an Army it was, could not possibly perform its function of maintaining internal security in India unless there was an efficient and impartial police force. Without the police force he was of opinion that no army could possibly maintain peace in India, though it might restore peace by operations which were generally known as pacifying a country, which was the last thing the Indian Army wanted to do. This was an entirely different thing from maintaining peace.

He would like to mention an entirely different thing—namely, the electoral system. He asked them to imagine a polling station in a district where there was a minority community and a majority community, and the

majority community were holding up the minority to prevent them voting. What would be the result if the policemen on duty at the polling station were under the control of the majority community and looked the other way? The point was if they handed over the police to a majority, perhaps a communal majority, which at times might not be trusted, the whole electoral system would be worth nothing. With regard to the military police question, the matter of internal security was a very important one. It was an extraordinary thing that the Statutory Commission had gone very deeply into the military question and had reported fully upon it and also upon the police question, but nowhere in their Report did they find a single word about the co-relation of the military and police question in India. This was a most extraordinary omission. Apparently no heed had been paid to what might be the reaction of the treatment of law and order upon the military question itself. If this was to be taken as a measure of what had been said and done to help India in the past few years, the measure was like a quart vessel with nothing whatever in it, because a question of stupendous importance had not even been touched upon.

He had always been struck with the fact that democratic institutions had been introduced gradually into India on an English pattern without any study of the conditions of law and order which had enabled those institutions to succeed in England. They really knew very little about the police in their own country, they took everything for granted because they were so safe; but a hundred years ago there was a great turnover of political power in England, and just before that, and for the very purpose, there had been established a new and carefully constituted police force. One reason for this was to avoid the necessity of calling out the military in face of political excitement. It was thought there must be a strong police force which would face the political excitement of the people without the necessity of calling out the military. This was the idea of the Duke of Wellington himself. Another reason why there had been so much care taken with regard to the matter was in order that popularly elected parties should not be in a position to meddle with the police, with their resources, or with their discipline and their ability to enforce order. In both these respects the position was the same in India; indeed, the need was greater. The Councils should not have the power to withhold the resources necessary for the police. In former times the police had to go for their moneys to the Executive Councillor to try and wangle the money they wanted against other departments. This was fairly satisfactory, because he was the supreme executive power who had to enforce the peace in India; but at the present time there was one power to be left with responsibility for enforcing the peace of India and another power which would be able entirely to deprive the forces of law and order of all their resources or to interfere with their discipline. This was a vital mistake. He thought the police funds in India should, as far as possible, be definitely ear-marked and allotted, as they were in England, and should be made secure from the attacks of political parties. It was quite right that the Legislature should be able to inquire into any manner of abuse and should be fully informed and be able to decide on such matters, but a communal majority should not be under the temptation, which might be very great, to

hamstringing the forces of law and order. If, in spite of all the enlightened and patriotic men there might be in a community, they had a mass influence towards bullying and a mob worked up to commit a pogrom, then that community would not wish for a strong police force to prevent it. Similar situations had occurred in Central Europe.

With regard to the power of the Governor to revise Budgets and to intervene when things were supposed to be going badly, he thought all of them would agree that this was not worthy of consideration. To begin with, such checks were only transitory measures. In his opinion, the emergency powers of the Governor were both useless and invidious. He thought there ought to be some Commission to find out and lay down what was needed for the police in India as a definite and separate subject before the business of handing over powers was carried out.

General Sir GEORGE BARROW said that the loyalty of the police had always struck him as being all the more praiseworthy for the reason that they were badly paid, badly housed, and a badly pensioned force. He thought the Government should give them the best treatment possible, increase their pay, improve their housing, and improve their pensions. (Hear, hear.) Many tributes to the good work of the police had been made recently, but this would be a practical appreciation of their good work. He was very glad to hear Mr. Hayter allude to the Army, because the Army question, according to the Report of the Simon Commission, was the most crucial point of the whole future of the Constitution of India, and yet it was a question which was least heard of nowadays, and was generally put in the background altogether. He wished to point out, as was probably known to everybody present, that more than half the British Army in India was ear-marked for internal defence. What was going to happen in the future? It was easy to talk about handing over law and order, but how were they going to hand over three-fifths of the British Army to the maintenance of law and order under an Indianized Government? Of course, he did not say it could not be done, but nobody had produced the solution yet. The British Army formed the great moral support behind the police force; but it did a great deal more than that, as was exemplified by their recent employment at Cawnpore. He had had letters from men who had served under him who were at Delhi and Calcutta, and it was clear that the mere presence of the Army ensured peace and order recently, whereas without them there would have been terrible bloodshed. They could not do without the Army for internal defence, however excellent the police force. (Applause.)

Mr. PILCHER said that almost everything he had intended to say had already been said. There was, however, one point he would like to mention. He had been very much impressed, in listening to Sir Reginald Clarke's address, by the fact that, like all of them, he was quite willing to contemplate the necessity for a complete handing over of law and order in the provinces. He agreed that the way to promote responsibility was by inviting a sense of responsibility; but while Sir Reginald Clarke accepted the position, as they all did, he laid down two qualifications. He did not want to see the police handed over unless they could be assured of a different temper in the Provincial Councils from the temper at the present time; and,

secondly, he did not wish to see this taking place until there was a much better civic sense than there was at present. He personally agreed with Sir Reginald Clarke in this respect. He was very apprehensive of what might happen in the case of some of the provinces where there was so much one wanted to be assured of. Sir Reginald had mentioned the fact that even today dacoity was still with them. As to this, it always seemed to him that it was the villages of India which mattered, because dacoity meant so much more to them than it did to the great cities. Surely the most essential thing of all in making the new departure was to make sure that the rural villagers were represented by men of their own type in the ultimate Council. He would like to draw their attention to a really feasible constructive proposal which had been made by a committee presided over by Sir John Kerr which had considered the subject. The mobilization of the village communities had been suggested—for instance, in groups of twenty, each electing their own mouthpiece, who would become an indirect elector for the Councils, and by this means they would get the villagers represented. Some system of this sort, in his opinion, would make people less apprehensive than they were at present. Personally, he would always be apprehensive unless there was some check which would prevent the worst happening. He thought that an immediate and thoroughgoing inquiry designed to fix the minimum police strength and expenditure in each province for a term of years would be invaluable. He thought in the ultimate result they would have to have some degree of control from the centre. He thought there ought to be an inspectorate actuated from the centre which would limit grants and withdraw grants unless the police in the provinces were maintained at a steady level.

Mr. WARIS AMEER ALI said that for close on eighteen years he had served in different capacities in Indian districts as a magisterial and judicial officer, working in close touch with all ranks of the police force, and living in contact with all kinds of villagers and country folk as well as some townsmen, and for this reason he much appreciated what had been said by the various speakers. In his opinion, the morale of the Indian subordinate ranks of the police force was considerably better today than ever before—in fact, it was considerably better than that of the subordinates of many other departments of the Government service in India. By morale he did not only mean their morale in action, but their morale in their daily work and their honesty. This was largely due to their superior officers, to the very excellent type of British officer who had been recruited into the police force during the last forty years, and to the very excellent Indian officers who were gradually coming into the higher grades of the force, all of whom had been trained together with the young British officers at the police training schools in the different provinces. One point he would like to mention was that no Royal Commission, no casual conference, no casual collection of human beings had a right to transfer any of the sovereign powers of the British Empire except the sovereign body of the Empire, which consisted of the King and both Houses of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) Both Houses of Parliament and His Majesty would still have the last word with regard to any future devolution of power. They had heard a good deal about responsi-

bility being best taught by responsibility being thrust upon people, but in his opinion they could not make irresponsible people responsible except by a long course of special treatment. They had been told that when once the responsibility of directing and controlling law and order was thrust upon an unwilling population they would learn how to appreciate its blessings. He could assure them that apart from the casual criminal, who struck his neighbour on the head through hot temper, and the professional criminal, the honest workaday villagers, who composed 95 per cent. of the Indian population, valued law and order as much as anybody present at this meeting, and the villagers would be extremely upset if responsibility for law and order were handed over to people who had not shown any particular responsibility with regard to law and order, and who lived in the towns. Townspeople were not the best qualified for dealing with the question of law and order in India. Police stations were near at hand in towns. In the countryside they were about twenty or thirty miles apart with about ten or twenty constables to each. They had heard that dyarchy had broken down. It might have broken down in some provinces for the reason that the dyarchs refused to be dyarchs. In the part of India where he had served, the United Provinces, except for a small amount of creaking at first, dyarchy worked on the whole very well.

On the other hand, there was an ominous shadow lying across the future. Just after the Cawnpore riots he had received a letter from an old friend of his in the United Provinces, in which he had stated that one of the Ministers had at this very time advocated in the Provincial Council a reduction in the police force on the ground of economy. When his friend tackled him on the subject, he said the Army was there to be called in to maintain law and order. His friend then pointed out that it was not the policy of any civilized state to call upon the military to keep the peace between subjects of that particular state unless an attack was directed against the sovereign authority of the state. If this is a specimen (and it is not unusual) of the political theories on which provincial autonomy is to be based, it augured an early breakdown of law and order in the provinces. There was a great deal of ignorance in England in regard to such matters among people who ought to know better; for instance, people who attended the various conferences. One of the noble lords representing one of the British parties at the Round-Table Conference, when asked what he would do if law and order broke down in a province, said he would send a *sotnia* of the imperial police to restore order. *Sotnia* was the old Russian term for a squadron. There were no imperial police in India of the type of the *cheka* or O.G.P.U. The provincial police were in no sense imperial police, a very fine force though they were. Persons ignorant of the details of rural life and of the administration of the law in India were not aware that a failure of law and order did not merely mean a few communal riots, but the depredations of the criminal classes over immense areas which it had taken a hundred years of modern police methods to bring under control. However much Indian politicians might dislike the proposed future residuary powers of the Governor, they were inherently necessary, and they would have to be framed in a very careful spirit, and if they were to be used at all in an

emergency it would be necessary for the Governor to have impartial advice independent of politics and an impartial cadre of officers. It would be remembered that the Lee Commission had laid down that the superior officers of the police force, numbering about 1,000 for British India, should work up to a fifty-fifty basis, Indian and British, which in his opinion would represent the irreducible minimum of British officers for a long time to come. Practically all other ranks of the 187,000 police were Indians.

Sir LOUIS DANE, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer, said that in addition to the many tributes that had been paid to the Indian police he would like to pay a personal tribute of his own. Had it not been for the extreme efficiency of the Indian police during his period of service in the Panjab, he might not have been addressing the meeting today. In one respect, at any rate, India had not changed. On going out to India in 1876, one of his first duties was to preserve order, with the help of the Indian police, between Hindu and Muhammadan in Lahore, and if he went to India at the present time as an Assistant Commissioner he thought it was extremely probable that he would have exactly the same duty to perform. The communal question still existed, and would exist for a long time to come, and so long as it existed they could never be certain of the preservation of law and order, and they must depend upon a really strong, efficient, and to a certain extent centrally controlled police force. They would have noticed that during the recent riots in Bombay it was said that there were only 500 policemen available, which was one reason why they had to call out the British troops, and he had seen in the papers quite recently that the Collector of Cawnpore, giving evidence before the inquiry into the cause of the riots there, said that the cause of the riots and the rapidity with which they had spread was due to the inadequacy of the police force.

He personally was prepared to say that though there were 187,000 police in India, the force was quite inadequate, because it had to deal with 270,000,000 of an Indian population. He would like to compare the state of affairs in India with the metropolitan police area. This occupied a circle with a radius of about fifteen miles from Charing Cross, in which there were 23,000 highly organized and highly trained police officers, with all the resources of modern science at their disposal. The area of India was enormous, the distances to be covered were very great, in many cases across trackless wastes, and they had some exceedingly difficult peoples to deal with. It was all very well to say they should rely upon the Army. He entirely agreed that the only thing that was effective in a communal dispute, when it attained dangerous dimensions, was a display of European force. He spoke with a good deal of experience upon this matter. When a European force appeared upon the scene of a disturbance, if it was properly managed, as it nearly always was, the disturbance subsided; until the European force appeared it went on and got worse and worse. Recent experience showed that this was still the case. In this connection the evidence of Mr. Gavin Jones in the Cawnpore inquiry was significant. It would be recalled that Mr. Gavin Jones played a prominent part at the Round-Table Conference in the direction of urging full confidence in the Indian peoples. At the inquiry he expressed the opinion that "the police

were frightened. There was lack of leadership among them, there not being enough Europeans to act as a backbone."

No doubt they were aware that the British force in India had been reduced quite recently from 76,000 to 61,000 men, whereas the population of India had increased by 10 per cent. to 352,000,000. Further, the difficulties upon the frontier were infinitely greater and more dangerous than they had been during the course of his service in India. He had some knowledge with regard to Afghanistan and the various measures which had been taken to secure the British position there. It was quite possible that we might have disturbances upon the frontier aggravated from outside and possibly assisted by the tribes upon the border, and none of the 61,000 British troops in India would be available, with all respect to Sir George Barrow, for the maintenance of internal order; they were not available during the Great War, because they were for a very large portion of the time removed. What were they going to rely upon for the maintenance of law and order in British India? Unless law and order were maintained, it would be hopeless to attempt to introduce any political reform. Previously reforms had worked in a quiet and orderly manner because there had been law and order. This was not the case with the Montfort reforms, which were as a gesture brought in at the time of the greatest stress and turmoil, and there had been trouble ever since. Such gestures are useless and worse than useless. If they were going to introduce reforms they must first establish an atmosphere of law and order, and at the present moment, so far from reducing the police force, he would recommend a very considerable increase in it. Indeed, he would go so far as to recommend a central body of police, largely or mainly of a European or non-Indian personnel, acting under the orders of the Imperial Government, to be used for the general maintenance of law and order and especially in the case of communal disturbances. (Applause.) The Viceroy was to be the ultimate authority to preserve and restore law and order where there has been a breakdown, but no agency is provided through which he can exercise his powers. Here we would have the nucleus, at any rate, of such an agency.

In conclusion, he proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer for his very interesting address and to the Chairman for presiding at the meeting.

The motion was carried by acclamation and the meeting closed.

THE ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE AND AFTER

BY THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

THE Round-Table Conference adjourned towards the end of January, 1931, having arrived tentatively at certain general conclusions, the most important of which was that it was desirable that any future constitution devised for India should take into account not only the provinces of British-India but the Indian States as well. In other words, the Conference envisaged the creation of a Federal Legislature composed of representatives of the provinces of British-India and of the Indian States, with a Federal Executive responsible to it in the same sense that the Cabinet in this country is responsible to Parliament. It was, however, generally agreed that while this was the goal that was aimed at, it was one that could not be reached at one stride; and that for some time to come, at any rate, the member or members of the Government holding the portfolios of Defence and Foreign Affairs, or External Relations, as the Conference termed them, should be responsible not to the Legislature but to the Viceroy. These two subjects were to be regarded as "reserved" subjects, in the sense in which the word "reserved" is used in the case of the provincial Governments as constituted under the Act of 1919.

It was further agreed that the Governor-General should be armed with special powers in connection with certain other subjects affecting the interests of minorities and of members of the public services, the financial stability of the country, and the maintenance of peace and tranquillity throughout the land. The special powers contemplated for these purposes were the right to be accorded to the Viceroy to act on his own initiative in responsibility to Parliament instead of to the Indian Legislature, combined, as a necessary consequence, with the right to appropriate revenue and to legislate, should the circumstances demand it, over the heads of the Legislature. The Federal Structure Committee likewise agreed that in matters of religion and of commerce

the principle of equality ought to be established, though they made no specific recommendation as to how best this could be done. At a later stage, however, it was agreed by the Conference in plenary session that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies, trading in India and the rights of Indian-born subjects; and that an appropriate Convention based on reciprocity should be entered into for the purpose of regulating these rights. It was also agreed that the existing rights of the European community in India in regard to criminal trials should be maintained. Such, in very brief outline, were the outstanding recommendations of the Conference.

MISTAKEN IMPRESSIONS

The general agreement with which these recommendations were finally made was not obtained so simply, or so easily, as to all outward appearance may have seemed to be the case. I have had various opportunities during the past two or three months of discussing the question before representative audiences in different parts of the country, and the impression left upon my mind has been that in the view of the average elector in this country the work of the Round-Table Conference resolved itself almost entirely into negotiations between two parties, one party consisting of the representatives of the various Indian interests and the other of the British delegates; in other words, to put the matter in homely language, the popular view in this country appears to be that the historic chamber in St. James's Palace was the arena in which was staged a tug-of-war between Great Britain and India. This is very far from being an accurate appreciation of the case, and it seems to me that it is very desirable that the public should be put in possession of a truer picture of the realities of the Indian question as it exists today.

It was natural enough that the general public, unacquainted with the details of a very complex problem, should have taken such a view; for the only speeches published were those delivered at the plenary sessions of the Conference, the actual work of the Conference, which was all done in committee, being carried on behind closed doors. And the speeches delivered by the Indian

delegates, especially during the opening days of the Conference, were well calculated to create the impression that Indians of all communities and representing every interest were united in a demand for a system of self-government based on the models provided by Great Britain herself and the self-governing Dominions. It was only after the curtain had fallen on the first act that the differences among the Indian delegates became apparent. Speech after speech during the opening act, whether it was delivered by a Ruling Prince or a political leader from British-India, by a Brahmin or a member of the Depressed Classes, by a Hindu or a Muslim, by a Sikh or an Indian Christian, was pitched in the same key.

Even H.H. the Maharaja of Rewa, who admitted that as an exponent of conservatism he stood alone amongst the delegates from India, felt obliged to confess, after listening to the opening speeches, that it seemed to him without exaggeration that "a nation was being brought to birth." And though he advocated caution in any advance that might be made, he added that he believed that the reason why no party calling itself Conservative existed in India was that no opportunity had hitherto been given to Indians to develop a sense of responsibility, and that "the constitutional advancement of India" would provide her "with the opportunity for which she was waiting."

The speech delivered by Dr. Ambedkar, who spoke for the Depressed Classes, affords another example of the superficial harmony of the opening chorus, which was so well calculated to create an inaccurate impression upon the mind of the man-in-the-street. If there was one thing which the man-in-the-street thought that he knew about India, it was that, whatever else the faults of the British Government in India might have been, they had at least protected the Depressed Classes from the tyrannous domination of the higher castes. Yet here was the spokesman of the Depressed Classes urging that "the bureaucratic form of government in India" should be replaced by "a government which would be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Dr. Ambedkar, indeed, was refreshingly impartial in his denunciation of all and sundry. The British Government had

all along used the Depressed Classes "only as an excuse for its continued existence." The Hindus had claimed them "only to deny them or to appropriate their rights." The Muhammadans had refused "to recognize their separate existence" because they feared that "their privileges might be curtailed by the admission of a rival." "Depressed by the Government," he declared, "suppressed by the Hindu, and disregarded by the Muslim, we are left in a most intolerable position of utter helplessness to which I am sure there is no parallel." And how was all this to be altered? Dr. Ambedkar's answer was plain—"We must have a Government in which men in power . . . will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so urgently call for. This rôle the British Government will never be able to play. It is only a Government which is of the people, for the people, and by the people that will make this possible." And so the theme went on; and it was only when the curtain dropped after the playing of the overture that the discordances made themselves heard.

THE CLAIM TO DEMOCRACY

Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Joshi, the late Mr. K. T. Paul (a representative of the Indian Christians), and others associated with them, had a perfectly clear and logical idea as to the meaning of the phrase "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." What they understood by it was a full-blooded democratic system under which every adult man and woman would have a vote. For them the fact that, if Russia be excluded, India is as large as Europe; that it has a population of 350 millions; that these millions speak rather more than 220 different languages and dialects; that of the half-million villages, scattered widely over a countryside almost incredibly vast in which 90 per cent. of them live, a few only are approached by a metalled road, and that fewer still are within reasonable distance of a railway; that since something like 90 per cent. of the whole population is illiterate an odd few only of the inmates of these numerous and widely scattered villages will be capable of taking advantage of the written word—all these facts are to Mr. Joshi and his friends wholly irrelevant to

the question. They stated in a note to the Report of the Franchise Sub-Committee that a recommendation which that body made in favour of an increase in the electorate of from 10 to 25 per cent. of the total population was "quite inadequate," and they added that in their view "the immediate introduction of adult suffrage" was "both practicable and desirable."

A totally different view of the meaning of self-government was taken by other Indian delegates, and notably by the representatives of the wealthy trading and professional classes of Bombay. Their ideas were cast in a much more aristocratic mould. This method of government by mere counting of heads—especially when the vast majority of the heads, unlike their own, were empty, uneducated heads—seemed to them to be the last word in foolishness. In their view, if there must indeed be more votes, some system of indirect election would be preferable. Hence they, like Mr. Joshi and his friends, dissented from the proposal of the Franchise Sub-Committee, but for an entirely different reason. Their dissent was couched in these words: "We dissent from these proposals and consider that the basis of the franchise should be broadened, if at all, by another system."

HINDU AND MUSLIM

These differences, though important, are not, after all, of such vital significance as certain other cleavages which soon became apparent. Discussion had not proceeded far before it became clear that there were two fundamentally different schools of thought as to the meaning of Federation. Was the process by which federation was to be arrived at to be a dual process or was it to be a single process? In other words, were the provinces of British India to form a federation of their own and the Indian States a federation of their own, and was a joint council of some sort then to be formed of the two constituent bodies thus created? Or were the British Indian Provinces and the Indian States (or, rather, since there are in all some 700 States, groups of States) to be regarded as the component units of a single central federal body?

Those whose political ideal has been a powerful central

Executive and Legislature occupying a position of dominance over the provincial Governments preferred the first of these two ideas, and, generally speaking, it may be said that this school of thought was represented by the British-Indian Hindus. On the other hand, the Muhammadans, the Princes, and the British delegates pressed strongly for a true federation of autonomous units covering the whole of India; and this was the view which ultimately prevailed. The significance of this cleavage arises out of the age-long rivalry between the Muslims and the Hindus.

There are certain provinces—and if the recommendations already made by the Conference are given effect to there will be others—in which Muhammadan influence is predominant, whereas in British India as a whole the Muhammadans can never hope to be in anything but a minority. Hence their quite natural anxiety to see as much power as possible vested in the component units of the Federation rather than in the Federation itself. Hence, too, their anxiety to see a status accorded to the North-West Frontier province equal to that of the other provinces of British-India, and their support of the claims put forward for the creation of a separate province by the delegates from Sind. It will be obvious, indeed, to anyone who glances at the map of India that a chain of provinces predominantly Muhammadan in outlook and authority, stretching across the north-west of India from the ocean to the confines of Afghanistan and Kashmir, must provide a basis of great strength and influence to the Muslim community generally.

The real danger to the success of the Conference arose, in fact, not so much out of differences between the British and the Indians as out of a fundamental cleavage between the Muhammadans and the Hindus. Whether separate elections are to be maintained; whether, and if so how much, weightage is to be allowed to Muhammadans in the Legislatures in those provinces in which they form a minority of the population; what is to be the extent of their representation in the two immensely important provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, a problem complicated in the case of the latter province by the presence of the vigorous community of the Sikhs—all these questions were the subject of endless, of

vehement and, unfortunately, of fruitless negotiation. On January 15, 1931, Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq, speaking for His Highness the Aga Khan, who was temporarily absent owing to indisposition, made a statement of the utmost importance on behalf of the Muslim Delegation, in the course of which it was asserted that, in spite of their most earnest endeavours, no settlement of the outstanding Hindu-Muslim problem had been effected.

"In these circumstances [the statement concluded] we feel that the only course that is consistent alike with the position of our community and its peculiar needs, and the smooth working of the new Constitution which we have been seeking to evolve during the last nine weeks, is to reiterate our claim that no advance is possible or practicable, whether in the provinces or in the Central Government, without adequate safeguards for the Muslims of India, and that no Constitution will be acceptable to the Muslims of India without such safeguards."

This was, in fact, the one definite failure which can be laid at the door of the Conference; and the failure was due neither to any lack of appreciation on the part of the Muhammadan and the Hindu delegates of the importance of success nor to any absence of good-will, but to forces in India which they were powerless to control—namely, the fundamental antagonisms between the peoples of the two communities, based not so much upon arrogance as upon fear, and having its roots deep-bedded in centuries of Indian history.

THE EXECUTIVE AND THE LEGISLATURE

Now let me turn to the question which was necessarily the most difficult for the British, and particularly for the Conservative, delegates—namely, the question of the relations between a future Central Legislature and the Central Executive. And here let me make it clear that while I think it probable that what I have to say on this subject represents, broadly speaking, the views of the Conservative Delegation, I am now nevertheless speaking for myself alone.

Consider the position of the Government of India during recent years. It has been that of a small bureaucratic body subjected to the powerful influence of a popularly elected Assembly, yet responsible, not to the body in whose eyes it has to justify its

every action, but to Parliament in this country. It is not difficult to imagine the sort of dilemma in which, in such circumstances, the Executive constantly finds itself. Whenever a measure comes up on which the Executive and the Legislature are at variance, there is one of three courses open to it: it can flout the Legislature, it can attempt to effect a compromise with it, or it can give way to it. No one of these courses can be anything but unsatisfactory. If it flouts the Legislature, it lays itself open to a widespread and vehement agitation on the platform and in the Press, in which it is depicted as a callous and irresponsible bureaucracy riding roughshod over the will of an expostulating but helpless people. If it is successful in effecting a compromise, it pleases neither itself nor its critics, whereas if it bows to the will of the Legislature, it acquiesces in something of which it disapproves and lays itself open to the obvious taunt of being vacillating and weak. Outstanding examples of the disastrous consequences of this state of affairs have been provided within recent times by the Rupee Ratio Act and the tariff measure with its provision for a preference for Lancashire.

THE PLAN OF THE STATUTORY COMMISSION

The Simon Commission were, of course, well aware of the difficulties of the situation. They were impressed with the importance of securing a strong and stable Government at the centre, especially in view of the changes which they were advocating in the provinces; yet if I may venture to make one criticism of what is as a whole, in my opinion, a most admirable Report, it is that their proposals in this respect were little calculated to secure the object which they had in view. With their recommendation that the members of the Central Legislature should be returned as representatives of the provinces by a system of indirect election I fully agree; that is, in my opinion, not only the proper way of forming a federal Legislature, but, in a country of the size and with the population of India, the only practicable way. But when the Commission, without conferring upon the Legislature any further responsibility than it possesses at the present time, recommend increasing its numbers by something not far short of

100 per cent., it seems to me that they are merely doubling the strength of the Government's critics without removing any of the objections to which the existing system is open. The case was put forcibly by Sir Malcolm Hailey and Sir George Lambert when they wrote that they were unable to find in an Assembly of the size suggested any promise of the stable Central Government which the Commission predicated.

"The picture which they [Sir M. Hailey and Sir G. Lambert] see [the despatch continued] is that of an Executive which must inevitably be in a position of pathetic impotence within the Legislature, and a Legislature which is bound to be in perpetual quest of means to reduce and, if possible, to nullify the authority of the Executive. So far from gaining in strength or stability by the change proposed, the Central Administration will occupy a position inferior to the markedly unfavourable situation in which it stands at present."*

How, then, is this, the outstanding weakness of the existing system, to be overcome? It seems to me that there is only one possible answer to that question, and it is this—by creating a Legislature which will be more in harmony with the Executive than any Legislature formed as at present is ever likely to be. In my view a Federal Legislature, formed on the lines proposed at the Round Table Conference, is likely to be a much more stable body than the existing Assembly, since it will contain powerful elements whose very real interest it will be to avoid constant clashes between the Legislature and the Executive. And the objections which many people in this country entertain to making the Executive at the centre in any way responsible to the Legislature should surely be met to a very great extent by the change proposed in the nature of the Legislature. Moreover, it seems improbable that the Princes will be prepared to give up any part of their sovereign powers without receiving some measure of control in a Federal Government in return.

Under the Act of 1919, Parliament has already delegated some part of its control over Indian affairs to Indian Governments in the provinces. If the recommendations of the Simon Commission are given effect to, it will delegate a very much larger measure of

* Despatch from the Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces, August 23, 1930.

its control to completely Indianized Governments responsible to Indian Parliaments in the provinces; and I am of opinion that the time has come when Parliament should be prepared to make a further transfer of control to a Federal Government at the centre. In short, I subscribe broadly to the recommendations made by the Federal Structure Committee, which I outlined very briefly at the beginning of my paper, and to the Report of Sub-Committee No. II. on the future form of government in the provinces.

THE SAFEGUARDS

It is, however, important to make it clear that my agreement to these proposals is dependent, as is that of the Conservative Delegation as a whole, upon the reservations and the safeguards, which I also outlined in my opening remarks, being made effective. I say that because I have noticed a tendency on the part of Mr. Gandhi and other members of the Congress to question the necessity of reservations, to minimize the importance of safeguards, and generally, as it seems to me on the information at my disposal, to display a certain lack of sincerity in their desire to come to any real agreement with us. I noticed, for example, that a statement was made not long ago on behalf of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in which it was claimed that "as India is negotiating for the terms on which she is to assume control of her destiny, it ought to be provided that the future Government of India will have the liberty to restrict the rights of non-nationals in their special spheres." Now I ask you to compare that statement with the declaration made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at the Round-Table Conference :

"I come now to commerce. What is the trouble about commerce? . . . We do not want to rob the Europeans of their capital. On the contrary, we are most anxious that our friends the Europeans, who have settled down in India or who carry on their business there, should feel that they have the same rights and privileges which genuine born Indians have. They are quite welcome to suggest any safeguards for their rights and interests, and we shall be more than willing to meet them."

It is important that some things should be made clear beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. One of those things is this—

that the constructive work already done by the Round-Table Conference cannot be blotted out merely in order to provide the Congress with a clean slate to write on. The Congress had every opportunity offered them of taking part in the Round-Table Conference last autumn had they desired to do so. They declined the invitation, and thereby showed themselves, if I may say so, to be singularly lacking in political wisdom. If they wish now to repair the blunder which they committed then, by all means let them do so; but let it be clear that if they now come into the Conference they come in where the Conference left off and not at a fresh beginning.

I have the greatest admiration for Mr. Gandhi as a prophet; I have no such opinion of his political ability. He has committed one act of political folly for which history, surely, will never forgive him, in that he has taught a people, by nature law-abiding, to hold in contempt the sanctity of law. A man who has proved himself capable of one such blunder may easily prove capable of perpetrating another. There is plenty of political wisdom in India, as was shown by those who attended the Round-Table Conference; and it is on the assumption that the work of the Round-Table Conference is carried on in future in the same spirit and by men of the same ability, wisdom, and foresight, as in the past, that I advocate the resumption of its labours.

A RIGHT PERSPECTIVE

Let me conclude with a few words of a more general character. The events of the past twelve months in India necessarily loom large upon the canvas. Yet they constitute but a single episode in a long story; a single detail in a vast picture. If you would see a true picture of the relations between Great Britain and India, you must step back from the canvas until you find such details falling into their proper perspective.

Only by so doing will you obtain a clear idea of the picture, so far as it has yet been painted, as a whole. And if we look at the picture with unbiassed eyes—not, I admit, a very easy thing to do for anyone, at any rate, who entertains preconceived ideas upon the subject—we can scarcely fail to come to the conclusion that

the completed picture which the artist has in mind is that of a self-governing India playing its part in the progress of mankind, making its special contribution to the material and the religious, the philosophical and the artistic, achievements of the world—to the civilization, in short, of the human race—as a willing partner in that great Commonwealth of Nations, that great federation of peoples, known by the name of the British Empire.

And if you take exception to the metaphor of a picture in this connection on the ground that no artist is to be seen at work, I would urge you to pause and look again. The artist is there, though you may call him by different names, according to the particular school of philosophy to which you belong. Those who see in the universe around them an expression of purpose and design will name him Providence; those who prefer a rationalistic interpretation of the universe will name him Evolution. Cast your eye over the history of the relations between the two countries during the past one hundred years—from the Act of 1833, which laid it down that no person, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour, should be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the East India Company, to the present day, when Indians have been appointed to the posts of Chief Justice of the High Courts, Governor of a province, member of the Executive Councils in the provinces, and when three of the seven members of the Cabinet of the Governor-General, the supreme executive authority in India, are Indians; and again from the Act of 1861, when the first small beginnings of a popular system of Government were made, to the Declaration of August 20, 1917, the Act of 1919, and the Round-Table Conference, and you will find ample justification for all that I have said as to the nature of the picture which is in process of being painted.

You cannot put back the hands of the clock; you cannot dam up the forces of evolution. What you can do is to endeavour to guide them along safe channels, and you can only do that with any hope of success by negotiation and by agreement. To me, then, it is inconceivable that we should not proceed with the work of the Round-Table Conference. To refuse to do so would be to

give posterity cause to say that this generation, by lack of vision and by lack of faith, had been responsible for one of the greatest catastrophes which could befall mankind—the permanent alienation of the peoples of the East from the peoples of the West.

In view of present tendencies in India on the part particularly of certain sections of the Congress, I do not deny the possibility of failure. But if failure is, indeed, to be our portion, let it not be from lack of striving for success. Let us at least go forward with clear consciences and with high courage, sustained by the knowledge that if we fail we at least shall be guiltless in the sight of God and in the eyes of men.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Tuesday, May 19, 1931, when a paper was read by the Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., entitled "The Round-Table Conference and After."

Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present :

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Lord and Lady Headley, the Maharajahdiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Basanta K. Mullick, Sir Charles Armstrong, Colonel Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir George Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., and Lady Barnes, Sir Hugh S. Barnes, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., and Lady Barnes, Sir B. Narsimha Sarma, K.C.S.I., Sir Amberson Marten, Sir Hubert Carr, Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Sir William Owens Clark, Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., Sir Alexander Stow, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Vincent, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Ralph Oakden, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., Sir Daniel Keymer, O.B.E., Sir Walter Willson, Sir Clement Hindley, K.C.I.E., Sir George Sutherland, Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Stanley Fisher, Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Major H. Blake Taylor, C.I.E., Lieut-Colonel S. B. A. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, C.H., Mr. Vincent J. Esch, C.V.O., Mr. H. Tonkinson, C.I.E., C.B.E., and Mrs. Tonkinson, Dr. M. B. Cameron, C.I.E., and Mrs. Cameron, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Mr. V. Boalth, C.B.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Lieut-Colonel J. H. Murray, C.I.E., the Hon. Mr. Justice Mirza Ali Akbar Khan and Mrs. Khan, Mr. and Mrs. O. C. G. Hayter, Mr. John Ross, Mauvi Farzand Ali, Mr. T. A. H. Way and Mrs. Way, Mr. G. H. Ormerod, Mr. R. A. Wilson, Mr. R. J. Stopford, Mrs. Gray, Mr. Richard Law, Mr. P. B. Haigh, the Hon. Mrs. Bailey, Miss C. K. Cumming, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Willmott, Major-General J. M. Walter, Mr. J. H. Lindsay, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. F. Grubb, Mrs. Nolan, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mrs. Hudson, Mrs. and Miss Latifi, Mr. H. L. Goodenough, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Colonel E. A. W. Hall, Colonel N. S. Coghill, Miss Severn, Lieut-Colonel D. Warliker, Mrs. Barns, Dr. A. Shah, Mr. H. B. Holme, Mr. F. C. Turner, Mrs. Bonnerjee, Mr. G. Pilcher, Mr. A. H. Joyce, Mr. S. P. Sur, Mr. Thurkill Cooke, Mr. Hardit Singh, Mr. L. Chaman, Mr. Syed Hamid Hussain, Mr. and Mrs. M. L. Chandra, Mr. G. F. Papati, Mr. Gerald Christy, Mr. Penman, Mr. J. P. Fletcher, Mrs. and Miss Collet Barns, Mrs. Rowan, Mrs. le Maistre, Miss H. Buchanan, Miss De Bathe, Colonel and Mrs. Applin, Mr. H. S. Ashton, Mr. P. E. Percival, Miss Speechley,

Mr. S. Byers, Rev. A. W. Young, Miss Drummond, Mr. Victor E. G. Hussey, and Mr. F. H. Brown, c.i.e., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my pleasure and privilege to introduce Lord Zetland to you. He is well known to you all as a distinguished traveller, a great biographer, and ex-President of the Geographical Society, a writer on Indian subjects, and he was also one of the most able governors who has ever been to India. Therefore it is quite superfluous for me to say anything about him. Although one may not always agree with him, one can always be sure that whatever he has to say will be very carefully thought out, very moderately stated, and admirably and clearly expressed in scholarly English. (Applause.)

The MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN said that he thought they would all welcome the paper which Lord Zetland had read in connection with the Round-Table Conference which had sat in London in the autumn of last year and the beginning of the present year. Lord Zetland had made a strong plea as to the necessity of continuing the work of the Conference. He had told them that they could not put back the hands of the clock and could not dam up the forces of evolution. The Maharaja said that they could, however, avoid catch phrases. They knew that, in spite of the weighty pronouncement of the then Viceroy, Lord Irwin, in 1929, the Round-Table Conference itself had had to recognize that expressions like "Dominion status" and similar expressions were dangerous by themselves and that safeguards would have to be introduced into the future Constitution of India. For this reason, those of them who believed in the British Constitution and in the continuance of the British connection with India desired that the solution should come by an ordered progress. It was no use hiding the fact that events in India during the past twelve months had been a very great strain on the loyalty of the loyal section of Indians, and they had yet to see whether Mr. Gandhi, the Mahatma, had been able to convince and bring round the executive of the present Indian National Congress to take the same view which he and the late Viceroy, Lord Irwin, had taken with regard to the safeguards which had been advocated by the Round-Table Conference; they had yet to know whether the Congress would support Mr. Gandhi in his desire to fulfil the promises which he had made to Lord Irwin. They did not know, for instance, how far the Youth Movement in India sympathized with or drew its inspirations from the pronouncement recently made at Moscow in a paper called the *Pravda* and quoted in *The Times* of May 12, which he would read:

"Complete independence for India by the violent destruction of British authority." "Abolition of all debts." "Nationalization of all British enterprises, banks, railways, shipping, and plantations." "Establishment of a Soviet Government." "Destruction of native principalities." "Creation of an Indian Federation of Soviet Republics." "Confiscation without compensation of all lands belonging to landlords, Native Princes, churches, the British Government, and officials." "Cancellation of all contracts and peasants' debts to banks."

He was very pleased to read in the morning paper that the Secretary of State for India, in reply to a question asked in the House of Commons on

the previous evening, had said that the published results of a conversation between Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi showed that the constitutional discussions were to be resumed on the scheme outlined by the Round-Table Conference, which meant that reservation of safeguards in the interests of India for such matters would not be lost sight of, but he personally thought that was not enough. For the past twelve months India had been looking for pronouncements from the India Office and from the British Cabinet rather than from the Government of India. This, along with the recent events in India, must make them realize that, unwittingly perhaps, the prestige of the British Government in India was not at its highest, because people thought they could get what they wanted by following Mr. Gandhi or making demands from the British Parliament. He therefore earnestly hoped that before the Round-Table Conference resumed its meetings that an authoritative pronouncement by the Viceroy would be made in order to assure all communities and all parties in India that there would be no going back on the safeguards that were arrived at by the Round-Table Conference last year, and that no reassemblage of the Conference in London without those safeguards would be permitted.

He wished he could share Lord Irwin's optimism about the Mahatma. Khaddar national flags or loin cloths might have a picturesque effect in India as emblems of simplicity, but any theatrical walking out of the Conference by Mr. Gandhi or his followers would have a very different effect in London. Everybody who had the welfare of India at heart would realize that any departure from the conclusions arrived at at the Round-Table Conference would be a great disaster to India. By all means let the Conference resume its work, but they must not let the benefit of the work of his friend, the Right Hon. Srinavasa Sastri (whose patriotism and desire to see a contented India could not be questioned), of men like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Muhammed Shafi (who had at one time shared the responsibilities of the Central Government in India), and the great help that the Indian Princes had given, be lost, not to speak of the help given by those who represented the three British parties at the Round-Table Conference. So long as this point was not lost sight of, he agreed with Lord Zetland in thinking that the sooner the Round-Table Conference met to complete its deliberations, the better. (Applause.)

Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI said he wished to congratulate Lord Zetland on the spirit in which his paper had been couched. He specially admired the recommendation that he had made that the work of the Conference must be resumed in a spirit of great faith and the highest courage. That was the only method of saving both Great Britain and India from what might prove to be an irretrievable disaster. Lord Zetland had with great caution, but at the same time with great firmness, struck a note of fear as regards the extent of the freedom which Gandhi and the Congress people generally would demand when they came to the Round-Table Conference, and that they might wish to reopen many things which it was thought had been settled and possibly unsettle them. He did not share that fear. Nevertheless, there were some considerations which must be remembered. The work of the Round-Table Conference was characterized by nothing so much as by a

universal desire on the part of both the European and Indian members that their conclusions should not be considered to be fixed and immutable, but that every member who gave his assent to those conclusions gave only a provisional assent and left himself free to reconsider the situation whenever he had seen that the results did not promise the success that he had anticipated. It was remarkable that member after member evinced this desire to reopen and revise everything. In fact, critics of the work of the Conference had fastened upon this feature of its work as being a thing calculated to suggest a certain amount of futility and unimportance. When those who were present throughout the Conference took part in its discussions, and became responsible, as it were, for its work, were so uncertain as actually to require freedom to depart from all to which they had given their assent, and came away from the Conference with that spirit of diffidence, how could they be surprised when they found others, who were perfect strangers to the Conference, anxious to discuss everything afresh? It might be inconvenient and risky, and he was by no means happy that it should be the case, but if those who came for the first time to the work of the Conference asked for the same freedom which they had stipulated for themselves, it was certainly not a matter for surprise.

From what he knew of Mr. Gandhi, he could tell them that he was coming to the Conference with a resolve to help as far as he could, and certainly not to destroy its work. He had had opportunities for personal discussion of the entire work of the Conference with Mr. Gandhi, and of speaking with those among whom Mr. Gandhi moved and from whom he derived his knowledge and guidance. Although he was not over-confident, he had a strong belief that when Gandhi came to the Conference, although many matters might be discussed again and many things which they had thought to be closed would be reopened, the work of the Conference would be strengthened and placed beyond the hazards of the political situation in India. He hoped that the British people would not allow themselves to be swayed too much by the note of pessimism which was often struck in speeches in Parliament and elsewhere, but would permit the work of the Conference to be resumed and carried forward to a successful issue. Lord Zetland had by no means overdrawn the picture when he said, at the end of his address, that perhaps the fortunes of mankind were involved in the way in which they approached this problem. Great faith and high hope were required, and he was perfectly certain that those were qualities that were to be found in the national characteristics of a people who had built up a great Empire and who were now called upon to preserve it. (Applause.)

Professor RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS said he was glad to have an opportunity of paying his respectful tribute to Lord Zetland for the excellence of the paper which they had heard. He was sure they would all agree that the paper had discharged two supremely useful functions. In the first place, it had given many of them who were not actually associated with the Conference itself a picture in its true perspective of much of what went on behind the curtain, which was a useful corrective to much that they had heard and read. In the second place, he ventured to think that the paper had inspired them with a new courage and a new confidence, for although

Lord Zetland had not minimized the difficulties and indeed the dangers which were present to the minds of everyone so far as the Indian situation was concerned, he had encouraged his hearers to face those dangers in a spirit which, as all trusted, would cause them to disappear. In this connection he associated himself with the remarks of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri in regard to his conception of Mr. Gandhi's attitude. Such information as he personally had from India—and it was part of his business to keep in as close touch as the air mail and the cable permitted—led him to believe with Mr. Srinivasa Sastri that Mr. Gandhi, if and when he came to England to participate in the resumed deliberations of the Round-Table Conference, would come with a desire to construct and not to destroy.

From his own point of view, the part of Lord Zetland's paper which interested him most was not so much "The Round-Table Conference," because he himself had been privileged to know something of what went on behind the scenes there, but the second part of the title of the paper—"and After." It might seem to some of them that there had been an inexplicable delay in resuming the work of the Conference. It might be asked, if the Conference had been so successful, how was it that it had not been restarted? Reflection would probably show that such criticism was more obvious than useful. It was plainly impossible fruitfully to resume the deliberations of the Conference while a large number of outstanding questions still loomed large before them. There was the communal question in particular. There was also a large amount of spade work to be done in preparing data for the sub-committees of the Conference and for the Conference itself before further useful work could be achieved. To call the Conference together either while the great communal question remained in its present condition, or before the necessary data covering the tentative conclusions of the last session had been collected, would have been fruitless; but in his opinion it was unfair to accuse either the British Government or the Government of India of causing unnecessary delay. A large amount of work had been done in both countries.

In this connection he wished to direct their attention to the solid constructive work which the Indian Princes had endeavoured to undertake since the breaking up of the Conference. Quite plainly the problems which beset the Indian States in regard to their adherence to any future confederation were many and complex. There was, for example, the problem of representation in the new Federal Legislatures; there was the problem of grouping the States. In regard to both of those questions a considerable change had come over the situation since the Round-Table Conference.

In November last the rulers of Bhopal and Bikaner had been, as it were, the vedettes of the Chamber of Princes. But since then the members of the Indian States Delegation who had returned to India had done a great deal of very useful work among their brother Princes, not merely among the greater Princes, but also among the smaller ones. The result had been the resolution of the Chamber of Princes in its last session, which was one of the largest meetings of the Chamber yet held, which resolution had been unanimously passed to the effect that the principle of federation was accepted subject to two conditions, the first being that the British connection

should be maintained, and secondly, that when the federal scheme had been hammered out the ultimate adherence of each particular individual State must be a matter for that individual State itself. This was a constitutional position which no one could question.

But what perhaps was most significant was that the Indian Princes at this meeting of the Chamber proceeded to re-elect to the Standing Committee the Princes on the Indian States Delegation to the Round-Table Conference, besides authorizing them, in continuation of last year's mandate, to continue the exploration of the scheme of federation. Nor had the matter been neglected so far as the smaller States were concerned. Soon after his departure from England, the Chief Sahib of Sangli, the representative of the smaller States at the Round-Table Conference, had held a large meeting at Bombay at which there were present representatives of something like 250 of the smaller States. And although the smaller States were in a very difficult position because federation offered to them all the dangers and none of the attractions which it presented to the larger States, that highly representative meeting had approved the general principle of federation and commended the work of their chief representative at the London Conference.

When the audience were counting up the chances of the success of the next session of the Round-Table Conference and trying to recognize the forces which were likely to turn the tide in favour of success, they must remember the efforts which had been made by the Indian Princes, particularly the present Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, to find a tentative solution to the communal question. The work which had been done by the Nawab of Bhopal was well worth remarking. This Prince was endeavouring to bring together the two wings of the Muhammadan community to a common understanding in order that Gandhi might have the advantage he had asked for during the last three months—namely, a united demand on the part of the Muhammadans in India. The effort was praiseworthy and might well be successful. For it was disclosing no secret to say that while the Conference was in session in London the differences which divided the Hindus and Muslims was never nearer settlement than on one particular evening when certain Princes, out of pure goodwill for their country as a whole, endeavoured to mediate between the two communities. He was glad to see that that work had been continued in India with, he believed, every prospect of success. He thought it was not only British India which was eager for the resumption of the Round-Table Conference, but it was the Indian States as well. And while much spade work was going on in British India, and while the deliberations which had been going on during the last few days in Simla were likely to lead to tangible results, he invited the audience to remember that the Indian States were continuing to display the same helpful and patriotic spirit towards their own country and towards the British connection which they had displayed at the Conference itself. (Applause.)

Mr. YUSUF ALI said that Lord Zetland had spoken of painting and pictures, but he was sure he would forgive him if he reminded him that the lecturer himself had played the part of a psychological painter with no mean

success. The picture he had drawn was so full of character, so full of proportion and so full of perspective, that it seemed almost a pity that he (the speaker) should add any remarks that might seem like blots on the picture. In conference and in friendly consultation it was always desirable that they should speak their minds freely and discuss matters, not merely taking for granted the views of other people, however great their authority. It was desirable that they should state their own views and contribute to the general advancement of collective opinion, whatever the individual value of those views might be.

Lord Zetland had stated that in India there were 220 languages. That figure had evidently been taken from a statement in the Simon Report, which again had been taken from a statement in the Linguistic Survey of India. The statement was calculated to mislead. There were not 220 mutually unintelligible languages in India. Lord Zetland knew perfectly well, as did everybody who knew India, that there were approximately a dozen principal vernaculars, divided into two main groups. The Aryan group consisted of languages which were not wholly mutually unintelligible, as was proved by the fact that, in the Congress proceedings, Hindi or Hindustani had been used as a common basis for discussion in that big Assembly. There was, of course, the question of the Dravidian languages; but they, too, had absorbed a large number of Sanskritic words and some words from Hindustani and neighbouring vernaculars. He did not think that they would add to the understanding of the situation if they directed their attention to the small difficulties.

Another small point was that in some places in his address Lord Zetland had incorrectly referred to the community to which he personally belonged as Muhammadans instead of Muslims. Official phraseology in these matters was not consistent with itself. Nor was Lord Zetland, who had used the correct as well as the incorrect term. The use of incorrect terms often prejudices an argument to uninstructed minds. However, these were small points. Coming to the main point, Lord Zetland had very rightly tried to deal with and correct the mischievous misapprehensions about the Conference and its work in England. He wished that a similar task could be performed with regard to the distorted ideas of the Round-Table Conference in India. When they read the newspapers and studied the speeches of Indian leaders, even those who were not behind the scenes at the Conference realized how widely some of the impressions sedulously circulated in India had departed from the realities. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri would probably agree with him when he said that even some of the delegates to the Round-Table Conference, when they went back to India, gave expression to views about the Conference proceedings which certainly sounded strange when compared with the Blue Book records which had appeared in England.

It was of the utmost importance that these impressions should be clarified and corrected, and before the Conference resumed its work it was also important that some basis of agreement as to principles should be reached. It was quite true that certain general principles had been laid down or suggested, but nothing was settled or could be settled in the haze that surrounded the proceedings. It was a fact that many of the words used in

those proceedings had been interpreted in so many different senses by different individuals and different parties at different times that they would get no further if they continued to plough the sands on a go-as-you-please shore at a future Conference. It was of the utmost importance that they should have clearly defined ideas in their own minds. They might differ or they might agree, but the work of the Conference was to clarify ideas, to bring into focus the differences and the points at issue, and to reach some understanding which would help them in reaching a real solution of the difficulties. Evasion or a tabulation of vague points or alternatives was no solution.

Lord Zetland, in speaking of the future, had used words to the following effect: "We want for the centre to create a Legislature more in harmony with the Executive than is the case at present." He respectfully suggested that it would perhaps be more helpful to approach the question from the opposite angle—namely, that they should create an Executive which was more in harmony with the Legislature such as was contemplated, so that the work of government could be carried on smoothly. If they continued to retain the Executive as it existed at present or as it had been fixed by previous experience in wholly different conditions, he thought they would fail to make the progress which they all desired. He did not say that the Legislature should be recruited in the same way or function as it does now, or that the electorate should be the same, but he did say that in forming a workable Constitution it would be necessary not only for the Legislature to be reformed to fit in with the Executive, but for the Executive also to be reformed to fit in with the Legislature. The approach should be from both sides.

To his mind, one of the most important points to which the lecturer had drawn attention was the atmosphere of the contempt of the law which had been preached and which was prevalent at the present time in India. As long as that atmosphere persisted, no Conference could ever succeed; it might succeed nominally and on paper, but it would not succeed in working out a solution of the problems. He was only speaking for himself, but he believed he was representing the situation truly when he said that the position of the Muslims had undergone considerable alteration since the Round-Table Conference. They had had the riots at Benares and Agra, and organized murder, pillage, and arson in Cawnpore. While the Cawnpore Inquiry was still pending, he did not wish to make any dogmatic assertions, but he did say that what had happened at Benares, Agra, and Cawnpore had put the Muslims into a very awkward position. They did not want to obstruct the progress of the country; they wanted to help their fellow-countrymen to achieve the greatest measure of self-government that it was possible to achieve; they wanted to help the Indian Princes and, within reason, to profit by their advice and experience; they wanted to help the Administration in difficulties which its own policy had created and their British fellow-subjects to unite with them for the good of the country, but at the same time they felt it as a matter of life and death that they must insist upon a proper understanding of the position of all the minorities concerned in India. (Hear, hear.) Subject to that, they would co-operate

whole-heartedly to end the present state of suspense and uncertainty. He hoped that when the Conference resumed its work it would not forget that the Congress party was not the only party in India which was of importance. He hoped that at the new Conference, if the Congress party came in, they would help in forming a Constitution which would be satisfactory to all, not merely based upon catch words or phrases which had been bandied about in moments of mass excitement, but upon the solid basis of past experience and the best principles of political justice and equality. (Applause.)

The MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, in reply, said there appeared to be a great spirit of agreement between all the speakers. He was very grateful for the remarks of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri as to the hopes expressed in his paper with regard to the attitude of Gandhi. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri had every right to speak of Gandhi—indeed, a far greater right than he personally had. His own view with regard to Gandhi was that he sometimes allowed his emotions to get the better of his reason. He accepted with gratitude and due humility the mild censure which Mr. Yusuf Ali had passed upon him for speaking about the 220 different languages in India; but he would remind him that the words he had used in the paper were “dialects” and languages. He had not intended to suggest that India was quite such a “babel” as the statement that there were 220 different languages would naturally suggest. On the other hand, he was not sure that Mr. Yusuf Ali had not a little underrated the importance of the language question. He had spoken about two great divisions of the languages. As a matter of fact, the 220 dialects belonged to no less than six different families of speech, and he was inclined to ask Mr. Yusuf Ali if he thought that universal adult suffrage at the moment was desirable or practicable in India. He noticed that Mr. Yusuf Ali shook his head. In conclusion, he would like to say how much he appreciated Sir Harcourt Butler’s kindness in having consented to take the chair, because he was a busy man. Sir Harcourt Butler had been a great administrator in India and knew it well. (Applause.)

Lord LAMINGTON (President of the Association) expressed his regret that H.M. Government had so strangely failed to avail themselves of the advice and counsel of Sir John Simon on the Indian question since the issue of the Report of the Statutory Commission nearly a year ago. He proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and the chairman, which was carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of the lecturer and himself, the proceedings closed.

THE PLACE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE NEW INDIA

BY THE REV. W. PATON

(Secretary, International Missionary Council)

THE title of this paper may seem to beg at least one important question. To some the words "new India" suggest an over-emphasis on temporary and superficial elements in the life of India; they consider that in everything that matters India is still the old India. I do not share this view, but I must begin somewhere and assume something. Therefore, without staying to attempt any exposition of the points, I will assert that changes of a profound and far-reaching character have come over India and are yet not nearly spent; that they affect not only the outer integument of life, but also its inner spirit; and that the national consciousness, so strongly shown in political affairs, extends into every part of national life.

These facts are, I think, familiar to us all, we only differ as to the depth and seriousness we attribute to them. But we do not so often observe the acute tension which is set up in many minds by the nationalist movement in thought. It is a tension between two emotions; on the one hand an impatience of foreign influence and authority, on the other a steadily increasing sense of a world standard of values; on the one hand *Swadeshi*, Indian things for Indian men, on the other a sensitiveness to world criticism of social custom. Those who jeer at young India, because it wants Parliaments and in the same breath denounces the West from which Parliaments come, are wasting their time, for that contradiction is of the essence of the problem, ethical, social, and religious, that Indians have to solve.

Of the foreign influences that have invaded India I suppose no one would deny that Christian missions have been among the chief. In mere bulk they are a considerable fact: their schools and colleges, hospitals and dispensaries, workshops, welfare

centres, and co-operative societies amount to a really great contribution to the welfare of India. Yet this is perhaps the least important aspect of them; their importance to the historian of India will be found in the realm of ideas. The much-vaunted Macaulay had really less to do with the beginnings of English education in India than the Scottish missionary Duff; it has even been said, though an English audience cannot be expected to believe it, that to write the lives of three eminent Scottish missionaries would be to write the history of modern Indian education. As to religion, a standard book such as the late J. N. Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements in India* shows to demonstration that the teachings of Christianity have exercised a deep influence on the religions of India themselves, apart from their direct influence on those who have embraced the Christian faith.

Moreover, it is surely true that the Christian missionary enterprise has received much help and support from the established Government of India. I do not forget the neutrality of Government; not a few officials who have themselves been devoted Christians have, in the expressive American phrase, "leaned over backwards" in the effort to preserve their rigid official neutrality. Nevertheless, almost every mission in India knows of help given in securing suitable land for building, or in steering through applications for educational grants, or in personal counsel when difficulties arise, which would not have been given if Government had been, broadly speaking, other than friendly. Nor is this true only of British officials. The attitude of Indian Ministers has on the whole been most friendly, and I can think of several cases in the last year or two where quite remarkably generous grants have been voted to building schemes of Christian colleges by the popularly elected Legislative Councils. So much has this been the case that one is tempted to feel, when one compares the Indian situation with that in Turkey, or China, or even Japan, that in India we have been spoiled. Mr. Arthur Mayhew in his brilliant book *The Education of India* holds that missions have allowed themselves insensibly to accommodate their work and standards in education to those of Government, and that the result

has been a loss of initiative. However that may be, it is at least plain that under the régime that has existed during the last hundred years Christian missions have not been able to complain of any unfriendliness on the part of the established authority of the country.

MR. GANDHI'S STATEMENT

What does the future hold? What sort of changes are likely to come about? What should be the disposition of missionary authorities towards them? The question has been forced into prominence by the recent and widely quoted remarks of Mr. Gandhi. I quote from the corrected version given in *Young India* for April 23:

"If instead of confining themselves purely to humanitarian work such as education, medical services to the poor, and the like, they (the missionaries) would use these activities of theirs for the purpose of proselytizing, I would certainly like them to withdraw. Every nation considers its own faith to be as good as that of any other. Certainly the great faiths held by the people of India are adequate for her people. India stands in no need of conversion from one faith to another."

He goes on to amplify these remarks. Why should he change his religion because a doctor who professes another religion has cured him of a disease? Why should he have Christianity thrust on him in a missionary educational institution? He is not against true conversion, but religion is a matter of the heart. "If a man has a living faith in him, it spreads its aroma like the rose its scent." Clearly he means that spiritual conversion should take place within the bounds, so to speak, of a man's own faith, for he goes on to say that India's great faiths are all-sufficing for her. All faiths are equally dear to their adherents and all are imperfect.

Those who are familiar with Mr. Gandhi's utterances find nothing here that is different from what he has been steadily saying for many years. Any thought that he is uttering a threat to use compulsion to exclude missionaries from a self-governing India is, I think, hardly to be got out of the language used, and he has recently made things clear by the somewhat sardonic remark that he is sure that missionaries will go on proselytizing in ways that he does not approve in a Swaraj India just as they do now! But while he does not go further than to express a

personal judgment and hope, a definite demand that the future Constitution of India should forbid proselytism has been made by Mr. K. Natarajan, the editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* and a lifelong warrior in the cause of social righteousness.

"The conception of sovereignty in a monarchy is not a wholly secular one, and there must be something in the conditions attaching to it to indicate a spiritual contact between the Sovereign and the subject. It is against the immemorial tradition of India to impose a disability on any religion. We cannot ask that the King of the Indian Dominion should not profess the Christian faith. But we think India may, and should, ask that the Coronation oath should contain a solemn undertaking on the part of the Sovereign to be the Protector of the ancient religious faiths of this country. The present principle of religious neutrality must be replaced by a principle of active and appreciative protection. The most important consequence of the change will be that organized religious proselytism having for its purpose the seduction of His Majesty's subjects from their ancestral faiths will be barred, as the King, being the Protector of all religions, cannot let one of them wage war against another."*

In the issue of his paper for May 2, Mr. Natarajan concludes an attack on "proselytizing missions" by the statement that a national Indian Government, "while according perfect freedom to everyone to worship God according to his conscience or custom, will not tolerate insidious ways of undermining another's faith under cover of relieving him of malaria or toothache."

THE CHALLENGE TO MISSIONS

It is worth while to look at these statements, for the men who make them, whether they speak for many or for few, are of a character and seriousness not to be disregarded. There are two different points made. There is the challenge to missionary methods, to the use of the school or college or hospital. There is the deeper denial of the right to ask another to change his religion. Let us look at these two things separately.

I do not at all wish to pose as one who regards all that missions have ever done as beyond criticism. There is a very great deal of self-criticism inside the missionary movement; I would go so far as to say that missionaries are more willing to submit their methods

* *Indian Social Reformer*, "How Can India be a Dominion?" March 29, 1930.

to rigorous criticism and to conceive of radical departures in policy than are most religious leaders here at home. We have made plenty of mistakes, and we have again and again admitted them in the most public ways. But I hold that the view of missionary work in education and medicine, given in the extracts I have quoted, is utterly grotesque and misleading.

I know a good many missionary doctors, but I have never met one who was guilty of the curious *non sequitur* involved in the demand that because he has healed a man of a disease the man should become a Christian. That really is not the inner logic of the matter. A missionary doctor is a doctor who has a missionary vocation. The medium through which he can best express the ideals of love and service that inspire him is the art of healing, and that he tries to practise with such professional thoroughness and resources as may be within his power. Lately the representative body of the missionary doctors in India has gone out of its way to deny the view that medical skill is to be used as a sort of evangelistic bait; for them their medical service is a part of the expression in act of the spirit of their Master. Of course, they hope that their witness will be heeded, and they will offer teaching to those who will receive it, but the idea that a mission hospital exists to take a propagandist advantage of the sick and suffering would not, I am confident, survive intimate acquaintance with any average mission hospital. After all, it is not without significance that it is on the fanatical North-West Frontier that some of the most famous medical mission work has been done.

Another point which has occurred to me in this connection is the rapidly growing interest taken by medical missionaries in preventive medicine. A little reflection is enough to show that people whose whole object was the securing of adherents at any price would not concern themselves with preventive medicine, but with the more emotional results to be sought inside the hospital.

MISSIONARY EDUCATION

Or take the schools and colleges. I have already hinted that it may perhaps be urged as a charge against the missionary colleges that they have been too little Christian, and that the mighty

machine of which they have become part has grown too strong for them. It is scarcely possible to say with fairness that they have subordinated real education to the recruiting zeal of the propagandist. Here, again, the idea that education is a kind of bait held out to ensnare the guileless youth in the propagandist's net is repudiated in every missionary gathering where it is mentioned, and it is never mentioned except to be repudiated, as a false theory held much more, I fear, by some supporters of missions than by those who do the work. No keen teacher could ever treat his teaching office so cheaply as that.

The missionary schools offer what they believe to be a Christian education; they may often fail to reach their own standard, but what they set out to do is to provide, by corporate life and by teaching, an initiation into the Christian view of life, and by that I mean a view of history and science and philosophy and of the social life of man which finds the deepest truth of them all in the mind and will of God. As to freedom and compulsion, it is perhaps rather a debating point to say that no one need come to a Christian school unless he wants to come. I would rather point to the fact that missionary opinion, though not unanimously, does now largely support the idea of the conscience clause, and still more to the extraordinary affection inspired in generations of pupils by the greatest missionary educationists. If a man like William Miller was a name to conjure with all over South India, we may be quite certain that his Christianity was not so narrowly controversial as some would have us believe.

From another angle one may see the real work of Christian education in India. It is, I think, generally admitted that in the training of village primary teachers such institutions as the well-known one at Moga in the Punjab have done invaluable pioneering service. They have adapted the methods worked out by educational science in the West to the needs of the backward classes in India, and have offered a contribution of the highest value to the solution of the great educational problem of India, which is not merely that of the multiplication of schools but also of discovering something which is effective enough and simple enough to be worth multiplying in the villages.

Or, again, take the varied forms of rural service. When I was in India last winter I found in several places what are being called "rural reconstruction units" under the ægis of missions. A unit is a convenient group of contiguous villages, through which a coherent and systematic range of activities is carried on, through the bank and the hospital, the school and the home and the church. The end of it all is to seek to build up a genuinely rural Christian society, in which the virtue of the countryside is made more and not less characteristic.

Now, in all this there is a perfectly unambiguous Christian aim, and with that I shall deal in a moment. But it is a fair reply to the challenge I quoted earlier in this paper if I can show that the object of missionary work is not merely to gain adherents but to do something real with and for them; that it is not the mere gathering of numbers but the transformation of life that counts; and that the skill of the doctor or the teacher or the economist is used not as craft and guile but as a part of the good gift of God whereby we may honour Him and make Him known.

THE TRUE EVANGELISM

This takes us, I think, into the heart of this matter of proselytism. It is a word loosely used, but its meaning ought not to be in doubt. Jesus Christ condemned proselytism when he spoke of those who compassed sea and land to make one proselyte and then made him more a child of hell than themselves. I take proselytism to be that kind of activity that counts numbers only, that values the increase of adherents beyond the real change in heart and in society, and that is consequently not too scrupulous as to the methods to be employed. I hope that that mind and temper will never become characteristic of the missionary movement, and I am very certain that it is not so today.

But there is another view, different both from that, and also from the view of Mr. Gandhi that all religions are in a sense equally true. It is the view which inspires all true evangelism. Let me quote some words from a statement published in 1924 by the National Christian Council of India just after the conference held at Delhi on the subject of "Unity" between the

great communities of India, under the shadow of Mr. Gandhi's twenty-one day fast.

"We welcome the clear vindication of the right of every man to follow after religious truth, to practise the worship of God according to his conscience, to witness to that which he believes, and to invite others to share in it. We agree that for the accomplishment of a spiritual task such as conversion no means should be employed save such as are consonant with that end. . . . We affirm that the Christian motive in the work of evangelism is the overmastering sense of the love of God, having as its objective the bringing of men and women into the fellowship of the society of Jesus Christ, in which they have equal rights with ourselves."

Even in this mixed assembly I think I shall not be misunderstood if I speak quite frankly about this. It is one of the real differences between Hinduism and Christianity that the former has been the religious culture, in infinite variety, of the Hindu people, while the latter is and has always been an international and an evangelizing religion. I cannot do more here than note that fact, but, of course, it is fundamental. Islam is in this respect like Christianity, so in some degree is Buddhism.

Mr. Gandhi displays his profoundly Hindu mind in all that he says on this issue. I do not expect that a loyal Hindu will agree with or approve the zeal of Christians to lead him to share the truth about God and man as they see it, but I hope that they may see that this view can be held in perfect humility. Let me put it very simply by saying that Christian evangelism is concerned with Christ, not with the virtues or superiorities of Christians. If we are right in what we believe about Christ, then who are we that we should keep it to ourselves? It is fruitless to discuss this question unless we face the fact that all down the centuries there has been this religious universalism deep in the heart of Christianity, and I would add that there will always be.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Now, we have to ask the question, Will there be in the new India room for this religious impulse to be expressed? I believe that there will. You may dismiss that 1924 Unity Conference at Delhi as having accomplished little, but it was never repudiated, and it agreed unequivocally to the freedom of the individual to

practise his own religion, to preach it to others, and to change his faith if he desired. The recent Karachi meeting of the Indian National Congress passed a declaration of rights including an assertion of the freedom of every individual to profess and practise his religion without hindrance. It is hard to see what meaning religious liberty has if there is no liberty to change. I can see no ground for believing that the India of the future will deny the individual his right to religious freedom in the fullest sense.

But we must face also the fact that this right is at least more obvious when it is claimed by Indians in India than when it is claimed by foreigners. Ideally it should not be so. In a settled country like England, immensely sure of itself and long schooled in practical social democracy, we resent any infringement of the fullest freedom. We should, I think, object to any proposal for the compulsory removal of the Muhammadan missions in this country. Any of us who are Christians would deeply regret to see Christian Englishmen becoming Muslims, but I hope we should think it also wrong that the Muslim evangelist should be forbidden.

Still, I think it ought to be admitted that the case for the foreigner is mixed up with other things. When we defend the right of missionary freedom we are defending more than the right to private religious witness. We are defending the right to carry on an organized propaganda through a variety of agencies. It may be argued by a government, as by China today, that the teaching of any religion in the schools is to be avoided, or, as by the Turks, that foreign schools are a denationalizing influence. The grounds on which liberty to carry on religious schools in a foreign country is to be claimed and defended need to be carefully examined. It is worth mentioning that in the Mandates this right is conceded expressly, subject to the necessities of public order. It is, however, plain from the example in the last two years of Persia, China, and Turkey that new governments look jealously at the schools and are particularly afraid of any tendency to use them as instruments of an anti-national or denationalizing culture.

THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

This leads me to what I believe to be the crucial point for future policy. The whole task of missions in India ought to be so intimately bound up with Indian Christianity that the freedom of the one is the freedom of the other, and that there is no feeling in the minds of Indians that the securing of religious freedom for themselves is one thing and the securing of freedom for missionary activity quite another. It may not be known to members of this Association how great have been the developments in this direction during recent years. Everywhere missions are working in the closest co-operation with indigenous churches; responsibilities that used to be held by missionaries are now more and more being held by Indian Christians. There are close parallels all along the line between the action taken in the State and the action taken in the Church.

The method of development naturally differs with the different types of ecclesiastical organization, but everywhere there is a clear recognition that the permanent thing is the Church, not the mission. This is reflected in the fact that the International Missionary Council represents not only the missionary bodies of the West, but also the indigenous Churches of the East and Africa. Indian Christians are not satisfied with the speed at which development is going on, and the commission over which the Master of Balliol presided, which has just returned from an investigation of the Christian colleges of India, found that great interest was everywhere taken in the closer relating of the colleges to the Church and the diminution of foreignness in control and organization. Popular as the greatest Christian colleges are, the Indian Christians hardly yet feel them to be *theirs*.

I suggest, then, that the true approach to the problem of missionary freedom in the India of the future is to associate it closely with the religious freedom of Indians. But I do not urge the closer identification of the missions with Indian life and leadership out of merely prudential motives; that would be altogether unworthy of the cause. I must say frankly that against the difficulties and restrictions which might conceivably be

brought to missionary work in India of the future, I should set as a gain the removal of the inhibition which the inevitable association of the Christian religion with the foreign régime brings about. Everything foreign will be looked at more fairly in India when once the issue of government is settled. But Christianity ought to be looked at not as something foreign, but as something international or supra-national, able to become truly naturalized in every land.

As I understand the mind of my own Indian Christian friends, they want the fellowship and help of the Church in the West, and we ought to help them to feel that the whole structure of missionary work in India is theirs as well as ours; ours, indeed, only to be theirs. The Indian Church has an immense opportunity in India today. It has through its leaders taken a courageous attitude on communal questions; it has international links as no other community in India has; its educational tradition should enable it to put the scientific mind behind the loving heart in facing the needs of India, and that is what is so sorely needed. The future of Christian missions in India is bound up with the initiative, the vision and the religious devotion of the Indian Church.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, June 9, 1931, at which a paper was read by the Rev. W. Paton on "The Place of Christian Missions in the New India." The Most Hon. the Marquess of Lothian, C.H., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., the Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Basanta Mullick, the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, C.H., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Nawab Sir Umar Kayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Lady Kensington, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Perceval Hall, Mr. A. L. Saunders, C.S.I., Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Colonel D. Warliker, Mr. H. N. Hutchinson, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. J. B. Hall, Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. C. F. Strickland, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. E. Marsden, Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Harris, Mr. M. B. Cameron, C.I.E., Professor P. Seshadri, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Willmott, Canon Stacy Waddy, Mr. J. K. Das Gupta, Miss M. Brown, Miss Corfield, Mrs. Nolan, Miss C. K. Cumming, Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Mrs. Latifi, Miss R. Anderson, Mrs. Dreschfield, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. B. Ward Perkins, Mr. M. L. Chandra, Rev. E. S. Carr, Miss Beadon, Mr. S. P. Sur, Mr. G. Q. Khan, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in welcoming you here this afternoon on behalf of the East India Association, which, as you know, was founded in 1866 to promote the welfare of the inhabitants of India. I am the more glad to preside over this meeting today because your lecturer is going to deal with a subject which has been very much in people's minds for the last month or two, and which concerns one of the fundamentals which underlie all civilized government. I do not think I need say anything to introduce Mr. William Paton to you; he is the Secretary of the International Missionary Council, and he has only recently returned from India, where he was during the negotiations between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin.

(The paper was then read.)

The HON. SECRETARY read the following letter, dated Cheltenham, June 8, from Dr. E. J. Palmer, Assistant Bishop of Gloucester, and late Bishop of Bombay:

DEAR MR. BROWN,

You ask me to send you remarks on Mr. Paton's interesting paper as I cannot come to the meeting at which it will be read. In acceding to your request, I should like to say, first, that the paper is, in my judgment, a very good paper, and that it presents the situation of the missions in India with the knowledge of an expert and with that clearness and that balanced judgment which are characteristic of Mr. Paton.

I find myself differing from Mr. Paton on two points, and desirous of enforcing a point which is just hinted at by him.

1. I do not think anything is to be gained by defining proselytism as something bad in itself and then disclaiming it. Really, proselytism is the active endeavour to persuade a person to join a society to which you belong, when doing so involves his leaving a society to which he belongs. That is what proselytism means. It may be done from the best motives and by the most honourable methods; and, again, it may be done by dishonourable and unscrupulous methods and even with bad motives. Therefore there is good and bad proselytism. But they will be equally resented by the society which loses a member.

Our Lord did not condemn *proselytism*. He condemned *the Pharisees' proselytism*, because the object was to make more people Pharisaic—or, as He said, "sons of hell"—and possibly the phrase "Ye compass sea and land" may indicate questionable methods. But our Lord was proselytizing all the time. He was calling people away to Himself. That is why the high priests got Him crucified. The Church has been doing the same ever since, and frequently suffering for it. When people are either civilized or powerless, they merely invest the word "proselytism" with a dishonourable connotation. When they are rough and have the power, they attempt to suppress proselytism by force. There is no use in deceiving ourselves. The most true and honourable proselytizing is that which incurs the deepest hatred of the religion from which converts are made, because it has the greatest and most enduring effects.

Everything that a missionary does has the object of persuading persons to become followers of Christ and members of His Body, the Church. It must therefore bear the reproach of being called proselytism. This is equally true of the direct presentation of Christ's call to men to come to Him, and of the many activities which prepare their minds to receive that call. I feel that this is slightly understated by Mr. Paton. For instance, no medical missionary says, implies, or thinks, "If I heal you, you ought to become a Christian." But why does a doctor become a medical missionary instead of joining the I.M.S.? Surely, because he wishes his medical care and skill to prepare men's hearts to receive the appeal of Christ.

Again, why does an educationalist become an educational missionary instead of joining the I.E.S.? Because he thinks that the Christian revelation of the truth about God determines the proportion and meaning of everything that can be known and taught, and he wishes to teach on that basis, and so to teach in a country where that basis is not generally accepted—clearly in order to prepare the way for its being accepted.

(Incidentally this means that missionaries ought not to accept the conscience clause in single-school or single-college areas—but I cannot enter into that argument.)

2. Mr. Paton knows more about Indian feeling than I do, yet I venture to differ from him in his estimate of the attitude of Hindus, and particularly Mr. Gandhi, towards missions. I suggest that certain facts, which Mr. Paton knows as well as any man, must be taken into account as well as those which he has quoted.

It is of immense importance to remember that in thinking about conversions from Hinduism to Christianity Hindus have one eye all the time upon the conversions of Hindus to Muhammadanism. The communal bitterness between Hindus and Muhammadans was immensely increased by two events which happened at about the same time: the forcible conversion of Hindus to Muhammadanism during the Moplah rising, and the return to Hinduism of certain communities in Rajputana whose ancestors had been forcibly converted to Muhammadanism. These events created widespread excitement in both communities. Soon after, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald came into power for the first time. Many Indians thought he would grant *swaraj* at once, and the two communities began disputing in earnest about the division of political power. While the last-mentioned cause of strife is in everyone's mind, the conversion-scare has been forgotten, or is unknown, in England. Mr. Paton, of course, knows all about it. There was talk of laws being passed in some Indian States making it a penal offence for any man to change his religion. I do not know whether they have been passed. Some of those present at your meeting will know.

Now I submit that this is the real prevailing Hindu sentiment, and it would be enforced if Hindus had power to enforce it. The tolerance of Hinduism is not tolerance for the sake of tolerance as a principle. It is the result of the theory that there is no such thing as absolute moral right and wrong. Each person is bound by the law of his community. Mr. Gandhi has said and written this, being, as he is, a genuine Hindu. This principle makes a Hindu tolerate non-Hindus, but he cannot tolerate conversion from Hinduism.

I submit that this idea dominates not only Mr. Natarajan (a Brahmo-Somajist), but also Mr. Gandhi, and is the real meaning of the Karachi Congress declaration, "All people would be given the right to profess and practise their religion without hindrance." It does not say to propagate; and it does not say to change their religion; and it does not mean either of these. The Delhi Unity Conference is, I submit, alone in allowing the individual the freedom to preach his religion to others, and to change his faith if he desires. The recent pronouncements do not repudiate that Conference *totidem verbis*, but they are, I submit, different from its pronouncement in those respects.

3. It is of the essence of Christianity to believe and to say that only in Christ is there any hope, for men or communities or the world, of salvation, which means true and real well-being. That is the reason why Christianity does, and must, proselytize. If we would benefit our neigh-

bours or our country or the world, we must try to persuade men to accept the help and the claims of Christ. This is a part of the practice of the Christian religion. No man has liberty to practise that religion who has not liberty to propagate it. The Indian Christians must claim this for themselves, or cease to be real Christians. They will claim it, and Hindus will (if they have the power) refuse the claim. The Christians, indigenous or foreign, will have to face persecution—whether by law or by boycott, it matters little. For the last ten years I have warned Christians in India that they must expect persecution. As Mr. Paton truly remarks, what Mr. Gandhi said the other day is nothing new. What Hinduism cannot tolerate is conversions from it to Christianity or to Muhammadanism. And it will, if it can, suppress those who try to bring about these conversions. But when the Church endures persecutions it is apt to win.

Meanwhile nearly all intelligent Indian Christians desire political *swaraj*, and I think they are right in feeling that the risks that they would run under it ought not to be considered in determining what sort or amount of *swaraj* should be given. Those questions must be settled on other considerations, of which it is, at the most, only one that we have a duty to India to prevent in it any religious persecution.

The Right Hon. SRINIVASA SASTRI said the paper that had been read by Mr. Paton was marked by great broadmindedness and toleration. He admired the whole spirit of the paper, and endorsed nearly all the remarks the lecturer had passed, even on the controversial issues upon which he had touched.

He was sorry he was unable to say the same of the second paper that had been read by the Secretary. Where the author of that second paper ventured to differ from Mr. Paton he, Mr. Sastri, ventured to differ from him. The motives and ideas that were ascribed to Mr. Gandhi were wrong. Mr. Gandhi did not seem, in his judgment, to hold the same view as Mr. Natarajan. Mr. Sastri had not read the whole article of Mr. Natarajan, and he thought it improper to attempt to interpret his doctrine in its entirety. He would leave him on one side, but he knew Mr. Gandhi very well, and he knew his views upon the subject. That Mr. Gandhi was a believing and professing Hindu was true, but it was wrong to suppose that when he got political power he was going to advise his followers to prevent proselytization. That was an entirely gratuitous assumption. Neither Mr. Gandhi nor any of his more important followers were going to take that view. He was really grieved that there should be a misconception upon this subject in this country, chiefly among missionaries, who were very naturally anxious about their position.

When Mr. Gandhi made the observation which had evoked so much criticism and so much alarm, he was not thinking of the legal power to prohibit proselytism; not at all. For instance, if he had the power, he was never going to say: "Nobody shall preach his religion to others; there shall be no conversion; a Hindu shall be a Hindu and his children shall be Hindus always." He would never say such a thing from the point of view of the law. What Gandhi meant was the belief which Mr. Sastri knew

many Englishmen and Englishwomen held, that where an individual had a religion which satisfied him, in which he had been brought up and according to which he was able to live, up to his fullest capacity, a godly and pious life, there really was no need for another religion to try to occupy the field and take people away from their original faith. That was a perfectly intelligible position. They might or might not agree with it, but it was an intelligible position. It did not touch the law of the land, the freedom to proselytize, the freedom to convert, or the freedom to make religious propaganda. That was left on one side intact, but what was contended was that the efforts of the people who, in the midst of a civilized and fairly godly people, went about disturbing the civil order—for instance, trying to take children away from their faiths—were, upon their merits, unnecessary.

Hinduism, as Mr. Paton had pointed out, did not in the ordinary sense proselytize. There was, however, a very considerable exception to that view; those who had read Sir Alfred Lyall's *Asiatic Studies* would realize to what a tremendous extent in the past, through long periods, Hinduism had really added to its fold tribe upon tribe. That was a fact which they must remember—that conversion of other people to its own faith was not foreign to Hinduism altogether. That was not sufficiently well known; even most Hindus believed that their religion had never converted people in the past. But there was a belief among them, which he shared with Mr. Gandhi, that the inspired author of their religious book, the *Gita*, uttered a profound truth, which he wished missionaries fully to understand and grasp, when he said: "It is not always wise to disturb the living faith of another."

This language must not be over-interpreted. According to Hinduism, the life of a man was one whole. He had a religion, but he was also a member of a society. He had been brought up in a certain civilization; he belonged to a certain economic group, an arrangement or society which was coherent, self-efficient, and gathered itself together to resist outside influences. In Hinduism for centuries there was a gradation of society, a distribution of occupations. It was a system that stood well together. The doctrine that it was not always wise to disturb the faith of another was promulgated at a time when that consolidation had been effected, and the authors of their original faith thought within themselves: "Now let each man grow up in the faith in which he is born." That point of view he would like them to grasp. If, as he said, the life of a man was one whole, to disturb his religion might be to disturb the economic unit of which he was a member, and it might be that society was shaken in its very depths; it might be that forces of civil disturbance were created; it might well be, apart from what might happen to the society as a whole, if indiscriminate conversions became the order of the day, that the individual whose soul they wished to save by conversion, that individual having been fitted into a certain big communal mechanism, if taken out of one of the fundamental parts of his nature, might find himself adrift, and his professional occupation might be taken from him. They might say he took his life in his hands when he converted himself to another faith; let him make his voyage in this sea of life as he might.

That was one view, but it was quite intelligible for those who wished to serve society in its established order to take the view that conversion was not always good, either for the individual or for the society of which he was a member. That was the view that most Hindus took today. That might be quite wrong, but they should not jump from that to the view that, when Indians had political power in the country, they were going to use it to put an end to conversion. It was not throughout history that Hindus had been without political power; they all knew that they had political power at one time. Did they prevent conversion in those days? Those who had studied the history of Christianity should remember one of the most original and one of the oldest of their Christian schools as it existed in India, the Syrian Church on the West coast. Nobody disturbed it; it was received with the utmost toleration; large grants of land and money and other privileges were conferred upon that Church, and it had grown there absolutely undisturbed. Nothing was more remarkable than the toleration with which Christian missionaries had been received by the rajas and maharajas, the freedom with which they had been permitted to propagate their religion and the enormous grants of land that had been made to them, and, to some extent, the partiality that had been shown to them in their social works—founding hospitals, building schools, and so on. He could assure them, if he could at all speak with any understanding of his own country, especially the educated section of it, who were likely to exercise political power, that the last thing they would do would be to prevent by law the freedom to worship or the freedom to preach.

That led him to ask why was there, in certain quarters, an opposition to Christian missions in India? There was no opposition that he knew of to Christian missions in India worth speaking of; on the other hand, Mr. Gandhi himself, whose unfortunate statement had given rise to a great deal of alarm, and a great many who admired Mr. Gandhi and followed him were of distinct opinion that Christian missions were a source of benefit to India in various ways. He (Mr. Sastri) shared that view in abundant measure; Christian missions had done good in various ways, and if at any time they wholly withdrew from India it would be, in his judgment, to the material and moral loss of India. Then, he would ask, if that was the belief of most people, why was there occasionally an objection raised? Why was there something like opposition? That was perfectly intelligible. They could not claim that all whom they had sent out as missionaries to India, men and women, had lived up to the highest standards of missionary work. A few had been anxious for numbers rather than for quality; a few had abused their opportunities in hospital and in school; a few here and there had abused the political power that their country had long exercised. Such things had been known, and if any of them thought that the conduct of Christian missionaries in India everywhere and at all times and in every case had been without the possibility of objection, they were attributing to them virtues which were beyond the reach of human beings. Such things had been known, and they had naturally created a certain amount of antagonism, but it did not seem to him to amount to very much.

Neither Christian missionaries nor those who contributed anything

through funds need fear that the activities of those bodies in India were going to be prevented by law. What they did not like was the over-enthusiastic missionary who came to England to raise a few pennies and cast about all sorts of things about India, exaggerating the flaws that were to be found in their society, and showing photographs and pictures which distorted the life of India and presented their country and their people sometimes as a savage or semi-savage people in a semi-savage civilization. They did great harm to India, and they did harm to themselves and to the great Founder of Christianity of whom they were the followers and whose spirit they wished to be established everywhere.

Finally, if he had the time he would say a word about the conscience clause and the attitude adopted generally by missionaries and missionary organizations, but he did not think it proper that he should occupy more time. He wished once more to say that there was no occasion whatever for the fear expressed in certain quarters, and in the paper from Bishop Palmer that had been read to them, that Christian missionaries in their legitimate operations in India would meet with any opposition.

Canon WADDY said it was difficult to speak after such a wonderful speech as they had just listened to. He would rather sit and think it over and get the benefit of it. He did not in any way wish to controvert it, but he would just correct one impression Mr. Sastri might have given them. The "typical missionary" in England appealing for pennies did not exist. It was a good figure for the comic papers, but one liked to keep it out of a serious discussion. The person about whom Mr. Sastri spoke was absolutely foreign to them, and when books were published, as they had been recently, to which the people of India might have taken very strong objection, and did so, as distorting their life, there had been no one more angry than the missionaries.

Missionaries had to think well of the country in which they worked. No one could do any good in a country unless he admired the people; if he did not admire them he had better go. Missionaries did not go to a country because the people were so bad, but because they were so good that they deserved the best; that was fundamental of missionary work. Wherever missionary work was to be done they must act according to the principles of their Founder, Jesus Christ. They would remember that Jesus Christ deliberately founded the spread of his teachings on this practice that it should always first be preached by foreigners. He started in one country, not in many, and it was fundamental that it should always come from someone of another country to the people of the country to whom it was going. The reason for that was this: It was not simply that the world should grow in the knowledge of truth, but that men should grow in brotherhood while they were growing in the knowledge of truth. Therefore one fundamental principle of their missionaries was that it should always be an offer in brotherhood.

If any of them should think at the moment that there were objections to missionaries in India of any kind, he would like to disabuse them. The outstanding note of the letters they had got during the last year had been the wonderful personal friendliness of Hindu and other friends. They

had letters written from Cawnpore recently, and they had nothing but the highest praise to give to the people of India and to the way the missionaries were treated and received. But it was more than that, it was a religious friendliness; it was an endeavour to get away from the attitude, if it ever existed, of the "typical missionary": "Oh, you folks are all wrong; you know nothing but what is wrong, and we are going to give you entirely what is right." If that was the attitude of them, it was not the attitude of their Founder, and it was not the attitude now. Their Founder gave them a governing clause: "I am come not to destroy but to fulfil," and any missionary who did not go along that line was not going along the line his Master set him: "I have come to tell you something that we believe is the truth." There was something which had been entrusted for passing on, something which could be adopted in the glad expression of the ultimate limit of truth, and which every people everywhere had the right at least to be offered, with the chance of building up their lives upon it.

That, he hoped, was an intelligible position, an entirely friendly position, and missionaries were failing in their job if they were creating any impression other than that they went in absolute friendliness and in entire admiration, trying to offer something which was not to destroy, but to fulfil.

Sir PHILIP HARTOG said he would be very brief, because he had nothing more to say than things he had already said to that Association and in the Press. He occupied a peculiar position with regard to the missionary question; he belonged to another and older faith than Christianity. When he went from England to India his mind was specially alive to those practices which had been condemned both by Mr. Paton and Bishop Palmer as unscrupulous. He went to the missionary colleges with a mind he did not know whether to call aloof or suspicious—perhaps both were true—and he made special enquiries throughout Bengal and throughout India. He had travelled eleven thousand miles through India, and had seen missionary colleges from the Province of Madras right up to Peshawar, and he had made special enquiries from Indian parents and from Indian students with regard to the attitude of the missionary teachers towards them. He could endorse the statement that in the colleges there were no methods (at least, he had never come across any trace of them) which could not be regarded as completely scrupulous and honourable. Mr. Sastri had told them, with greater authority than he could, of the regard in which missionary work was held by Hindus. He could confirm that, and he could say that what Mr. Sastri had said of Hindus was equally true of Muhammadans. The Indian parent had complete and justified confidence in the mission college teachers to whom he entrusted his sons and daughters; he knew that no unfair methods would be used to induce them to change their faith.

It was quite true, as Mr. Sastri had said, that no large body of men could claim to be perfect, but the average in the missionary colleges of character and intelligence was very high, and he could assure them that many Hindus who were most devoted to their own faith professed lifelong

gratitude for the influences under which they came in the missionary colleges. It was largely due to religious influence that the clause was introduced into the Act of 1813 authorizing the East India Company to spend money on education; it was largely due to Duff that the magnificent and statesmanlike pronouncement of Sir Charles Wood in 1854 was drafted. Indian education owed an immense amount to Christian missions, and Indian parents—he would not say all Indian politicians—recognized the fact.

Mr. Paton had spoken of pioneer work at Moga. He had not the same knowledge of missionary primary education as Mr. Paton—he knew of missionary college education in India—but he had spent a day at Moga, and could endorse what Mr. Paton had said. It was admirable work, which would have a large influence, not only in the Punjab, but in the whole of India.

Mr. STRICKLAND was anxious to put his first point in the form of a question to Mr. Paton and then base what further he had to say upon an assumption of his answer: Was it not the case, as most of those who had worked in India would have gathered from their own experience, that the great bulk of Indian Christians had been in the classes commonly described as depressed? He gathered that Mr. Paton agreed. He said that affected the problem very much, because they had at present about five million Indian Christians, including those who were originally Christians before the modern entry of Christian missionaries into that country. Supposing the Christian missionaries were to exhaust the field that was before them in the depressed classes, which was a very big supposition, would not the position then be entirely altered, and would not a great deal of what Mr. Sastri had been saying with regard to the sufficiency of the Hindu religion fall to the ground?

His own work had been very largely in the rural areas, where he had occasion to see, as far as he could judge, both good and bad examples of conversion work. He recollected a little group of sweepers in a northern town who were organized in a co-operative society for the restriction of extravagance and the inculcation of thrift, and it was found by one of his staff that they were not succeeding in those objects. He called upon his inspector to make a special enquiry, and found that the reason was this: that they had become Christians, and were celebrating with perhaps small expenditure all the Christian festivals, and they were at the same time maintaining and celebrating with the same expenditure as before all the festivals belonging to their previous faith. The remedy, naturally, was to have a general meeting and call upon every man to elect one religion or the other; which they did. That brought the speaker to the point, that, unless there were enough missionaries in the country really to make the teaching thorough, then possibly more harm would be done than good. In the great majority of the rural and urban Christian converts with whom he had to work in an economic connection, he found that these converts, being usually drawn from a class which had not enjoyed the full privileges of the Hindu civilization, and had hitherto been in a backward social position, were distinctly better and more truthful

towards one another after their conversion; more truthful in their speech, and more honest in their economic dealings, than the others beside them, who had not accepted Christianity. It was in the economic and social sphere that Christian missionaries had the greatest opportunities before them.

Mr. HARCOURT said that in the course of his twenty-five years in India he had seen a great deal of missionary work, perhaps more on the family and intimate side that some of his fellow-Civilians had.

Listening to the paper and to the discussion, it seemed to him that every now and then they got away from the fact that there was such a thing as objective truth. A body might believe, or an individual might believe, that this, that, or the other was true, and might feel impelled under that belief to spread that truth. He believed that attitude to underlie all missionary work. It was not a question of getting a man into the dental chair and, whilst he was waiting in agony to have a tooth extracted, asking him whether he believed in the doctrine of the Trinity. That would be what one might term a method not calculated to advance the interests of Christianity. He would venture to say it was a question of witnessing. Their gathering was not a Bible meeting, so that perhaps quotations from Scripture were out of place, but he would say that one could find passage after passage in the New Testament to support the idea of witnessing as the central idea of the propagation of Christianity, rather than the idea of compulsion, however gentle, with a view to inducing people to abandon their own beliefs and to accept others. The idea was to witness to whatever one was convinced was the truth, and, if one was convinced that something was the truth which was not accepted as such by those whom one was addressing, obviously there was a duty to continue that witness with a view to inducing them to believe what one believed was the truth. It was not the business of missionaries to impose anything; it was their business to witness to the truth. He approved wholly of the language of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858: "We disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions upon any of our subjects." There could be no question of getting people into a corner and forcing them to believe, either by underhand methods or by other methods equally objectionable. He could not help feeling in connection with the word "proselytize" that there was all the time a connotation of something rather underhand, and, if that was what proselytizing was, then he detested proselytizing; but if proselytizing only meant telling people what one believed was the truth, and begging them to believe it, too, and to act upon it, then proselytizing was an excellent thing.

Reference had been made to the excellent work of Scotch missionaries, and he would not desire to minimize the value of their work; but he would like to say a word on behalf of Americans. He wondered whether it was known that American missionaries had been working in the Punjab for just on a hundred years. The first American missionary went out there in 1833, and he was bound to say, emphasizing the point of witnessing, that, in his judgment, American missionaries were untrammelled by certain things which had sometimes made it rather hard for the English

missionary to be quite acceptable in the eyes of the people. He would say straight out that in his judgment American missionaries in the Punjab in those ninety-eight years had given valuable evidence of their belief in the Christian religion, and one which was acceptable to the people.

Principal SESHADRI was sure they had listened with interest to the paper of Mr. Paton. He remembered when the lecturer went into his room on a certain morning years ago at Benares, anxious to study Indian problems and to try to understand Indian religions, and he was glad to see that in his paper the lecturer had shown the same spirit of detachment, and had been anxious to arrive at the truth. It was his duty, he thought, to say, however, that during the last few years there had been a great reaction against Christian missions in India. The reasons, perhaps, were not far to seek. In the first place, the Indian people had seen the Christian missionaries in the country in the past identify themselves too much with the British administration, and much of the present unpopularity of the Indian Government was shared by Christian missionaries. If they were anxious that Christian missionaries should play a prominent part in the future of the country, it was very desirable that the missionary should not identify himself too much with the British administrator. Again, the Indian Christian thought he must eat meat, wear a hat, begin to drink, look down upon many things in India, and, indeed, disassociate himself with practically all things Indian; this must be corrected, though in recent years there had been a reaction even amongst Christian missionaries in this matter, and Christian missionaries no longer wished the Indians to be Westernized the moment they became Christians.

He had known Christian colleges in India intimately, and he thought there had been times when the Christian colleges had a high Christian character and efficiency; but latterly the standards of the Christian colleges had been falling off. They had not been maintaining the high traditions of efficiency without which the colleges could not play a prominent part today in India. If the Christian colleges were to play a prominent part in the missionary work of the country, they wanted a very high standard of academic ability, without which they could not make any impression on the universities of the future.

The CHAIRMAN: Before calling upon Mr. Paton to reply, perhaps I might just make one or two observations from the standpoint of a politician. I have had no experience of Christian missions in India, and therefore I would not venture to express any opinion about them one way or another. But I would suggest that it is worth while for missionaries, Indian students of politics, and British students of politics, to study the history of the growth of toleration in Europe. The missionary spirit must be inherent in most religions; in fact, in all true religions. In so far as a religion bears witness to an idea of God which is active in the heart and mind of man, its adherents must wish to share it with other people, and, of course, it is not a very long step from wishing to share to wishing to impose your own ideas or wishing to repress ideas which differ from those in which you believe.

It is quite clear that the Founder of Christianity, who was the greatest missionary—at any rate, in my view—the world has ever seen, was

more anxious lest Phariseism should corrupt His followers than the sins of the flesh; Mary Magdalene He was able to redeem, but the Pharisees crucified Him. The idea of tolerance, which is one of the essential foundations of modern civilization, rests on a double basis. The first, as one speaker said tonight, is that there is objective truth and that it is recognizable by man, though whether the individual religion or the individual missionary has got hold of it may be a matter of dispute. The second element in the idea of tolerance is the right of every individual to find out the truth for him or herself, and for that purpose he or she must be free to listen and to think without interference. That was a great step forward from the earlier tradition that truth came only through one constituted authority. Tolerance, therefore, which was an inevitable outcome of the Reformation, proclaims that every religion should have equal freedom to profess and witness to the truth within it, and that every individual, because every individual had the capacity to see and learn the truth, should be free to listen and to change his religion or her religion if he or she wants to. I think that is one of the ideas which lie at the heart of modern civilization, and I think it is worth while today to study the history of its growth in Europe after one hundred years of religious wars in which people tried to impose their ideas of truth by forcible means, by methods which somebody has said constitute in themselves the lie in the soul.

MR. PATON: I have not many points to make. I do not think that the quarrel between Bishop Palmer and myself is a very serious one. He prefers to say that there are good and bad kinds of proselytizing. I dislike the word, and prefer to use a word like "evangelism" or "conversion." It is all a matter of words, and I do not think it is worth quarrelling about. I do, I am afraid, differ in judgment from Bishop Palmer in his reconstruction of the Indian problem. That is a matter of opinion. He is entitled to his opinion, which is based on very long experience, but I would add to the points which have been made (and I think Mr. Sastri would agree with me here) that there has come into India, in addition to Muhammadanism and Hinduism and Christianity, a great deal of the modern secular temper. I think one of the points which have become important now in India is the corroding and loosening effect of the secular temper upon that social and economic unity which was so eloquently described by Mr. Sastri. In so far as it bears upon religion and conversion, it means an access of power to the "individualist" point of view.

I would like to say a word with regard to what Mr. Sastri said as to the disturbance of the economic unit. I must assure Mr. Sastri that there are many missionaries who have felt some share of the agony of spirit through which many converts and their families have gone. We can at the same time say, I think, that it is not our fault that the economic unity is disturbed; it is not we who insist that if a man becomes a Christian he should be extruded from his society. Nothing would please us better—and I say this, I think, with every missionary in India behind me—than that a man should be able to profess Christianity and to remain in his family and social group. That is beginning to happen in the South; it has happened in China, in Japan, and in all parts of the world except India.

The Right Hon. SRINIVASA SASTRI : And it happens in Ceylon.

Mr. PATON : Yes, and I think it is going to happen in India.

On the point Mr. Strickland made, it is entirely true, especially if you leave out the Syrians, that a very large number of converts have come from the depressed classes, but I should not quite accept Mr. Strickland's point that you may therefore practically say that missionary work hardly touches the real Hindus and Muhammadans. That is, I know, a view held by some people. I ought to say quite candidly that if it should be the case that Christian work among the outcastes, which in some parts of India is now an enormous thing, should extend throughout the depressed classes, nobody can imagine that it would stop there. You would soon see the effect of that movement among the lower grades of the caste system. If the movement is real, if it means that villages and individuals become different, socially, morally, and religiously improved, then it will have its effect upon the grades above, and you will see a movement, not of individuals only, but of economic units, transmutation of the whole society. I say that this is happening already in the South, and it is going to happen much more widely. I would not like Mr. Strickland to imagine that we can look forward to an outcaste Christian Church on a large scale and stop there.

Then may I say that I must entirely agree with Mr. Harcourt's remark about objective truth? I thought I had made that point; perhaps I ought to have made it stronger, but it is really the essence of my contention that we should say to Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, and Buddhists—if I may say it without any cant whatever, that we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus, our Lord.

The only other thing I would say is that I think Mr. Seshadri would agree with me that the tendency of the Indian Christian Church is now clearly to get away from that "beef and hat" theory of Christianity. I may say here I was interested recently to find Indian Christians, who used to be called Smith because their grandfather was converted by somebody called Smith, now called Krishnamani or the like. They have gone back to the old family names. And why not?

Nobody has taken up what I thought was my main point—namely, that I hope we shall not see the freedom of missions linked in the Round-Table Conference along with freedom of trade. I want to see the freedom of missions tied up with the freedom of Indian Christianity; that is the point I most care about. I want to see Indian Christians as well as others defending the freedom of missionary work as a part of the work of the Indian Church. I say that because in certain quarters which have not always been enthusiastic over Christian missions there has been, since Mr. Gandhi made his statement, a new-found zeal for missions of which I am rather suspicious. I want the claim for missionary freedom to be urged on truly religious grounds.

The Right Hon. Lord LAMINGTON, in proposing the vote of thanks to the lecturer, said he did not think he need say more than that it achieved the praise of Mr. Sastri, and, therefore, it could not possibly have offended the susceptibilities of any religions outside Christianity; to his mind, in its broadmindedness and frankness and total absence of anything which could

wound the feelings of any other religionist, it was a model address. They were very grateful to Lord Lothian for presiding there that afternoon, and also for his very wise comments upon the subject-matter in his address.

Mr. E. F. HARRIS writes :

May I add my tribute of appreciation of the liberal missionary policy indicated in Mr. Paton's paper and emphasized in subsequent discussion by Canon Waddy? Should this policy become generally accepted, hope may well be entertained that Christian missions in India will be more than ever welcome. From the spirit of friendly conference of which it gives promise it may be expected that leaders in Christian thought, while "respectfully and humbly going on with it," as Mr. Paton has elsewhere expressed it, may yet feel disposed to put a liberal interpretation on their calling and give a lead in an endeavour to allay religious animosity by bringing into prominence points of similarity and contact in what is highest and best in the great religions of mankind rather than their inferior aspects and differences.

In India three great religions belonging to three different cultures have met, and there is danger ahead, if differences alone are stressed, of all of them being exploited from more or less unworthy motives. The thoughtful in India, if they can be interested, would be grateful for the presence among them of devoted servants of religion if by their efforts something was done to cultivate tolerance and respect all round, for such truths as those on which religions and religious experiences have developed, and to narrow down gulfs which divide religions as mutually exclusive, hostile rivals.

In an age when labourers in fields of secular study and research are drawing into closer harmony with one another, must religions alone preserve their ancient spirit of antagonism? We have long recognized that God is universal and not communal or local. If ancient peoples who have of necessity developed independently of, say, the Hebrew tradition have earnestly gone out to seek Him and He has met them, the extent to which He has revealed Himself and to which they have recognized Him must be generously acknowledged. In such acknowledgment God is honoured.

I am not here suggesting any compromise of essential Christian principles, or any surrender of the distinctive bases on which Christian experience, individual or corporate, rests, or advocating simple eclecticism. I am thinking of a mode of operation that may result in a healthier inclination and in clearer vision mutually to examine religious differences, which are mainly due to human limitations, so that these differences may stand a better chance of being adjusted, and in favour of ultimate truth, so far as man has apprehended it. In this way it may be that the generally accepted meaning of terms like "the Church militant" will be softened, and words like "prose-lytizing" and "converting" will lose their offence where offence is apt to be taken.

Another reason why I think Christian missions are likely to be increasingly welcome is that the policy in question is likely to speed up a much-needed revision of the representation and interpretation of the mind and life of

India's varied peoples that is brought from overseas to the home base of missions. The old representation and interpretation have given a vivid picture to the average parishioner of what is least worthy, and hardly any at all of what is most worthy—and surely there is a good deal of the latter. Contemplation on this picture has created deep reactions that have neither been helpful to our own faith nor to our understanding of India's religions (as distinct from mythology) and peoples as a whole. The day of opportunities for Christian missions in India is here.

THE SIXTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR ENDED APRIL 30, 1931

THOUGH founded so long ago as 1866, the Association in its existence has had no year more momentous in Indian annals than that to which the present report relates, or one in which it has made more definite or useful contributions to the elucidation of current Indian problems.

During four-fifths of the time the civil disobedience movement laid a paralyzing hand upon the peace and welfare of the country, and though the pressure was relaxed at the beginning of March consequent upon the agreement between Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi, agitation and outrages continued with a most serious outbreak between Hindus and Muhammadans at Cawnpore. Throughout this anxious period the statutory obligation upon Parliament to examine the working of the Reforms under the 1919 Act and to prepare for such further changes as might be found possible or necessary was steadily pursued. After two and a half years of devoted labour, Sir John Simon and his colleagues of the Statutory Commission issued early in the summer their comprehensive and masterly report. In the autumn the Round-Table Conference, comprising delegates from the Indian States and British India, and also from the three political parties at home, assembled in London. The Conference sat at St. James's Palace for a period of nearly three months and outlined proposals for an all-India federation with full provincial autonomy and responsibility of the Federal Executive to a bi-cameral legislature subject to transitional safeguards.

The close of the year was marked by the departure of Lord Willingdon to India as Viceroy in succession to Lord Irwin. Following a practice in the early life of the Association a letter of congratulation and goodwill was sent to Lord and Lady Willing-

don during their brief stay in this country after His Excellency had resigned the Governor-Generalship of Canada. Gratification was expressed that at this critical time in the political evolution of India her destinies were to be guided by one who knew and loved her people. In his reply Lord Willingdon said that such expressions of encouragement and confidence were a tremendous help to him and Lady Willingdon before they undertook their great responsibilities. He added that whatever the results of their labour might be, they would do their very best to restore peace and contentment among all classes and communities in India.

The Association took the foremost place among public bodies in this country in providing authoritative information on these great events and an exchange of the views of public men upon them. It did so not from any partisan standpoint, but in pursuance of its constant objects—those of promoting the welfare of India and encouraging an informed interest in her affairs. Our activities, as will be indicated in detail, assisted both those who were sharing in the shaping of events and the general public to form conclusions. It is satisfactory to the Council to be able to report that these efforts met with widespread recognition both from individuals and from the Press in this country and in India.

The increase of membership which has been so gratifying a feature of the work of the last few years was well maintained, although heavy gaps in our ranks were caused by deaths. Thus our losses included a Vice-President, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, the fifth baronet; the Right Hon. Sir Binod Mitter, the distinguished jurist who had served on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for only a few months; Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Temple, the second baronet, who made such varied and scholarly contributions to Oriental culture, and whose eminent father, the first baronet, was for many years Chairman of the Council of this Association; and Colonel J. B. Crawford, the accomplished Secretary of the European Association in India. In common with, though not to the same degree as, some similar organizations in this period of economic depression we have also lost a few members by resignation. But it will be seen on reference to Appendix B that our ranks have been reinforced by, amongst others, many

distinguished men who have taken and are taking a notable part in Indian affairs. The net gain of members during the year was 38, and our total membership is larger than for many years past. In the past three years no less than 215 new members have been elected. It should be noted that a considerable proportion of the new members were delegates to, or otherwise directly and influentially associated with, the Round-Table Conference.

Our close contact with the Indian Princes was further developed. His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, who has long been a Vice-President, took up life membership and gave the Association a donation of £50. The same amount was subscribed by His Highness the Maharaja of Bhavnagar on being elected a member. The Council takes the opportunity to congratulate him on having entered his high responsibilities by being invested with full governing powers. Generous interest in our work was also shown by the Chief of Bhor on visiting this country last summer. Joining our ranks, the Chief Saheb sent a welcome donation of £25, and on July 9 he gave a most hospitable afternoon reception at the Hotel Metropole to some 250 guests to meet the President, Council, and members of the Association. The Chief Saheb delivered a thoughtful address on the conclusions regarding the Indian States reached in the Reports of the Butler (Indian States) Committee and the Simon Commission, doing so more particularly from the standpoint of the States not represented in their own right in the Chamber of Princes.

The Council has special satisfaction in announcing the election of Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood as a member, on his retirement from the Indian Command after forty-four years' service in the Indian Army, and his acceptance of the office of Vice-President. Colonel Sir Charles Yate retired from the Council at the last annual meeting on grounds of ill-health after long and valued service. Mr. Stanley Rice, the former Hon. Secretary, on his return to this country from service in Baroda State, was co-opted a member of Council. It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate for election to any vacancy to the Council on fifteen days' notice being given to the Hon. Secretary. The following members of Council retire by rotation :

Sir Charles Armstrong.

Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E.

Sir William Ovens Clark.

Sir Frank Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.

Mr. J. A. Richey.

Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E.

Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E.

The more direct contact of our work with investigation of constitutional problems in the year was initiated on July 10, very shortly after the publication of the two volumes of the Report of the Simon Commission, when Lord Zetland spoke to a crowded audience on the implications of the Report. Twelve days later he was followed by one of the most eminent Indians of our time, the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, whose statement of the views of Liberal politicians in India on the approach of the Round-Table Conference led to an animated debate and had much influence on discussion of the subject both in this country and in India. These proceedings and the address of the Chief of Bhoree already mentioned were brought together in a special pamphlet which was presented to every member and adviser of the Round-Table Conference on arrival in this country. An accompanying pamphlet gave a chronology entitled "The Political Evolution of India: Landmarks of a Century," prepared by the Hon. Secretary in consultation with some well-known students of modern Indian history, for the convenience of delegates and others called upon to speak or write on current Indian topics. The pamphlet showed the successive stages by which there came a readjustment of outlook on the British relation to India and the mutual responsibilities of the two countries. Many letters of appreciation of the pamphlets were received from members of the Round-Table Conference and others.

In the autumn and during the progress of the Conference further useful contributions were made to consideration of problems there discussed. In October, General Sir George Barrow, formerly Adjutant-General in India, examined with full knowledge and

frankness the bearing of the defence of the Indian Empire on the proposals in regard to the forces in India and Indianization of the officer ranks which had been made by the Simon Commission. In the following month Captain Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, President of the United Provinces Zemindars' Association, lectured on the current question of the need for Second Chambers in the provinces. An aspect of the problem of Indian progress of which far too little is heard was laid before the Association, also in November, by Dewan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, the Vice-President of the newly formed Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, in a paper entitled "Rural India and Political Reform." In December Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, the head of the Hyderabad Delegation to the Conference, gave a valuable account of the progress of the Premier State under the rule of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, and the meeting had the advantage of hearing the views of Lieut.-General H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner. Mention should also be made of Sir Alfred Chatterton's comprehensive and suggestive expert analysis of the Indian economic situation under the title of "India's Progress and India's Poverty." In June Dr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams gave a luminous survey of "Indian Unrest and American Opinion" based on his observations and experiences during a lecture tour completed a few weeks earlier in the United States.

Since the adjournment of the Round-Table Conference in January the Association has addressed itself to some of the pressing problems which arise from the broad conclusions it reached at St. James's Palace. Time did not permit of the Conference setting up a committee to consider the question of a Supreme Court for Federal India, and it received only scant mention in the discussions of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee. Sir Amberson Marten, late Chief Justice of the High Court of Bombay, gave in March an examination of the problems surrounding the provision of a Supreme Federal Court, and the discussion was participated in by such authorities as two members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, retired High Court Judges, and Professor J. E. G. de Montmorency, who was in the chair. The proceedings were sent to various authorities in Whitehall and at New Delhi

and were cordially acknowledged, in particular by the Lord Chancellor, as Chairman of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee. In February Sir Philip Hartog, who was Chairman of the Auxiliary Committee on Education of the Simon Commission, analyzed the prospects of education and research under the new constitution. The concluding lecture of the year was by Sir Reginald Clarke, formerly Commissioner of Police at Calcutta, who dealt with the question of law and order in the India of the future. At all the lectures noted there were informative discussions, and we were fortunate in obtaining the services of men of distinction to preside over the meetings.

This outline of the varied contributions made through the agency of the Association to the elucidation of current Indian problems would be incomplete without reference to a notable speech made by H.H. the Maharaja of Baroda on the occasion of a large reception given by the Association to the members of the States Delegation at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, on November 15. The speech, which is reproduced in Mr. Stanley Rice's recently published biography of His Highness, came on the eve of the day-by-day work of the Round-Table Conference, and was the more noteworthy since by reason of his seniority, his great services to the cause of Indian social and general progress, and the high respect in which he was held, the Ruler of Baroda took the first place on many occasions in the more public appearances of the States Delegation. Another social function was the luncheon given at the Waldorf Hotel in the summer in honour of the High Commissioner for India and Lady Chatterjee, followed by an opportunity for members and their guests to pay a visit to the new India House, opposite the hotel, within a few days of its formal opening by His Majesty the King. It may be added that the Association has continued to co-operate with the British Indian Union in the successful promotion of luncheons and other functions whereby it serves the cause of British and Indian friendship.

The Association was represented at the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference held at Patna from December 17 to 20, 1930, by Mr. Justice L. C. Adami, of the Patna High Court. Arrangements have been made for representation at the Eighteenth

Triennial International Congress of Orientalists to be held at Leiden in September. In other ways also contact with the India of the past and the present has been sought. The thanks of the Council are due to various departments of the Government of India, the High Commissioner for India, the India Office, and the Governments of various States for supplying to the library current periodical publications on administrative and general activities in India.

The accounts show a balance at the Bank of £282 7s. 10d., comparing with £200 3s. last year. The honorary auditors, Mr. de La Valette and Mr. Ryan, reported that they found the accounts for last year "well and accurately kept," and added congratulations upon "the excellent manner in which the Association's finances have been administered."

Looking to the immediate future, the Council feels that the work on which the Association is engaged was never more necessary than at the present time when India occupies so large a place in the public mind and when it is most important that there should be available a non-party platform on which the facts of the Indian situation can be examined by experts with candour and knowledge without partisanship. The Council appeals to the members, representing as they do varied schools of thought on India, to co-operate in, and encourage their friends to support, this endeavour.

The President and Council wish to add that this comprehensive Report is ample evidence that Mr. Brown, the Hon. Secretary, has increased, if that is possible, his untiring zeal and activities on behalf of the Society's objects.

L. DANE,
Chairman of Council.
F. H. BROWN,
Hon. Secretary.

May 19, 1931.

APPENDIX A

PAPERS READ :

1930

May 20.—"India's Progress and India's Poverty," by Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E. The Hon. Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, K.C.I.E., in the chair.

June 19.—"Indian Unrest and American Opinion," by Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E. The Right Hon. Viscount Burnham, G.C.M.G., C.H., in the chair.

July 10.—"The Report of the Simon Commission," by the Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

July 22.—"The Report of the Simon Commission," by the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, C.H. Mr. J. S. Wardlaw-Milne, M.P., in the chair.

July 23.—"The Indian Princes and the Reforms," by the Chief of Bhor. The Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., in the chair.

October 14.—"The Army in India and Constitutional Reform," by General Sir George de Symons Barrow, G.C.B., K.C.M.G. Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., in the chair.

November 4.—"Rural India and Political Reform," by Dewan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, K.B.E. Sir Provash Chandra Mitter, C.I.E., in the chair.

November 25.—"The Need for Second Chambers in the Provinces," by Captain Nawab M. Jamshed Ali Khan, M.B.E., M.L.C. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

December 16.—"Hyderabad Today," by Nawab Sir Muhammad Akbar Hydari. The Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

1931

February 17.—"The Future of Education and Research under the New Constitution," by Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, K.I.H. (Member of the India Council), in the chair.

March 10.—"A Supreme Court for Federal India," by Sir Amberson Marten (late Chief Justice of the High Court, Bombay). Professor J. E. G. de Montmorency, M.A., LL.D. (Quain Professor of Comparative Law in the University of London), in the chair.

April 21.—"Law and Order in the New India," by Sir Reginald Clarke, C.I.E. Mr. J. S. Wardlaw-Milne, M.P., in the chair.

APPENDIX B

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

Sir Ahmed H. Amin-Jung.

Captain Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, M.B.E., M.L.C.

His Excellency Sir Montagu Sherard Dawes Butler, K.C.S.I., C.B., C.I.E., C.V.O., C.B.E., I.C.S.

Sir Richard Burn, C.S.I., I.C.S. (retd.).

Shrimant Raghunathrao Shankarao Pant Sachiv, Chief of Bhor.

Robert William Brock.

H.H. Maharaja Shri Krishna Kumarsinhji Bhavsinhji, Maharaja of Bhavnagar (Life Member).

Sir Wilberforce Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B.

Sir William Pell Barton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (retd.).

Hugh Kynaston Briscoe, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Field-Marshal Sir William Riddell Birdwood, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., D.S.O.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Henry Chenevix-Trench, K.C.I.E., O.B.E.

The Hon. Captain Nawab Sir Muhammad Said Khan of Chhitari, K.C.I.E., M.B.E.

Miss C. K. Cumming.

The Nawab of Dera Ismail Khan.

Eric Paul Woollett de Costa (Student Member).

Sir Charles Gordon Hill Fawcett, I.C.S. (retd.).

Jehangir R. Vatcha Ghandy.

Sir Reginald Isidore Robert Glancy, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (retd.).
 A. H. Ghumavi, M.L.C.
 Lieut.-Colonel Henry Albert John Gidney, L.M.S. (retd.), M.L.C.
 Syed Hashimi.
 Sir Maurice Hayward, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (retd.).
 Percy Barnes Haigh, I.C.S. (retd.).
 Nawab Sir Muhammad Akbar Nazar Ali Hydari.
 Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayet Husain.
 Khan Bahadur Sir Israr Hasan Khan, C.I.E.
 Alec Houghton Joyce.
 Rao Bahadur V. T. Krishnamachari, C.I.E.
 Sorab K. H. Katrak.
 Colonel H.H. Maharaja Jagatjit Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Kapurthala,
 G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E. (Life Member).
 N. Krishnamurti.
 Khanzada Fateh Muhammad Khan.
 James Hamilton Lindsay, I.C.S. (retd.).
 M. Hassan Latifi.
 William Lamb.
 Hugh MacGregor.
 Arthur Henderson Mackenzie, C.I.E.
 Kazi Wali Mahomed.
 James Welby Madeley.
 Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., G.B.E.
 The Right Hon. Sir Dinshah Fardunji Mulla.
 George Holt Ormerod.
 Sir Ralph Oakden, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., I.C.S. (retd.).
 Raja Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayana Rao, Raja of Parlakimedi (Life Member).
 Frederick Greville Pratt, C.S.I., I.C.S. (retd.).
 Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
 H.H. Syed Raza Ali Khan Bahadur, Nawab of Rampur.
 Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, C.S.I.
 Charles Albert Radice, Companion I.E.E., I.C.S. (retd.).
 Raja Sir Shanmugarajeswara Sethupathy, Raja of Ramnad.
 Sir James Fletcher Simpson.
 Sir Findlater Stewart, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
 Sir Philip Cahill Sheridan, C.M.G.
 Sir Louis Stuart, C.I.E., I.C.S. (retd.).
 Sir Robert Watson Smyth.
 Sir Saiyed Sultan Ahmed.
 Sardar Sampuran Singh.
 R. J. Stopford.
 Raj Bahadur Kunwar Bisheshwar Dayal Seth.
 Harry Tonkinson, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S.
 Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Durand Temple, Bart., D.S.O.
 Sardar Sahib Sardar Ujjal Singh.
 Sir Gilbert Vyle.
 Frank Waverling Woods, C.I.E.
 Sir Charles Edgar Wood.

APPENDIX C

The Council regrets to announce the death of the following Members

C. A. Bird, I.C.S. (retd.).
 J. J. Barniville, I.C.S. (retd.).
 Colonel J. B. Crawford, D.S.O., M.C.
 A. E. L. Emanuel, I.C.S. (retd.).
 Sir Reginald Arthur Gamble, I.C.S. (retd.).
 Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., K.C.S.I.
 Mrs. W. G. Martley.
 The Right Hon. Sir Binod C. Mitter.
 Lieut.-Colonel Aubrey John O'Brien, C.I.E., C.B.E.
 Raja Rajeshwara Sethupathy, Raja of Ramnad.
 Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Temple, Bart., C.I.E.
 T. Viraraghavan, I.C.S.

APPENDIX D

The following have resigned membership during the year :

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, K.C.S.L., C.I.E.
F. G. Bowers, C.B.E.
Archibald Allen Crawford.
D. F. Cama.
Lieut. Colonel Sir Armine B. Dew, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
Khan Bahadur Adarja M. Dalal.
E. R. Havell.
Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Habibullah, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
A. H. E. Molson.
R. Ananta Narayan.
Meyer Nissim.
F. J. Richards, L.C.S. (retd.).
J. O. Robinson.
Donald James Stephens.
Lady Tighe.
Frederick Wright.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE sixty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, June 9, 1931, the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the company included Lady Lamington, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., the Maharajahdiraja of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., the Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Basanta Mullick, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Lady Kensington, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. A. L. Saunders, C.S.I., Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. F. P. Richter, Colonel D. Warliker, Mr. H. N. Hutchinson, O.B.E., Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. J. B. Hall, Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. C. F. Strickland, C.I.E., Miss Perceval Hall, Mr. E. Marsden, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mr. T. A. H. Way, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, you have had copies of the Report and accounts circulated to you, so we may take those as read. As was inevitable in the work of an association which is concerned with the welfare of India and discusses problems relating thereto, the Report takes great account of all that has transpired, both here and in India, during the past year, particularly with regard to the Round-Table Conference. It may be said that for twelve months all our papers and discussions have had direct relation to some of the many problems arising from the prospect of constitutional changes in India. I think our proceedings not only helped to educate the general public in a knowledge and understanding of some of the main features of the Indian problem, but they also were of distinct service to members of the Round-Table Conference and to others associated in the official or public life of the country with the work of finding solutions.

We are continuing our efforts in these directions in the current year. Last month Lord Zetland gave us a most valuable and constructive paper on "The Round-Table Conference and After." Today, after this meeting, we are to have an exposition by a high authority of the attitude Christian missions may be expected to take in respect to suggestions made as to the policy a self-governing India might adopt towards them. On June 30 we are to consider the position of the very important British non-official community in India under changes in the Constitution. The President of the European Association in India, Mr. Edward Villiers, was to have read a paper, but he is in a nursing home. It gives me great pleasure to announce that his place will be taken by Sir Hubert Carr, who did such valuable service as Chairman of the European Delegation to the Round-Table Conference. Our summer programme of lectures will be

brought to a conclusion on Tuesday, July 21, when Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, following Lord Zetland in lecturing to us a second time within a year, will give us his views on the next phases of the Round-Table Conference. I have just seen the right honourable gentleman; he has been attending a Committee, of which I am a member, which deals with East African policy. The Indians who are there in large numbers are in a state of considerable agitation as to their position in a Constitution which might be formed.

The addresses I have mentioned provide, when taken together, a remarkable amount of material for an understanding of various points of view held in respect to the great changes which are in prospect in India. We shall hope in the ensuing autumn and winter to continue such contributions to public information on the manifold questions awaiting settlement.

This Association does not stand for party, but it does stand for good relations between the two countries. It is proud of the fact that invariably when the holder of the great office of Governor-General of India returns to this country after handing over the administration to his successor, he readily accepts the invitation to become one of our Vice-Presidents. It gives me great pleasure to announce that, following in this respect the example of a long line of predecessors, Lord Irwin is joining the Association, and has intimated his willingness to be elected a Vice-President. (Cheers.) The proposal will be put before you at this meeting, and will be adopted, I am sure, with the hearty support of all present.

It will be noted from the Report that nine members of the Council retire by rotation. Two of them, Sir Frank Gates and Mr. Henry Marsh, have decided not to have their names put forward for re-election; and we thank them for past services. We welcome back to this country, after more than three years' service in the Baroda State, Mr. Stanley Rice, who served us so well for nine years as Hon. Secretary, and it will be with special satisfaction that his co-option to the Council will be confirmed. I have also the pleasure to announce that Sir Amberson Marten, late Chief Justice of the High Court of Bombay, who gave us so valuable a paper recently on "A Supreme Federal Court for India," has consented to serve on the Council if elected thereto today.

The adoption of the Report will be moved by Sir John Cumming, whose work, both in Bengal and in this country, is so well known, and seconded by Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, who was the first lady to become a member of the Association. She has since been joined by a number of other ladies, and we hope the list will grow.

Sir JOHN CUMMING : My Lord, ladies, and gentlemen, the resolution with which I have been entrusted is to move that the Report which has been circulated be adopted, and that the accounts be passed.

As the Chairman has intimated, the Report may be taken as read, and so I need not go into the details, but a few words are required from me to commend it to your adoption. A report of this nature in connection with this Association necessarily has two sides, the domestic side and the public side. On the domestic side we gather there has been a steady net increase in the number of members. The total membership now is roughly

between six hundred and seven hundred, but I do not think that members should be satisfied with that total. I do suggest that every member who is present here, and that other members who are not present but who may read what I have to say, should endeavour to obtain at least one new member for the Association during the coming year. I do suggest that a total of less than seven hundred is too small for an organization of this kind, in view of the very large number of people in this country who identify themselves with the interests served by the Association.

On the question of finance the accounts, you will find, are satisfactory. We are indebted to three Indian rulers, His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, His Highness the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, and the Chief of Bhor for donations of no less than £125. We are very grateful to them for those donations and timely help.

On the public side of our work the Chairman has intimated what has been done during the past year. The work of the Association has synchronized with a very momentous period of the British connection with India. The subjects which have been discussed have been all very topical, and many of the implications of the Round-Table Conference, and of the Simon Commission before it, have been discussed from many angles. In connection with that I think the Association ought to recognize what cannot be done in the Report itself—namely, the work of the Hon. Secretary. (Applause.) I am sure you will agree with me that much industry and time and foresight are required to ensure an appropriate and topical programme. I would like to associate with Mr. Brown in this connection the indefatigable work of the Assistant-Secretary, Mr. King. (Hear, hear.) I am sure in doing so no one will echo what I have just said more than Mr. Brown's predecessor, Mr. Stanley Rice, regarding whom the Chairman has already said that we welcome him back after his sojourn of three years in the East. He can recognize, at any rate, what difficulties there are in securing speakers and what difficulties there are in securing Chairmen. I therefore would ask that the members be good enough to adopt the Report which is before us and to pass the accounts, which, as I have stated, are quite satisfactory.

Mrs. A. M. T. JACKSON: I have much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report. After the able way in which Sir John Cumming has moved the adoption, I do not think there is any need for me to say anything other than to cordially associate myself with all he has said.

The CHAIRMAN: Does anybody wish to make any remark, comment, or criticism before I put the resolution? As no one has anything to say, I will put the resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. A. L. SAUNDERS: I have much pleasure in moving that Lord Lamington be re-elected President of this Society. We have been very fortunate in the past in having him as President. We owe a lot to his able guidance, and I feel sure that the resolution will be received with general acceptance.

Sir LESLIE WILSON: I welcome very much the opportunity of seconding the re-election of Lord Lamington as President. I do not think it needs

any words from me at all, except to say that the Association will have every reason to congratulate itself very warmly indeed if Lord Lamington will again occupy that position. As Lord Lamington cannot put that himself, I put it to the meeting that Lord Lamington be re-elected President of the Association for the ensuing year.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I value very much indeed the kind way in which that resolution has been proposed and seconded, and also the fact that I occupy the very proud position of chief officer in this Association, which now commands very much respect from all sides in London and the country generally as regards Indian questions. I consider it a great honour to hold the position of President. It is a position so high that I have in one or two preceding years indicated that I shall have to make way for a younger holder of the office. On the slightest indication of that being felt I shall quite understand, and I shall think nothing but that they are wise people who raise the matter. This resolution was to have been seconded by Mr. J. B. Pennington, one of the oldest, if not the oldest, retired member of the I.C.S. He is not here, I presume owing to his burden of years, but he writes that, had he been present, he would have said: "There was a time when he thought that the East India Association was definitely on the decline. It was, however, saved from that fate by the late Dr. Pollen. Even Dr. Pollen, however, were he alive, would be astonished at the position which the Association held today. He would not say to whose work during the last few years it was due." I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, very much indeed for having passed this resolution, which I regard as a vote of confidence in myself, and I do appreciate it is a very great privilege to be President of the East India Association.

Mr. STRICKLAND: I have the pleasure to propose the names of Mr. Stanley Rice and Sir Amberson Marten for the two posts vacant in the Council by the resignation of two of the retiring members who do not wish to stand again. Mr. Stanley Rice will bring to the Council of the Association a long experience which he already has of its activities, and the wide experience of Sir Amberson Marten will be of great value.

Colonel WARLICKER: I have the privilege of seconding the election of Mr. Stanley Rice and Sir Amberson Marten to be members of the Council. Both gentlemen are men of great reputation, and I am quite sure that they will be of great value on the Council.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. STANLEY RICE: I thank you very much for the honour you have done me in accepting this resolution. It is a great privilege to come back to my old haunts in Victoria Street. My only regret, if it is a regret, is that during my time of office I did not succeed in doing such excellent work that I feel Mr. Brown is now doing; but I will be glad to be able to take some part, at any rate, in the affairs of the East India Association, and I thank you once again for electing me to the Council.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE: I have much pleasure in proposing the re-election of the retiring members of the Council, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Alfred Chatterton, Sir William Ovens Clark, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Sir

James Walker, and Sir Montagu Webb. These are all veteran names of the Association, and one might almost be frightened to think what will be achieved by the Association in the course of the next twelve months when Mr. Brown has the assistance of these gentlemen and Mr. Stanley Rice, who will return to active work in the Association again. I think we are on the threshold of a very successful new year, and I have very much pleasure in proposing the re-election of these gentlemen.

PROFESSOR RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS: I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution. I think it is obvious to every member of the Association that close attention has been paid to its affairs by the President and the Council. The year through which we have passed is obviously the most successful in the records of the Association, not merely in the contribution which it has made to knowledge in this country about the affairs in India, but, if I may be permitted to say so, for the wide range of activities which the Association has covered. In that connection may I be permitted to pay a tribute to the work which has been done, both for the Association and the cause for which the Association stands, by the *Asiatic Review* and its Editor. It seems to me without the powerful backing of the *Asiatic Review*, which now occupies a recognized status in this country, on the Continent, and in the United States, our work would not be as valuable as it has been.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

SIR JAMES MACKENNA: I have the pleasure to propose the election as members of the Association of the Right Hon. Lord Irwin, K.O., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Mr. Hardit Singh Malik, I.C.S., Assistant Trade Commissioner for India, and Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Colonial Civil Service, retired.

MR. WILKINSON: I have very much pleasure indeed in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

SIR LOUIS DANE: You have just heard that the Right Hon. Lord Irwin, retired Viceroy, has done us the honour of standing for election as a member of this Association. I am very glad to see you unanimously elected him. We esteem it a great honour to this Association that all retiring Viceroys, without exception, as to their policies or otherwise, have been willing to join this Association on their return from India. No doubt it is not entirely the merits of the Association that have led them to adopt this very suitable and proper course, in our view, but it is their desire to show that, though they may be leaving India, they still sympathize with the objects of this Association, which are to further the interests of India by all methods, proper, reasonable, and suitable, in due recognition of the necessity of the working in close connection of Great Britain and India. I am perfectly certain that, whatever we may think about Lord Irwin's policy, he had no other view before his mind than to work for aims which are those of this Association. I am sure you will agree with me that, as now he has become a member of this Association, we should follow our usual precedent and invite him, in view of the very high position that he has held, and in view of the importance of the office he there occupied, to honour us by accepting election as a Vice-President of the

Association. I need not really say any more. You all understand how eminently desirable it is that he should join the other distinguished past-Viceroy as Vice-President of our Association. (Hear, hear.)

The MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN: I have much pleasure in seconding this proposal.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: I now close the meeting. I am very pleased that we have such a good attendance, and I hope to meet you in future years in pursuit of the aim of promoting a good understanding between ourselves and the Indian Empire.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF THE INDIAN STATES—II

By A. H. E. MOLSON

(Barrister-at-Law; sometime Political Secretary of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon)

THE authorities relied on by the Indian States Committee to establish a wide power of intervention are not always happy.

The Manipur Case, 1891-92, is an unfortunate precedent to cite. After a revolt against the Paramount Power which clearly entitled the Crown to punish those responsible for violating the paramountcy agreement, it was contended that those subjects of Manipur who had obeyed the State authorities in fighting against the Paramount Power were guilty of rebellion. "The degree of subordination," said the Government Resolution of August 21, 1891, "in which Manipur State stood towards the Indian Empire has been more than once explained in connection with these cases; and it must be taken to be proved conclusively that Manipur was a subordinate and protected State which owed submission to the Paramount Power, and that its forcible resistance to a lawful order, whether it be called waging war, treason, rebellion, or by any other name, is an offence, the commission of which justifies the exaction of adequate penalties from individuals as well as from the State as a whole. The principles of International Law have no bearing upon the relations between the Government of India . . . and the Native States. . . . The paramount supremacy of the former presupposes and implies the subordination of the latter. In the exercise of their high prerogative the Government of India have, in Manipur as in other protected States, the unquestioned right to remove by administrative order any person whose presence in a State may seem objectionable."

Such a statement is surely, at law, difficult to justify. The subjects of Manipur are not British subjects, but owe allegiance to their own Prince. In the event of war, whatever may be the just punishment to which the ruler makes himself liable, his subjects have the rights of belligerency. Subjects of Indian States are in the position of the tenants of a landholder under the Continental system of feudalism, who owed allegiance to their immediate lord even if he levied war against his king. There has been in India no Gathering of Salisbury like that after the Conquest when William I. established a link of fealty

between every subject and himself. The status of a "protected State" implies *ex hypothesi* that the subjects of that State do not owe allegiance to the protecting power.

The attitude of the Indian States Committee would have been less inconsistent if they had frankly adopted Hall's view that* "the treaties really amount to little more than statements of limitations which the Imperial Government, except in very exceptional circumstances, places on its own actions." That is a doctrine which is surprising to find in a book on International Law, for if the terms of treaties can be modified by changed conditions as Hall suggests, there can be little stability or substance in the law of nations. The Indian States Committee and Sir William Holdsworth do not adopt this attitude; they insist that the treaties are of binding force, but subject to the alterations and modifications effected by orders of the Secretary of State and the usage of the Political Department.

The general tenour of the Report is consistent with Hall's view, but in several passages and in their conclusions they have departed from it. In para. 44 the Committee accepts Sir Henry Maine's contention that "sovereignty is a term which, in International Law, indicates a well ascertained assemblage of separate powers or privileges . . . but there is not, nor has there ever been, anything in International Law to prevent some of these rights being lodged with one possessor, and some with another . . . sovereignty is divisible, but independence is not." It may fairly be deduced from this that in the opinion of Sir Henry Maine and the Indian States Committee, as well as in that of Sir William Holdsworth, sovereignty is divided between the Prince of an Indian State and the Crown. Surely it follows that the line of the division can be indicated, and indeed in one passage† the Committee does enumerate the rights of the Paramount Power. "It is not in accordance with historical fact that paramountcy gives the Crown definite rights and imposes upon it definite duties in respect of certain matters only—viz., those relating to foreign affairs and external and internal security—unless those terms are made to cover all those acts which the Crown through its agents has considered necessary for Imperial purposes, for the good government of India as a whole, the good government of individual States, the suppression of barbarous practices, the saving of human life, and for dealing with cases in which rulers have proved unfit for their position." Now that appears to be intended as an enumeration of the rights of the Paramount Power. Although the supporters of the contractual theory would not admit (a) the relevancy of history in determining the rights of

* Hall: *International Law* (eighth edition), p. 28 n.

† *I.S.C.R.*, pp. 24, 25.

the States any more than they would consult the statistics of theft before advising on the law of larceny, and (b) the accuracy of the enumeration of the Crown's rights, they do attach importance to this tentative definition of the Paramount Power's rights. It is the more important because the Report says later: * "We have endeavoured, as others before us have endeavoured, to find some formula which will cover the exercise of paramountcy, and we have failed, as others before us have failed, to do so. The reason for such failure is not far to seek. Conditions alter rapidly in a changing world. Imperial necessity and new conditions may at any time raise unexpected situations. Paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfil its obligations, defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States."

One who read this single passage might suppose that the action of the Paramount Power was and must remain arbitrary as implied by Hall. He will, however, be assured that the Committee do not think the Paramount Power justified in extending these undefined and undefinable powers, for they say in para. 106: "We have traced and analyzed the growth of paramountcy. Though it has already lost and should continue to lose any arbitrary character in full and open discussion between the Princes and the Political Department, it must continue to be paramount, and therefore it must be left free to meet unforeseen circumstances as they arise."

The Princes do not deny that the Paramount Power must retain discretionary power in the last resort whether any given act is necessary for the carrying out of one of the recognized rights and duties of the Paramount Power, but that the Crown can at its discretion increase the number of causes which justify intervention is inconsistent with the theory that some rights of sovereignty reside in the States.

The contractual theory that all rights, other than those arising out of the Paramountcy Agreement by which the Crown took over the foreign affairs of the States and in return guaranteed them external and internal security, has weighty support from the judgment delivered by Lord Halsbury in the case of *Yusufud-Din v. The Queen-Empress*.† This was a case in which the Crown claimed jurisdiction on the Nizam's railways under a notification issued on behalf of the Government of India. The Privy Council held that the Crown did not enjoy the jurisdiction claimed. "Even if . . . the notification . . . had purported to give jurisdiction—as the stream can rise no higher than its source—that notification can only give authority to the extent to which the sovereign of the territory has permitted the British Government to make that notification. . . . The notification is not the

* *I.S.C.*, p. 31.

24 *Ind. Appeals*, p. 137.

source of authority. The authority, of which this is only the notification, is derived from the sovereign power of the Nizam himself. It becomes, therefore, necessary, as there is no express treaty, and no words which in themselves precisely define the amount of jurisdiction intended to be conveyed by the Nizam, to revert to the correspondence which passed between those representing the two Governments—and to see in the first place what was asked for, and what was ultimately conveyed."

It is submitted that the principles applied by the Privy Council to the single question of railway jurisdiction apply to all other claims of the Paramount Power to exercise rights detracting from the sovereignty of the Indian States except those relating to foreign affairs and external and internal security.

While rejecting the first proposition of the Princes, the Indian States Committee accepted the second. This finding, and the reasoning upon which Sir William supports it, is immensely important in considering the soundness of their views on the first point.

"The States demand," says the Report,* "that without their own agreement the rights and obligations of the Paramount Power should not be assigned to persons who are not under its control—for instance, an Indian Government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature. If any Government in the nature of a Dominion Government should be constituted in British India, such a Government would clearly be a new Government resting on a new and written Constitution. . . . We feel bound to record our strong opinion that, in view of the historical nature of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes, the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new Government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature."

This entirely sound view Sir William defends by arguments with which the Princes would find themselves in cordial agreement.

To the argument that a statute of the British Parliament could transfer the rights enjoyed by and obligations imposed on the Crown by paramountcy from Ministers responsible to Parliament to Ministers responsible to an Indian Legislature, Sir William gives the following answer:†

"Such legislation, unless assented to by the Princes, would have the effect, not of ceding, but of destroying the paramountcy of the Crown. . . . In so far as the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States depends upon treaties, or upon any other form of agreement, express or implied, such legislation could not directly affect these treaties or agreements. . . . In

* *I.S.C.*, para. 58.

† *L.Q.R.*, CLXXXIV., p. 432.

so far as the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States depends upon that course of usage and political practice which has given to the Paramount Power its position as suzerain, outside and independent of treaties or engagements, this conclusion is not at first sight so obvious. But I think that it is equally applicable, because the course of usage and political practice, which has given to the Crown, acting through Ministers responsible to the Parliament of Great Britain, its Paramourty, originates in and depends upon the acceptance of or acquiescence in that usage and political practice by the Princes . . . such a fundamental variation of usage and political practice as is involved in the alteration of the entity which exercises the Paramount Power could not be made without the consent of the Princes. As in the case of the treaties, so in the case of usage, an attempt to vary fundamentally the usage without this consent might deprive the usage of its effect. It could not succeed in effecting a variation."

But if the validity of usage "originates in and depends upon the acceptance of or acquiescence in that usage by the Princes," does it not follow that usage is of itself sterile unless it amounts to evidence of a tacit agreement between the parties? If the Paramount Power cannot now vary the rights of the Princes by unilateral action, how can its unilateral action in the past be held to have varied the rights of the Princes guaranteed to them by their treaties?

Sir William contends a little later: * "There is a clear distinction between compulsion by the Paramount Power to assent to measures which fall within the scope of its Paramourty and compulsion to assent to measures which fall outside the scope of its Paramourty . . . such a course of action, if taken without the consent of the Princes, would be beyond the rights of the Paramount Power and would, for that reason, be simply illegitimate coercion."

But if, as the Indian States Committee hold, the orders of the Secretary of State and the consequent action of the Political Department has enlarged and extended the rights of the Paramount Power, it follows *ex hypothesi* that those extensions were at the time outside the scope of the then existing rights of Paramourty. A title by occupation surely implies occupation of land originally not the property of the occupier. At what moment of time did the Crown lose the right to encroach upon the States' rights by claiming rights not yet its own? At what instant did it become liable to the charge of "illegitimate coercion"? According to the Indian States Committee, at some unspecified and problematical future date when it attempts to hand over rights and

* *L.Q.R.*, CLXXXIV., p. 434.

obligations of the Paramount Power to responsible Indian Ministers; according to the Princes, at the various moments in the past when it undertook to maintain the internal and external security of the States. That undertaking seems to have been recognized by Queen Victoria in her proclamation of 1858, of which it is necessary here to quote only one sentence which Sir William inadvertently omitted. It is the first sentence in the passage, and it seems expressly and in terms to preclude his theory that the treaty rights of the States were guaranteed only subject to the modifications effected by the practice and custom of the Paramount Power:

"We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company, are by Us accepted and will be scrupulously observed; and We look for the like observance on their part."

This dispute as to the immutable and binding force of the treaties is in no way merely academic, and this article may well conclude with two examples of conduct by the Paramount Power which are, it is submitted, plainly breaches of treaty obligations.

The first is the Udaipur Case. Sir Fateh Singh, Maharana of Udaipur, had spent a long life in ruling his State with rectitude and devotion. If his methods were patriarchal, they were at any rate suited to the country in which they had been evolved by himself and his forebears; if he showed some dislike of modern inventions and improvements, that is certainly not misgovernment, and may be the path of wise caution in India. It was no idle flattery when the Government of India wrote to him that they were "fully aware that Your Highness's labours on behalf of your people, which have extended over so many years, have been inspired by an earnest desire for justice, that you have performed the duties of your high office with unselfish and unremitting zeal." The one legitimate complaint against the Maharana was that, owing to his practice of doing justice himself, there was often long delay in its administration. Sir Claude Hill, however, says that if the Maharana was slow in delivering judgment it was because he "searched wholeheartedly for the truth, never seeking his personal advantage in anything."

In 1921 there was in Udaipur some agrarian discontent, not merely similar to, but the consequence of the non-co-operation campaign in British India. The trouble in Udaipur was suppressed by the Maharana's own forces without bloodshed. When it was, in fact, over, the Agent to the Governor-General came to Udaipur and intimated to the Maharana that he must abdicate in favour of his son. When the venerable ruler indignantly protested, he received a letter from the Government containing the

tribute to his good work quoted above, but continuing: "The mere fact, however, that the whole of the administrative arrangements have been concentrated in Your Highness's hands, has lately rendered your task impossible of achievement," and it was plainly hinted that the ruler was too old for his work. Abdication, indeed, was not insisted upon, but the ruler was made to transfer the whole work of government to his son except the administration of justice—the one department in which the Maharana's personal rule was open to legitimate criticism.

Now upon what right did the Paramount Power rely when it decided that the centralization of administration and the age of the Maharana together warranted pressing for the ruler's abdication?

Article 9 of the Treaty with Udaipur, 1818, provides: "The Maharana of Udaipur shall always be absolute ruler in his own country and the British jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality."

One further case may be cited—that of the little State of Saraikella in Bihar. In 1803 Lord Wellesley wrote to the Raja making "a prayer to your Highness that you will be gracious enough to take measures to prevent the gang of robbers and the band of adversaries from passing into the country of the English Company, through your Highness's country." The District Magistrate of Midnapore in forwarding the Governor-General's letter wrote: "If a little friendship is shown to the Company Bahadar at the time of need, it will do you good for ever." And in the same letter: "The whole country is aware of the word and assurance given by the Company Bahadar. They never resile from the word of assurance given." When the Raja granted the Governor-General's "prayer," he was assured once more that the Company would always be good to him.

In 1819 the Political Agent wrote to the ruler of Saraikella: "It is considered necessary to enlist your country under the protection of this Government. It is intended to preserve and keep intact whatever position, respect, honour, or land you might be holding from before; and the Government . . . means the welfare and prosperity of the country."

Later, however, a Deputy Commissioner in British India claimed to be able to authorize his Assistant Superintendent to appoint and dismiss police in Saraikella. This claim was disallowed, but the State was required to report all criminal offences. This, too, was subsequently corrected, for the Commissioner concluded that "up to August, 1838, the chiefs were only required to submit their proceedings in cases of murder." Even this statement was inaccurate, for the ruler of Saraikella had been admitted by Government to possess powers of life and death.

Aitchison himself observes (Vol. I., p. 368): "The Rajas of Saraikella have always been distinguished for loyalty to the British Government. Raja Ajambar Singh died in 1837 of illness brought on by exposure and fatigue in the Kol campaign, in the course of which he rendered important service." On the conclusion of that campaign the British Government took certain territory from Saraikella in order to bring the Kols under its own control. It is believed that this was represented to be a temporary measure, but the territory has never been restored.

The present status of Saraikella is defined by a Sanad "granted" as recently as 1920. The State which was never conquered by the Mahrattas and has always been the ally of the British has been deprived of the power of life and death. In civil cases an unsuccessful litigant may move the Political Agent by petition. The ruler must under clause 7 "comply with the wishes" of the Political Agent in "the settlement and collection of the land revenue, the imposition of taxes, the administration of justice, arrangements connected with excise, salt, and opium, and for catching elephants, the concession of mining, forest, and other rights, disputes arising out of any such concession, and disputes in which other States are concerned."

That such restrictions are not justified by misgovernment would seem indicated by the fact that the ruler was created Maharaja in 1922, and that Sir Henry Wheeler, then Governor of Bihar and Orissa, said:

"You have administered the Saraikella State for the long period of thirty-nine years . . . the revenue of the State has risen from a quarter lakh to over two lakhs a year, and these . . . have . . . constantly been devoted to the promotion of the . . . welfare of your people, to whose interests you have always paid due regard. You have thereby earned the reputation of a just and enlightened ruler."

In 1899 this little State, which not only had never been conquered by the Paramount Power, but had answered the "prayer" for help of the Governor-General in 1803, was granted, or rather compelled to accept, a Sanad requiring it to obey the Commissioner of Chata Nagpur in all its internal affairs.

An endeavour has been made in this article to restate the contractual view of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes. It is admitted by everyone that there are treaties purporting to establish relations between these two parties, and that those treaties are still binding upon the parties to them. It is equally undisputed that the existing *de facto* relationships are not precisely what would be deduced from these treaties, and that the powers exercised by the Crown today are greater than those conferred by the treaties. It appears *prima*

facie that if the Paramount Power today is possessed of powers over the States which were explicitly and in terms denied by the treaties, those treaties have been infringed. The Indian States Committee and Sir William Holdsworth contend that it is logically possible for the treaties to be still scrupulously observed although they have been extended and modified by the custom and practice of one party to them persisted in despite the protests of the other party. It would obviously be vain to content oneself with saying that such a proposition appears to be a contradiction in terms, and so in this article space has been devoted to taking the argument of the Indian States Committee point by point and attempting to refute it. No merely dialectical point has been made that did not appear to have a bearing on the real substance of the argument.

Clearly the constitutional position of the Indian Princes is a question upon which widely differing views are strongly held, and there is no accepted criterion which can be applied to its solution. It is a question of great interest to lawyers, and of great importance to the parties concerned. It is surely much to be desired that an authoritative pronouncement upon the subject should be obtained. This could be obtained by a reference to the Privy Council under sect. 4 of the Privy Council Act, 1833.

JAPANESE PRISONS

BY JUDGE MASATARO MIYAKE
(Justice of the Supreme Court)

THE word "kangoku," long used to denote "prison" in Japan, was recently substituted officially by the word "keimusho," which means literally "institution for the execution of punishment." The change of names has been made in order to remove the impression hitherto attached to the name of "kangoku" as a place to inflict pain upon prisoners by way of retribution.

There are fifty-six principal and thirty-nine branch prisons in Japan proper. There are also sixty-one small prisons attached to various courts. These serve the purpose mainly to keep persons who are being detained for trial. There are sixteen principal prisons in Chosen, three in Taiwan, and one in Kwantung.

There are two special reformatories for juvenile offenders, which were established in accordance with the requirements of the juvenile and reformatory laws, promulgated in 1922. The number of persons kept in the reformatories is not included in this article.

In order that suitable treatment may be meted out to prisoners according to the character and nature of the offences, certain prisons or parts thereof are specially arranged for the purpose. Juvenile offenders who are not sent to the reformatories are kept in juvenile prisons, of which there are nine in Japan proper.

First offenders and recidivists are kept separated in all prisons, and in some places separate prisons are provided. Certain other prisons are provided exclusively for those serving long penal or life sentences. Some of these are specially arranged for training in agriculture and mining.

Persons considered liable to exert a bad influence on their fellow-inmates are subjected to strict discipline in special prisons or in certain prisons or special parts of the ordinary prison where prisoners of inferior mentality and very old persons are kept.

According to the prevailing theory, the treatment accorded to convicts applies correspondingly to persons awaiting trial. Those

detained for trial are, as a rule, under the same restrictions as those already convicted, unless these rules are inapplicable from their very nature. Legislation which will prevent unnecessary deprivation of freedom during trial and introduce new methods of treatment under these conditions will be issued in the near future.

Certain sections of the ordinary prison are specially arranged, as a rule, for persons awaiting trial, and small prisons located close to the court houses to facilitate court proceedings are used for this purpose.

PRISON OFFICIALS

Prison officials are divided into the following grades: Governors, sub-governors, chaplains, doctors, technical experts, and warders. The annual salary of a governor ranges from 1,100 yen to 4,500 yen. Governors are usually selected from among judges, procurators, or warders who have had long experience. In the larger prisons one or two sub-governors are appointed to assist the governor.

The chaplains are selected from among Buddhist priests. Legally, Christian clergymen may also be appointed chaplains, but at present there are no Christian chaplains. Some prisons permit certain Christian volunteer workers to visit inmates who are Christians or who wish to hear about Christianity. Technical experts endeavour to teach the inmates types of work which will meet the social demands. Female prisoners are under the care of women warders. In 1927 the proportion of warders to inmates was one warder to 6·3 male prisoners and one female warder to 5·4 female prisoners. The monthly salary of a warder is on an average about 45 yen. As this is very inadequate, an increase is now under discussion.

As a rule, prisoners when first received are kept continuously for the first six months in solitary cells in order to give them time for reflection. Prisoners who are thought to have a pernicious influence on others are kept continuously in solitary cells. The solitary cell arranged for constant use is required to have an air space of not less than 18 cubic metres, while the one in use only

during the night need not have an air space of more than 15 cubic metres.

An associate cell usually holds from eight to twelve persons. The air space of such a cell must be at least 9 cubic metres per person. Each cell is provided with scullery and lavatory, and furnished with: (1) Rice-bowl, chopsticks, and a dish; (2) tooth-brush, dentifrice, soap, toilet paper, and towel; (3) desk, water-basin, broom, and house-cloth; (4) prison magazine, Sutra of Buddhism, Bible, and catalogue of the books in the prison library.

Any prisoner who behaves himself is allowed to have a flower-pot and a framed picture in his cell. Prisoners are allowed to borrow books from the prison library. A certain well-known anarchist in Japan used to begin the study of a new language every time he was confined in prison. In this way he mastered several languages, because of the quiet he enjoyed during his various incarcerations. His saying, "Each time in prison, one language," is famous among radicals in Japan.

The prison chapels are constructed with the idea of arousing feelings of piety in the minds of the inmates. Addresses are given on all holidays by the governor or the chaplain. Occasionally men of character from the outside are invited to speak to the prisoners. Recently educational films have been allowed to be shown in the prisons, and the results have proved to be very satisfactory.

The prison infirmary is situated apart from the other buildings, and includes a room for treatment, a dispensary, ordinary wards, and wards for infectious diseases.

The discipline in Japanese prisons may be said to be above reproach. Every effort is made to avoid partiality and to adjust questions which may arise in conformity with the wishes of the inmates. Ex-prisoners often testify to the belief that they have been accorded fair treatment while in prison. This state of affairs has been brought about by the faithful service of prison officials. There is another side to this problem, however, to which we cannot shut our eyes. One of the consequences of this discipline is that the prisoner becomes very captious, and when he is released and finds that the attitude of society towards the ex-prisoner is

far from being impartial, he resents the attitude and often becomes desperate. Whether this is an unavoidable consequence of the prison system or not must be earnestly considered.

The present methods of prison discipline will serve to illustrate the actual treatment given within the prison. According to the Prison Law there are twelve kinds of punishment which may be used in case of necessity: (1) Reprimand; (2) suspension of privileges given for good conduct; (3) deprivation of privileges given for good conduct; (4) suspension of reading privileges up to a limit of three months; (5) suspension of privilege to work in the case of prisoners detained for trial; (6) suspension of the use of clothing and bedding provided by prisoners detained for trial; (7) suspension of special food provided by prisoners detained for trial; (8) suspension of exercise up to a limit of five successive days; (9) reduction of a certain sum from wages; (10) reduction of food supply within a time limit of seven successive days (the maximum reduction in food may be two-thirds of the ordinary fare); (11) continuous confinement in special ward up to a limit of two months; (12) continuous confinement in a dark cell up to a limit of seven successive days (the prisoner is deprived of bedding, but sufficient light must penetrate the cell to enable him to attend to his own needs without the aid of a light).

Among these punishments, reduction of food and confinement in a dark cell are the most severe. Prison officials agree that the reduction of rice and barley is injurious both to the physical and mental condition of the prisoner, and the restriction of food, as carried out at present, consists in depriving the prisoner of the side dish or reducing its quality.

TREATMENT

The daily food of the inmates consists of rice and barley in the ratio of 40 per cent. of rice and 60 per cent. of barley, together with a side dish. The quantity of food varies according to the kind of work done by the prisoner. The food is classified into ten grades from a minimum of 4.2 go (about 514 grams) to a maximum of nine go (about 1,285 grams) a day. The limit in price of the side dish is 5 sen per day. The side dishes consist

of vegetables with a small quantity of meat or fish added about once a week. As the prison fields supply a considerable quantity of vegetables, the side dish can be supplied at a very low price. Persons detained for trial may supply food at their own expense.

The uniforms are made of cotton coloured brick red or blue. Three sets of uniform are supplied to each prisoner—namely, one for winter, one for summer, and one for autumn and spring. A shirt is allowed to be worn, and the uniforms are made to suit the special climate where the prison is situated. Bedding: a sheet, a pillow, and a mosquito net are supplied to each inmate.

Every prisoner may have a bath at least once in five days between June and September, and once in seven days during the other months. As a matter of fact, the prisoners have more baths than the prescribed limit.

The inmates are allowed to receive visits from their relatives and to write to them and to their acquaintances. The number of interviews and letters written is limited to once in two months for inmates undergoing penal servitude; once a month for those undergoing imprisonment; and once every ten days for those undergoing detention. Persons being detained during trial enjoy full liberty of communication and letter writing provided it is not forbidden by the judge in charge of the case. Communication between the accused and his lawyer cannot under any circumstances be prohibited.

Although the so-called "progressive system" has not yet been regulated by law, most prisons are adopting, within the limits of law, the method of promoting the inmates from one degree of special treatment to another according to their conduct and diligence in work.

SPIRITUAL HELP

Prison chaplains besides preaching to the inmates, both personally and in a body, also interest themselves in their educational and personal affairs. A proportion of 26.6 per cent. of the inmates received into prisons during 1927 were without education. In such cases the mission of the chaplains is of great value, as they give lessons in elementary education for two hours a day to first offenders and one hour a day to recidivists. In certain prisons

teachers are appointed especially for the education of juveniles. Where necessary, prison chaplains endeavour to restore connections between the prisoners and their families so that after release they may re-establish their home ties.

WORK IN PRISONS

This whole system is guided by the idea that work gives to the inmates moral education as well as training in learning a trade.

The management of the work in prisons may be divided into three categories, namely:

(1) Contract system; (2) State use system; (3) making goods to order.

Each of these types of management has both its own excellencies and defects: the contract system is apt to give rise to evils on the side of discipline, although in Japan such difficulties are not serious. The authorities are endeavouring, however, to increase the use of the State use system.

The distribution of work among the inmates is made after careful consideration of the term of servitude, physical condition, ability, former occupation, and future prospects. These matters are fully investigated during the first three months while the prisoner is kept in solitary confinement.

The length of working hours is fixed by the Minister of Justice. Since 1921, these have been twelve and a half hours a day including a recess of forty minutes. These would seem to be too long when compared with the hours of ordinary workers. The system is criticized by prison officials themselves, because the long working hours deprive the men of time for reflection and education.

All national holidays (about twelve days in a year), in addition to two days in every month, are holidays in prison. In 1927 the proportion of the total number of men actually working to those unable to work was 86.8 to 12.2.

The income from prison work reverts to the national treasury. Within recent years the management of prison work has made considerable progress economically and the total income has greatly increased.

Prisoners are given a sum of money as a reward for their work. This reward may be called real wages, although the amount is rather small. Legally, however, there is a difference between a reward and a wage, in that the former consists of receiving the amount to their credit on the day of their release: until that time it represents only so many figures in the account books to which the prisoners have no legal claim. In exceptional cases, some part of the amount may be left to their own disposition provided that they send it to their parents, wives, or children, or to the victims of their crime to compensate if possible for the damage done. The rate of reward is classified into ten grades both for skilled and unskilled labour. In the former it ranges from 1 to 10 yen a month and in the latter from 50 sen to 7 yen a month. In addition, special rewards may be given. A prisoner who has behaved himself and worked well may on the day of his release have to his credit several hundred yen, with which capital he may be able to commence a business of his own.

THE LAST SESSION OF THE JAPANESE DIET

BY HUGH BYAS

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The Times in Japan)

THE Japanese Imperial Diet rose on March 28, after a session which readers of the newspaper reports might fairly have called stormy and sterile. It nevertheless passed sixty-six Government Bills and voted the Budget. Interpellations on the Naval Limitation Treaty were so numerous as to amount in effect to a long and useful debate on naval policy. An Opposition attack, purely tactical, on the appointment of an acting Premier during Mr. Hamaguchi's convalescence not only made a good deal of noise in the country, but, while failing to reach its objective and divide the Government party, compelled a reconstruction of the Cabinet. Whatever may be said as to sterility, a charge of lethargy would not lie.

The quarrels of Japanese politicians often seem mere "battles of the kites and the crows," yet the student of politics finds a compensating interest in seeking what light the Japanese experiment in democracy may throw on the pressing question of the future of government in Asia. Government, as Burke said, must accord with the spirit and temper of the people. Japan's experience cannot be an infallible guide for peoples so different from the Japanese as Indians, Persians, Chinese. Yet the Japanese, in common with the other Asiatic peoples, up till yesterday only conceived of government as personal rule with paternal responsibilities. They had suddenly to seek for stronger forms than those they had inherited, and the representative principle, seen to be universal in the West, was cautiously adopted. The session just ended was the fifty-ninth. How has the experiment progressed? If an alert and adaptive people like the Japanese are failing to assimilate political democracy, what hope is there that India or China will succeed? But if representative government has been successfully grafted on the older tree, and if its results are reasonably satisfactory to the Japanese people, may it not satisfy other Asian nations also?

The Japanese Constitution prescribes an annual parliamentary session of three months, but the Diet is usually content with two. Parliament was opened by the Emperor on December 26; the new year adjournment immediately followed, and work began on January 20 with the customary set speeches on policy by Ministers.

The Ministerial statements were followed by a general criticism cast in the form of interpellations, which lasted almost till the end of the session on March 28. The interpellatory method is inferior to the English process of debate. It involves much repetition. Long speeches by the Opposition get brief answers from Ministers. The Ministerialists who have at this stage no opportunity of reply from the floor become restive and relieve their feelings by interjections, which lead easily to disorder. Interpellations continue until the Budget and the various Bills emerge from Committee. The Bills are then open to debate, and private members of the Government party can speak in their support, but the debate is often brief, interpellations having exhausted the interest of the House. The speaking is usually good. The high levels of oratory are seldom reached or sought, but members as a rule speak with fluency and are not easily put out of their stride by interruptions. As finance enters into all acts of government, the general criticism with which the Opposition's attack was opened is renewed when the Budget is presented and every aspect of policy is again examined in Budget Committee. The examination of Bills is not the part of his duties which the Japanese politician regards most seriously. The business of the session consists chiefly in a hostile examination of the Government's policy and of every issue which can be raised. The purpose of the Opposition is to discover the weaknesses of the Government and exploit them, either by exposing them to public opprobrium or by introducing dissension into the ranks of the Government party.

When the session opened two major features of the present Cabinet's policy were duly raised by the Opposition leaders. The restoration of the gold standard and the hardships of deflation lent themselves to attack and to comparison with the Seiyukai's traditional "positive" financial policy of loans and stimulation. The Naval Limitation Treaty did not satisfy a number of the admirals, and naval security is a good fighting cry. But the main attack developed along a line which at first seemed a triviality. The Prime Minister, Mr. Hamaguchi, was in hospital recovering from the bullet wounds of an assassin. Baron Shidehara, the Foreign Minister, had been appointed Prime Minister *ad interim*. The appointment seemed to be an ordinary expedient designed to meet a temporary difficulty. But Baron Shidehara is not a member of any political party, though he is in sympathy with the policies of the Minseito, the present Government party, and has served in four Minseito Cabinets. The Opposition argued that the appointment of a non-party man as head of a party cabinet was a breach of the ethics of party government. They opened the session with an urgent motion demanding, in effect, that Baron Shidehara be replaced by a member of the Minseito. The

motion was voted down, but from beginning to end of the session the argument was pursued through ramifications worthy of a debating club. But though all that it at first seemed to yield was a harvest of debating points, the leaders of the Opposition knew what they were doing. They succeeded in creating in the Press a somewhat confused feeling that the Minseito had been unfaithful to the spirit of party government, and they played with great effect on the latent rivalries in the Minseito regarding the successorship. When Baron Shidehara incautiously told a wearisome interpellator that the fact that the Naval Treaty had been Imperially ratified should be enough to convince him that it did not endanger the national security, the Opposition instantly magnified the slip of the tongue into an attempt to place the responsibility upon the Emperor, and obstructed business by organized disorder for over a week until Baron Shidehara withdrew, *sans phrase*, the offending remark. The incident had nothing to do with the navy and everything with politics. The acting Premier's slip was pursued with fury, because it made a subtle appeal to foes in his own household, and lent colour to the theory that the absence of a duly appointed Prime Minister was the failure of an indispensable part of the constitutional machinery. So much impression was made on the Minseito that they ill-advisedly brought Mr. Hamaguchi from his sick bed, overtaxing his strength and bringing on eventually that final resignation which his followers were anxious to avoid. When the session closed (with a number of Government Bills unpassed) the issue had been magnified to the dimensions desired by the Opposition. A second temporary appointment had been made impossible; the Prime Minister had to return to hospital and resign. The Minseito brought Mr. (now Baron) Wakatsuki from his retirement, and the Cabinet reconstruction was effected with remarkable speed and smoothness; but the Opposition had forced the move which, if the Minseito had split, might have thrown the game into their hands.

The naval debate was directed to the exposure of weaknesses which the Treaty of London was alleged to have left in the national scheme of defence. The Opposition endeavoured to prove that in 10,000-ton cruisers the Treaty gave Japan, relatively to the American fleet, a quota inadequate for security. The naval authorities had said Japan could not be satisfied with less than a ratio of 70 per cent. in this class. The Opposition contended, and the Government did not deny, that if the United States built the sixteen ships which she is entitled to build before the end of 1936 the Japanese ratio would be 67·7. The Government's answer was the obvious one that up till the next conference in 1935 Japan will have slightly more than the 70 per cent. which the experts con-

sider necessary, and that it would have been folly to have lost a limitation agreement because there might be a small margin against her in the last year of the treaty's existence. The argument was next developed that provision must be made for fresh construction by 1935 unless the disparity between the Japanese and American cruiser fleets were to become dangerously large. The Minister of the Navy, Admiral Abo, admitted that the General Staff was considering a supplementary programme, but the Prime Minister ended the discussion in the closing days of the session by declaring "the fact that we recognize that more money may be wanted at a future date does not constitute a second programme . . . the whole matter depends on future conditions." The long debate was useful to the public because it enabled every newspaper reader to see that the adverse margin was too small to cause any serious uneasiness and was a moderate price to pay for the great advantage of limitation.

Sixty-six Acts seem to be a considerable quantity of legislation, but almost without exception it was "weights and measures" legislation—amending and revising Bills originating in the Departments. A few titles will illustrate its nature: Postal Law Revision Bill; Savings Banks Amendment Bill; Bill exempting from taxation in Japan the Bank of International Settlements; Parasitic Diseases Prevention Bill; Juvenile Insurance Bill, etc. Of wider interest were the Bills proposing to widen the scope of manhood suffrage by lowering the voting age of men to twenty years, to confer municipal franchise on women, and to legalize trade unions. The first-named Bill failed to get the approval of the Privy Council, to which it was referred before introduction. That august and independent body preferred twenty-five as the voting age, but suggested twenty-three as a compromise provided that the vote were withheld altogether from students, some 40,000 of whom would have been disfranchised had the amendment been accepted. The Government declined the amendments and dropped the Bill. The Women's Suffrage Bill, which would have given the municipal vote to 13,500,000 women, was defeated by the Peers. It provided, among other things, that women who might be chosen as mayors had to obtain the consent of their husbands before accepting office. The Trade Union Bill, and the Labour Disputes Mediation Bill which accompanied it, originated in the social bureau of the Home Office. The former would have given trade unions definite legal status in the belief, as the Home Minister said, that "to recognize those organizations and their functions would awaken in them a sense of their responsibility to society and make them act with greater caution in future." The Mediation Bill was introduced in answer to a complaint by employers that, though the other Bill would promote trade

unionism, it did nothing to prevent strikes. Both Bills were passed through the House of Representatives, but had not emerged from Committee stage in the House of Peers when the session closed.

Several useful minor Bills for social relief were enacted. The principle of employer's liability for compensation to injured workers, which has hitherto been confined to factories, was extended to the engineering and building trades, docks, quarries, etc. Some 510,000 labourers will benefit. A poor relief Bill made provision for expectant mothers, old persons, cripples, and victims of accidents. It need not be said that in Japan such aid cannot be lavishly given. Only utterly destitute persons to the number of about 90,000 were expected to be reached. The estimates provided £2,200,000 for roadmaking by the unemployed. Another law provided compensation for wrongful arrest, but exempted from its scope persons who had been seized during police raids on suspected Communists. The only proposals which the Government thought worth a fight were a group of Bills reducing taxation and purporting to give the public the benefit of the economies effected by the Naval Limitation Treaty. One of these would have increased the taxation of urban land, and it met with opposition in the Upper House. The Government extended the session by two days, the Peers gave way, and, with this gleam of success, a relatively barren session closed.

From this outline sketch of the proceedings of the Diet we may return to the question suggested at the beginning. How is the experiment of representative government working out? Should the spectacle of the Japanese Diet encourage other Asian peoples to follow in Japan's footsteps, or are they to find in the meagre achievements of the fifty-ninth session fresh evidence that "democracy is played out"?

The picture which has been drawn is less, it must be admitted, than that of a sovereign legislature fully conscious of its powers and exercising them fully. But perhaps it would be as difficult to find the perfect legislature as the ideal dictator. Governments are of the earth, earthy, and the questions we have to ask are purely pragmatical: whether the Japanese system gives reasonable satisfaction to the political needs of the Japanese people at present; and whether its principles are being genuinely assimilated so that its institutions may become organically Japanese, capable of being developed to meet future needs as they arise.

The influence of the Diet on the legislation enacted last session was not great, and the Government is usually able to pass the majority of its measures with little or no alteration. Most of the Bills introduced each session are of the "weights and measures" type which would be passed by any Government, or, for that

matter, by any dictator. Bills which arouse a division of opinion can be, and often are, defeated. The Women's Suffrage Bill was rejected; the Trade Union Bill was shelved; the Government had to fight for its tax revision proposals. The Budget was passed, but the discussion was lengthy and by no means perfunctory. Old members of both Houses say that a great change has taken place in the competence of the Diet to discuss finance. In the early days it was difficult to form a Budget Committee which could ask intelligent questions. Now the Diet can not only muster a keen and well-informed Budget Committee, but is quite conscious of the importance of its power over finance. Despite obvious weaknesses, some due to limitations imposed by the Constitution and still more due to the relative immaturity of representative government in Japan, it seems undeniable that the system has taken root and is growing rapidly and that its benefits outweigh its defects.

The experiment has had forty years' trial. The first House was chosen by half a million voters. Its members had little in common except a tendency inherited from feudalism to think that all who were not of the Government should be against it. They assailed successive administrations with wild and puerile criticisms. They coalesced into groups which continually dissolved and recombined. An early effort to form the liberal elements into a combination strong enough to support a party cabinet had six months of success followed by sixteen years of impotence. But the elected House gradually became conscious of its functions. Prince Ito was the first to perceive that cabinets could not expect to have peaceful or fruitful lives unless they could count on the support of a majority in the Lower House. He founded the Seiyukai, and afterwards another Statesman, Prince Katsura, established the party which has now, after several changes of name, become the Minseito and furnishes the Government of the country. The first stage of representative government was one in which bureaucrats governed and regarded the Diet as, in theory, a consultative assembly which had the power of obstructing legislation and, in practice, a nuisance. The organization of parties inaugurated a second stage in which bureaucrats alternated with party leaders and were increasingly forced to depend on parties and admit party leaders to office. That stage, which began in 1914 when the Okuma Cabinet was formed, lasted till 1924, when two short-lived "super-party" ministries fell in quick succession. They have been succeeded by an alternation of Minseito and Seiyukai Governments dependent upon party majorities in the elected House. It is true that seven years is not a long period, and none who knows Japanese politics would take the risk of predicting that there will be no more "super-party" cabinets. But the seven

years of party government were not an accidental period, but the culmination of a process. The House is now divided into two definite political parties with their organizations in every constituency, and the Government of the day is drawn from the majority party. In those forty years the half-million voters have become 13,500,000; the consultative assembly has become a two-party legislature; bureaucratic government has become party government. The development seems to testify to the inherent soundness of the representative principle, and it proves that the Japanese have been able to acclimatize the familiar institutions—elections, electorates, parties, and legislative chambers—in which the principle is embodied.

The stenographic reports show that the bulk of the talk in any session is devoted to discussion of policy and administration and relatively little to the debate of Bills. The topics which do not come under the head of national policy are in the main of a practical nature—the price of rice, valuation of land, official efficiency, farmers' debts, tariffs and subsidies, etc. Much of it is of little value, but questions of administration which have aroused public interest can be effectively ventilated. The Formosan rising of last year, for instance, was seriously debated, and the Minister responsible had to meet pointed criticisms. The party system has numerous faults. But with all its faults it can be claimed that the Japanese system gives the nation two solid advantages. A Government which has outlived its popularity can be changed in an orderly way at the end of a period which cannot exceed four years, and the Government is organically in contact with the masses and is saved from the risk that administration may become a matter of bureaucratic routine or theory, weighing on the people and bound in the long run to alienate their loyalty. No subject affecting the lives of the people goes undiscussed in the Diet. The head of every Department of State can be brought to book for the actions of his subordinates in presence of the public and the Press. Not the least of the advantages of the session is that it gives the people an annual course in public affairs and so contributes to the development of an intelligent and responsible public opinion.

JAPANESE INTERESTS IN MANCHURIA

BY YOSUKE MATSUOKA

(Chief Japanese Delegate at the Kyoto Conference on Pacific Relations
in 1929)

BROADLY speaking, it is probably correct to say that Manchuria was practically unknown to the public of America and Europe until 1904, when the Russo-Japanese War called the attention of the man-in-the-street to the fact that such a place existed. Following that war, Manchuria relapsed into general oblivion until the rapid increase of Chinese immigration into these provinces seemed colourful and important enough to cause numerous articles thereon to find their way into the Press abroad; but widespread and active popular interest in Manchuria did not come into evidence again until the Russo-Chinese conflict of last autumn caused considerable, if rather momentary, excitement and attention.

Manchuria has usually become associated abroad with warfare, and in speeches and writings about it an entirely disproportionate emphasis has been laid on the prominence of this region as a seat of warfare. Manchuria has been called the "Balkans of the Far East" or the "Seat of the next World War." All this may be very interesting. To the professional writer this appeals as news, while "there ain't going to be no war" is no story at all. On the other hand, serious students of world affairs have come to realize that the importance of Manchuria does not lie in possibilities of war, which, I believe, is most unlikely to occur, at least for years to come. The intelligent observers are now devoting their attention to the real importance of Manchuria as a vast, only partly settled region, where every year immigrants from China Proper, driven out by war, famine, and other unfortunate conditions, settle and undertake the cultivation of heretofore unused but marvellously fertile lands, and thus add materially to the production of foodstuffs and raw materials, which the world needs. It is this phase of the so-called Manchurian problem which is important, a matter of construction and not of destruction, and I shall dwell mainly on these features, hoping to show that Manchuria should be regarded by the world in the light of its great constructive activities rather than as a potentiality for destruction.

Today Manchuria gains rather than suffers in comparison with China Proper, for while in the latter region, owing to civil wars, the ravages of so-called communists, and banditry on a very large

scale, constructive development, with comparatively few exceptions, has virtually ceased, and while much of the equipment for the growth of China along modern lines, particularly the railways, is falling into disrepair or is being destroyed, Manchuria is seeing a rather rapid increase of the factors of modern civilization, such as railways, factories, electric light plants, and various other factors which contribute to the development of the country. Furthermore, the contrast offered by Manchuria, which in comparison with the rest of China is peaceful and orderly, has been evident to the Chinese themselves, with the result that a continuous immigration movement has taken place. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese are annually emigrating from Shantung and other regions in North China, where warfare, banditry, and famine have made living conditions intolerable, and are seeking in Manchuria refuge and an opportunity to start life anew by utilizing the benefits which the great area of unused virgin land offers them. This immigration has, during recent years, exceeded even one million persons annually, and as still almost one-half of Manchuria's arable land remains unoccupied, it is estimated that the population of Manchuria, which is now about 30,000,000, should easily rise to at least 75,000,000. As a matter of fact, during the past quarter century the population of Manchuria has more than doubled.

The factors which have brought about this fortunate condition in Manchuria may be enumerated under three principal heads—namely, peace, transportation, and the hard-working and frugal Chinese farmer. It may justly be claimed that Japan has been largely responsible for bringing about the two former conditions, without which the labour of the third would be to a great extent in vain.

When one considers the fact that in China Proper a state of almost constant warfare has existed for a number of years past, the absence of such in Manchuria becomes peculiarly striking. It is true that Manchuria, during the days of Chang Tso-lin, indulged occasionally in participation in the civil wars of China, but actual fighting was carried on practically entirely south of the Great Wall, and while the population of Manchuria was at a disadvantage in so far as it had to furnish the expenses of these military operations, it was fortunate in that it did not suffer the actual ravages of war, such as have been prevalent in almost every other province of China. As a matter of fact, the only actual warfare which South Manchuria, which is today the most important region of Manchuria as it has been most developed, has seen on its soil was the revolt of Kuo Sung-lin in 1925, which was only of short duration. North Manchuria suffered from a condition which, while it was not technically termed war, was but little

distinguishable from such, during the trouble between Soviet Russia and Manchuria last autumn. While this was unfortunate and caused considerable hardship in some regions, it was quite confined in its scope and the damage done was, after all, not of major importance.

The absence of actual warfare in Manchuria, with these relatively minor exceptions, has undoubtedly been largely attributable to the policy of Japan to oppose invasion of hostile forces into the parts of Manchuria in which she is interested; and while this policy has at times been criticized by persons unfriendly to Japan, the beneficial results thereof to the Chinese population in Manchuria are so evident that such criticism loses all effect. At the time of the Kuo Sung-lin revolt, which was a conflict between two Manchurian factions, Japan did not interfere, but merely announced that she would allow no fighting within a certain distance of her railway zone. The result was that, in spite of the war, the transportation facilities afforded by the South Manchuria Railway continued uninterruptedly, and, as a consequence, trade could be carried on, while the safety of the foreign residents and, in fact, of the Chinese themselves, was guaranteed through the fact that these could find a place of safe refuge within the railway zone. This incident furnished a demonstration of the fact that the population of Manchuria in times of stress must, and does, rely on the presence of Japan's interests for safety of life and property, and for the continued operation of trade. It must also be noted that while banditry flourishes sporadically over almost all the countryside of Manchuria, such is driven away, to a very great extent, at least, in the regions which are traversed by railways, which thus contribute very definitely to the maintenance of peace and order.

It need hardly be pointed out that adequate transportation for the development of what may be termed a new country is most important. The development of the great American West is so familiar that it will readily be understood that no great virgin territory can become populated and prosperous without the existence of adequate railway systems. The credit for building the first railway in Manchuria belongs, of course, to the Russians, and, no matter what their political aims may have been, the fact remains that they furnished the original basis for the modern transportation systems which have, within the period of three decades, brought a wild, almost unknown, and quite unimportant region to the point where it now is a factor of importance in world economics, and has become, from but a mere inconsiderable annex to China, one of the most important and today the most rapidly developing and prosperous part of China.

Japan's contribution in this connection has been not only the rebuilding of the line from Dairen to Changchun, from an old-fashioned single-tracked line into an entirely modern railway, double tracked through most of its length, and the construction of the line from Mukden to Antung, but it has assisted the Chinese by building for them, and by furnishing them with loans, hundreds of miles of railways to various points in Manchuria. The South Manchuria Railway Company has also hastened the development through providing various factors of modern civilization which have no direct connection with railway business. Thus it has not only built towns, electric light plants, factories and similar enterprises, and has initiated industries of various kinds, but it has also provided schools, hospitals, sanitary facilities and the like which extend their benefits to Chinese as well as to Japanese. Thus the company, in 1929, spent no less than 12,000,000 yen of its earnings on institutions of the latter kind. By establishing and conducting experimental farms it has introduced modern agricultural methods which have served to increase and improve the products of the farmers, and its chemical laboratory is constantly engaged in examining the raw materials of Manchuria and finding out how these may be used for the manufacture of various articles.

While the above details may give an idea of the importance of the Japanese interests in the general development of Manchuria, the actual area under Japanese control is relatively very small. Thus the Leased Territory contains only about 1,300 square miles, while the railway zone, which averages about 200 feet in width, with the railway towns located at various points along it, accounts for 102 square miles more. This makes a total, in round numbers, of 1,400 square miles under Japanese control as compared with the total of 384,000 square miles which the Three Eastern Provinces contain. The importance of the comparatively small Japanese area is, however, well appreciated by the Chinese themselves because of the order, low and definite taxation, and general modern facilities which exist therein. The appreciation of the Chinese is best demonstrated through the fact that while the total of the Chinese population in Manchuria generally in the past two decades has increased by two per cent., the Chinese population in the zone administered by Japan has increased by over twenty per cent., and about 1,000,000 Chinese are living there. The population in the area under Japanese jurisdiction averages 790 per square mile, as compared with 72 persons per square mile in Manchuria generally.

When the South Manchuria Railway Company was first established, the Chinese were offered an opportunity to subscribe to shares, but they declined to avail themselves thereof. Still the

Chinese population of Manchuria benefits in a very considerable degree from the activities of the South Manchuria Railway Company. For example, this concern employs more Chinese than it does Japanese, and while in the fiscal year ending March, 1929, it paid 30,000,000 yen to its shareholders as dividends, it paid to the Chinese labourers alone wages amounting to 17,000,000 yen. It must also be remembered that Japan is by far the greatest foreign market for the Manchurian farmer's product. If Japan today should close her railway and her ports in Manchuria and buy no further Manchurian products, Manchuria would face instant disaster.

To the direct benefit which Japan has contributed to Manchuria by her railways and other enterprises must be added the advantage which the Chinese have been able to gain from the Japanese initiative which has furnished them with a model which they have been able to follow and which has given them an incentive, which has resulted in considerable constructive and useful effort on the part of the Chinese themselves. Thus they have, with their own capital and their own engineers, built hundreds of miles of railway which, added to the lines which have been built for them by Japan and which are under Chinese control, make the total mileage of the Chinese considerably greater than that controlled by Japan, the former amounting to about 1,700 miles as against 700 miles of the latter, in addition to which the Chinese have a half interest in the 1,069 miles constituting the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Chinese have also now begun the construction of a modern port at Hulutao on the western side of the Gulf of Liaotung, and during recent years they have done much commendable work in modernizing their main cities by widening streets, improving roads and sidewalks, installing electric light and tramcar systems, etc., all of which, of course, contribute to the general progress of the whole country. As a matter of fact, additional transportation facilities will be needed constantly in Manchuria in order to open up new regions to accommodate the hordes of settlers which are constantly coming in. Manchuria enjoys a position which is unique in the world in that it possesses vast areas of unused virgin land, while in the provinces of North China it can draw on an almost unlimited supply of excellent and suitable labour. Transportation facilities provide the means by which the increase in population can find places in which to dwell and where it can bring into productivity the now unproductive lands.

It is not, of course, contended for a moment that Japan's principal mission in Manchuria is to bring benefit to the Chinese; for while the Chinese are without doubt deriving such benefit, Japan is actuated by a desire to solve certain important problems which

face her. However, there is no question of conquest involved, nor even of colonization on a large scale, as may be shown from the fact that today, after more than twenty-five years in Manchuria, not more than 200,000 Japanese reside there, and of these a very great number are railway or Government employees. You have all heard of Japan's population problem. The population of Japan increases by from 700,000 to 1,000,000 souls annually, and in order to provide for a livelihood for these Japan must find adequate means of employment. Emigration on a large scale to countries suitable for Japanese residence is impossible largely on account of exclusion laws passed by various countries. Manchuria provides no such outlet, partly because the rigorous climate does not appeal to the Japanese and partly because the Chinese farmer, with his almost incredible low standard of living, makes competition on a large scale by Japanese along agricultural lines out of the question as far as the principal crops of Manchuria are concerned. In order to solve her population problem, Japan has therefore decided to bend all her efforts toward developing as an industrial nation, manufacturing goods which she may sell abroad and thus gain money which she can employ in buying food for her people. In order to do this Japan must be able to obtain abroad such raw materials as she does not possess at home, and she must also seek abroad markets for her manufactured goods. It is obvious that it is to her advantage to find her raw materials in regions which are as easily accessible as possible and also that the Asiatic markets offer particularly promising fields for her, partly because of their proximity and partly because their populations, consisting mainly of vast multitudes with relatively small individual purchasing power, are peculiarly suitable as customers for the comparatively low-priced goods which form the greater part of Japan's industrial products.

For these reasons Manchuria is of great importance to Japan. In the first place it produces on a large scale many of the materials which Japan needs, and, furthermore, its population constitutes a good market for Japan's wares. Therefore the development of Manchuria is an essential factor in the solution of Japan's principal problem. If Japan had political desires in Manchuria it would obviously be against her interests to see the constant inflow of Chinese into that region, as every additional Chinese who settles there makes that country so much more Chinese. Japan's policy being, however, economic and not political, she encourages this immigration, and considers that every additional Chinese who settles in Manchuria becomes at the same time an additional producer of raw material and also an additional customer for Japan's exported products. It may thus be easily understood that while Japan is serving her own interests in her

ambition to see Manchuria develop as rapidly as possible, she is at the same time giving great assistance and benefit to the Chinese, not only by participating in and stimulating such development, but also through furnishing a ready market for the products raised by the Manchurian farms, mines, forests, etc. The fortunate condition obtains where the Japanese and Chinese ambitions coincide in desiring exactly the same thing—namely, the development and prosperity of Manchuria. Unfortunately, the Chinese do not always see the matter in this light, and, just as in China Proper they often suspect the foreigner of exploiting and victimizing China, and look upon every pound of goods exported as something of which the unfortunate Chinese have been deprived, thus they also, in Manchuria, are inclined to look askance at the presence of Japanese railways and other interests, comparing the prosperity and efficiency of a port such as Dairen and the up-to-date Japanese railways with their own almost total lack of port facilities and much less efficient railways. It need not be pointed out, of course, that, instead of being injured, Manchuria owes most of her present prosperity to the fact that other nations, particularly Russia and Japan, have opened the country by furnishing it with her great arterial railways, and that if the Japanese railways, ports, etc., should be eliminated from Manchuria that country's development would be set back many decades.

The foreign resident in Manchuria is, as a matter of course, also benefiting from the peace and order provided largely by Japan and by the adequate transportation facilities which she affords. It may be noted that the South Manchuria Railway is the only principal railway in China which has functioned every day and every hour, year in and year out, undisturbed by war and other political vicissitudes. The foreign business man in Manchuria readily expresses his appreciation of the fact that he lives and does business in a region where he can depend upon safe and constant transportation of his goods, especially as this is practically the only region in China where he may do so. Furthermore, he may to a great extent thank Japan for the existence of such necessities of modern civilization as sanitation, modern city buildings, hospital facilities and the like, which have come into being largely through the initiative of Japan; and also for the adequate control of plague and other epidemic diseases which formerly ravaged Manchuria, and the control of which is due largely to Japanese and Chinese co-operation.

It should not be forgotten that various foreign countries have directly or indirectly contributed considerably to the development of Manchuria. Thus Great Britain built the Peking-Mukden line, of which an important section is located in Manchuria, and

British capital provided the funds for the first loan obtained by the South Manchuria Railway Company, by means of which the great initial work of the company was done. The South Manchuria Railway Company, especially in the early days of its existence, depended upon the United States for the purchase of most of its equipment; so much so, in fact, that the line even today is regarded as being practically a typical American railway. Russia built the Chinese Eastern Railway, and France contributed through furnishing most of the funds needed for the construction. As the world is gradually becoming aware of the progress which has been made in Manchuria and of the tremendous possibilities which exist for further development, there should be every reason to believe that foreign capital from various countries may find its way into Manchuria and contribute to the progress which is being made.

That various foreign countries have received their share of the profits from the opening of Manchuria to international trade is best shown by trade statistics. Thus, in 1898 British shipping to Manchuria was represented by 168 ships, totalling 161,000 tons, while in 1928 it had reached the total of 556 ships, totalling 2,700,000 tons. American shipping to Manchuria was represented in 1898 by four sailing vessels with a total tonnage of 2,400 tons, but this has increased during the past thirty years to 127 vessels, totalling 500,000 tons. The trade of Great Britain, as carried through the three South Manchurian ports, totalled 20,000,000 Haikwan taels in 1928, while that of the United States totalled 26,500,000 taels during the same year. At this point it may be noted that the total value of the foreign trade of South Manchuria, where Japan has been principally active, in thirty years has risen from 83,000,000 taels to 566,000,000 taels, while the corresponding totals for North Manchuria are only 18,000,000 and 99,000,000 taels.

The demand which one hears occasionally from Chinese sources that Japan should give up the interests which she has gained in Manchuria, is obviously unreasonable when one considers that Japan gained the infinitesimally small area which she controls through a war with Russia in which she staked her national existence and sacrificed 100,000 lives and two billions of yen. Japan gained only that which China had already given to Russia—taking nothing beyond that from China—and when one considers the fact that China at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, through her secret treaty with Russia, was, as a matter of fact, an ally with Russia against Japan, it is clear that China got off very lightly from the consequences of her duplicity.

Japan's position in Manchuria may be very clearly defined. She has no desires of political aggression whatever, but intends

merely to keep the interests which she has acquired by treaty. In developing these interests along purely economic lines she has done as much for the Chinese as she has done for her own nationals. When the Chinese object to the presence of Japanese armed guards for the protection of the railway, it may be answered that Japan maintains only one-half of the number of such guards to which she is entitled by treaty, and that she maintains these only because conditions, unfortunately, are such that they are absolutely necessary for the protection of the railway lines and life and property in the railway zone. The maintenance of these guards involves a great expenditure annually, which Japan will be extremely glad to avoid whenever conditions in Manchuria reach that happy state when such protection by Japanese guards shall be unnecessary.

That Japan's position in Manchuria has reached the importance which it has now gained has been due entirely to the fact that Japan has developed its comparatively small area in Manchuria by foresight, energy, and great capital investments. The Chinese, with their enormously greater areas and opportunities, may, of course, do the same, and it is gratifying to note that they have already shown considerable evidence of intention to do so, and have done much actual construction which compares well with the remainder of China, where similar intentions usually in the past have not gone beyond the resolution stage. Far from being opposed to such Chinese development, Japan regards it with sympathy and approbation. It is true that cases have occurred where the Chinese, for instance, have constructed railway lines contrary to the provisions of the Sino-Japanese Agreement of 1905, providing against the construction of lines parallel to and competing with the Japanese railways. It must be noted that while Japan has in such cases filed diplomatic protests in order to provide against establishing a precedent which might lead the Chinese to believe that such international undertakings could be disregarded at will, the lines have been built, and Japan has done nothing further to prevent it, although she possesses the power by means of which she might easily have done so. The point is that Japan is willing to go more than halfway in order to establish co-operation with the Chinese in the common aim to develop Manchuria. Japan realizes that, with the constant influx of millions of Chinese, who are opening vast areas of virgin territory, the increase of produce which Manchuria will bring forth for export will be so enormous that the existing transportation facilities and ports will be far from adequate for the carrying of such. The question is, therefore, not one of competition, as any sensibly located and well-managed railway is certain to find all the traffic which it can handle, but one of wise co-operation, so

that a transportation system may be evolved in Manchuria which will bring the produce to the world markets as efficiently and cheaply as possible. In order to bring this about, all who have interests in Manchuria, Chinese, Japanese, and foreigners alike, should assist one another and bring their common energies to bear, and this constitutes the keynote of the Japanese policy in Manchuria today.

A JOURNEY FROM SIAM TO ANGKOR

BY CATHARINE, LADY COOK

(Illustrations of Indo-China will be found at the end of the Review)

EARLY in 1861 a French naturalist, Henri Mouhot, who for several years had been exploring the wild country on the eastern border of Siam, found himself on the shores of the Great Lake of Cambodia. Eastwards there stretched a dense forest. Somewhere in its depths, it was rumoured, lay mighty ruins, the work of a vanished race, about whose power and magnificence traditions were current among the people of Cambodia and were known to the Catholic missionaries of Battambang.

Accompanied by one of these Fathers, Mouhot penetrated into the forest. In his *Journal* he has recorded his feeling of amazement when, on emerging into a partial clearing, he saw before him a colossal building, surrounded by a wide moat and surmounted by five towers profiled against the sky. A mile or so to the north *en pleine forêt* he came on the ruins of an entire city—the encircling wall and the buildings inside hardly visible in the thick tropical vegetation. All around was deep silence, broken occasionally by the chattering of monkeys, the roar of a tiger, or the trumpeting of elephants.

The huge building in the clearing was Angkor Wat, “the temple of the capital,” and the city to the north of it Angkor Thom, “the great capital.”

The curtain, of which one corner was lifted by Mouhot, has since been drawn further and further aside. Whatever may be said generally about the dealings of European nations with the countries of Asia, it was a fortunate chance that these monuments came under the care of the nation best fitted to appreciate both their artistic value and the great light they throw on the religious history of the East.

It is owing to the generous administrative and financial encouragement given by the French Government to archæological research that the ruined cities and temples, which for centuries lay hidden in those Cambodian forests, are now, especially those at Angkor, reasonably accessible, and are visited by scholars, archæologists, and an annually increasing number of ordinary tourists from all parts of the world. They have in recent times, largely through the publications of various French savants, who have devoted many years of labour to their study, received a *réclame* which bids fair to compare with that of the Moghul

buildings in Northern India, the remains of ancient Greece and Rome, and the wonders of the Nile and Euphrates valleys.

From Bangkok the shortest route is by train (eight or nine hours) to the frontier, whence it is less than two hundred kilometres to Angkor by road. But that road is not yet a road, the metalled causeway being not yet completed, and many are the accounts we had had of cars stuck in the sand, of broken springs, of shakings terrible, and of bruising innumerable.

We decided, therefore, to take a more comfortable though longer route, down one and up the other arm of a capital V, making use of one of the coasting steamers which ply between Bangkok and various little ports, Siamese and French, on the eastern side of the Gulf of Siam. Our objective was Réam, two days' run from Bangkok, whence a metalled road runs all the way to Angkor (five hundred and twenty six kilometres) via Pnomh Penh, the capital of Cambodia, now a protectorate under the Government of Indochine.

Coasting down the Gulf of Siam is very pleasant and is much favoured by residents of Bangkok who desire a restful and inexpensive holiday. The steamers, which are very comfortable, belong to a company of Siamese domicile, but managed and officered by Danes. At the northern end of the Gulf the wide delta of the Menam Chao Phya (the river on which the capital is built) is as flat as the central rice plain, but farther south the coast soon becomes hilly and thickly wooded, with many inlets where streams run into the sea. It is sparsely populated except for small fishing ports, at which we called every few hours, lying one or two miles out while the junks brought their cargoes of dried fish and occasionally copra or tanning bark. Navigation is not easy on this shallow coast, in and out of many rocky islands and round coral reefs and sandbanks which sometimes run far out to sea. As the chief officer remarked: "Taking a boat along this coast is not really navigation, but pilotage." We went aground once, luckily on a rising tide and on sand.

On arrival at Réam we disembarked our car and took the road. Our hearts sank a bit at the condition of that road, which was not at all the *billard* which had been promised us, and we thought rather gloomily that we had two hundred and fifty kilometres to go before reaching Pnomh Penh. This first part, however, was very pretty, winding through forest country at the foot of a long crest of hill three thousand feet high, almost flat along the top, and sheer cliff on our side. Thousands of years ago volcanic action must have cracked the earth and thrown one side up into the air. We were skirting the edge of a deep gulf and every now and then came back to the sea, dotted, as everywhere on this coast, with crowds of steep, wooded islands. When

we turned inland after eighty kilometres the road improved and got continually better as we went north. Like Siam, the country is a vast rice plain, broken only by clumps of toddy and coconut palms, but without the innumerable canals which are the chief feature there. There are a few villages along the route, but only one town between Réam and Pnomh Penh. There, at Kampot, we filled up with petrol at a Shell pump, exactly like those on the Brighton road, except that they register in units of five litres instead of a gallon.

During this first day the people we saw were mostly Annamites, who many generations ago colonized the southern part of Cambodia. Annam itself is another and larger French protectorate, with its capital at Hué on the eastern (*i.e.*, Pacific) coast of Indochine, and possessing an Emperor who, like the King of Cambodia and the Sultans of British Malaya and of Java, is more or less a figurehead. The Annamites, who are akin to the Tonkinese and the Southern Chinese, are a taller race than the Siamese and hold themselves better; but are certainly less smiling and jolly. A sentimentalist might say that this is the result of alien rule, but, if so, why do the Cambodians look so much happier? More probably it is due to the Annamites' racial affinity with the Chinese. After the bright colours in Siam, their clothes seemed very sad and drab. (Is there some subtle effect of clothes on temperament? Which is cause and which effect?) The women wear a long black tunic-coat to the knees, with ankle-length trousers, also usually black, and an untidy red-patterned turban on their heads. Black cloth is most dingy and depressing when it is old and none too clean. It was a pity, because some of the women we saw were really beautiful, with smooth, oval faces, good features, and pale colour. The men wear *sarongs* (a straight piece of patterned cloth worn like a long folded skirt) or Chinese trousers. Farther north, the Cambodians (or "Khmers," as they still call themselves) began to preponderate. They wear coloured *panungs*, like the Siamese. The *panung*, by the way, is a long piece of cloth or silk, draped round the waist, the ends being brought up between the legs in front and behind—a sort of glorified Indian *dhoti*, though much less clumsy, difficult to arrange, but graceful when well done, and in Siam worn in seven different colours, each day of the week having its own colour.

Forty kilometres from Pnomh Penh we began to overtake long lines of bullock carts, and before we reached the capital we had passed hundreds of them, either winding slowly along the road or encamped near by. There are no railways in Cambodia, and everything required for the city has to come in by one of the three main roads that meet in Pnomh Penh, from Saigon, from Réam, and from Battambang and the Siamese frontier. The

bullocks, sleek, fat, and clean, and a beautiful buff or white and brown, were much more picturesque than their owners. Traffic discipline has been well drilled into these people, or perhaps they have found by sad experience that French-taught drivers stop for no one. We had only to sound our horn for any cart on the crown of the road to swing hard into the side and usually stop, while children and dogs fled precipitately. But one great danger of the road which has caused many accidents is the water buffaloes, which come up the embankment unseen, through the bushes beside the unfenced road, and cross it regardless of the danger, or, worse still, stop suddenly and block the way.

Pnomh Penh is a spacious, clean, well-laid town on the bank of the Mekong, the great river of Indochine, which, like its Burmese sisters, the Salween and the Irrawaddy, rises in the snow mountains of Thibet, flowing due south for thousands of miles till it enters the sea at Saigon. The present King of Cambodia is a descendant of the great builder-Kings of Angkor. The Royal Palace is very disappointing, although in the Treasury there is the ruby-encrusted sword given, according to the traditions of the dynasty, to one of the King's remote ancestors by the God Indra himself. Next door is the Musée, an attractive building in the Khmer style of architecture, where is housed a representative and well-arranged collection of bronze and stone sculpture gathered from all parts of Cambodia. The French have laid out a pleasant public garden round a Buddhist temple and tower on a mound in the centre of the town. Near by is a new sports club of a most attractive design, which we wish could be introduced into India when they are next building a new gymkhana club-house. Pnomh Penh hotels have always been proverbially bad, but luckily a new one had just been opened, and here we had a spacious suite of rooms with a bathroom, and an excellent French dinner.

We pushed off early the next morning, as we had three hundred and twenty kilometres to do, and had heard that the road had been broken in many places by recent floods. We skirted the Mekong for thirty-three kilometres and then crossed it on a ferry in company with three elderly American women who were in a hired car and, being unable to speak French, were at the mercy of their Annamite driver. The latter, they told us, paid little heed to their cries of protest and insisted on driving at eighty kilometres an hour, whatever the nature of the road, with the result that on arriving at Angkor one of them took to her bed for several days and the other two were obviously much the worse for the journey. After crossing the river, they departed in a cloud of dust, and we drove after them in more leisurely fashion, thanking our lucky stars that we had our own car and chauffeur, and also could wind up the windows of our saloon when we

encountered a bus or lorry churning up the road, which was so straight that we could see a car approaching from miles away. For the next twenty-five kilometres the road, which was raised on a high embankment, had been very badly broken by floods, and we had a switchback passage, continually in and out of the ricefields. Later on the road began to deserve the promises given to us in Bangkok, and we began to speed up.

The country this day was mostly dull, quite flat except for very distant hills on the horizon, and until we got close to Angkor there was no sign of the great forest of which we had heard. Our first thrill came forty kilometres from Angkor, when we crossed an old Khmer bridge. Two great Nagas reared their sevenfold heads at each end of the bridge, while their bodies, lying along a low balustrade, formed the parapet.

To the visitor approaching from the south there could not be a more fitting introduction to Angkor than this bridge with its Nagas, for all through the Angkor buildings the Naga is the dominant *leit-motif* of the decoration. Tradition has it that the original Indian invaders from Northern India, who settled here at some remote period, conquered an indigenous race of serpent-worshippers. Whether they did so or not, the Khmers seized on the artistic possibilities of the seven-headed cobra. In the great temple of Angkor Wat itself every angle of every roof is adorned with the image of the seven-headed snake; every cornice is composed of snakes' heads; every convolution of the roofs—and there are thousands of them—terminates in a five- or seven-headed snake. Above all, it was a stroke of genius to use the Naga's body, as they did everywhere at Angkor, as balustrades along their bridges, their huge stone terraces and their causeways, with the towering seven-headed hood at every corner and flanking the top of every stairway.

By this road the Wat itself is the first of the great Angkor buildings that one meets. Our first glimpse was of the five central towers, looming high beyond a mass of trees. Then we came to the wide moat surrounding the temple grounds—these latter are enclosed by a wall forming a huge square, nearly a mile each way. Being still full of water, dotted with water-lilies, and reflecting the outer walls and gate towers and the trees inside, this moat, as the road took us along two sides of it, gave a delightfully soft and charming first impression of the Wat and of its position in the great forest which spreads northwards. And with that first glimpse there came at once the feeling—which deepened so greatly during our stay at Angkor—of something most romantic about the fate of these Khmer monuments, which for four centuries were the centre of so much life and movement, of great luxury and magnificence, and then for another four centuries lost

in the forest, which gradually spread over and engulfed them until they became only a tradition, almost a myth, to the outer world. Many of them have become part of the forest itself; roots and trees are so inextricably entwined with the stones that they can never be separated. Most of the larger and later ruins have been partly cleared, the Wat itself almost completely, but the work is never finished. It is a never-ending fight against a new burst of vegetation after the tropical rains of each year's monsoon.

Who were the Khmers? Angkor has revealed much more about them than was known a generation ago, but there is still a vast gap, some of which will no doubt be filled as the exploration and examination of the Cambodian ruins proceeds. According to one of the earliest traditions, Prea Thong, a Hindu Prince, son of the King of Indraprastha, emigrated from Northern India in 443 B.C. with a large number of his followers and settled at Choukan, north of Angkor. This great migration, if it took place about the time stated, must have been very soon after the lifetime of Gautama Buddha himself, and before the spread of Buddhism throughout Northern India. The newcomers gradually became masters of the country and grafted their Brahman rites on to the nature-worship of the earlier inhabitants. Another record states that, about the fourth century A.D., further immigrants, this time from Madras, founded the great state of Srivijaya, with its centre in Sumatra, which spread over Java and gradually established its influence over Siam and Cambodia. Indeed, King Jajavarman II. (802 to 869), who was the originator of the great Khmer style of architecture and whose family founded the city of Angkor Thom, is said to have been of the Sirivijaya Dynasty. The fact that some of the sculptures of Angkor Wat very closely resemble those of Boro-Budur, built in Java in the seventh or eighth century, shows that there was at any rate close intercourse between all these neighbouring countries for several centuries. From the beginning of the ninth to the middle of the fourteenth century the Khmers were undoubtedly very rich, powerful, and fairly civilized. A Chinese traveller, Chao Ta-Kuan, has left a most interesting and detailed account of the two years which he spent in Angkor Thom in 1295-97, from which it is clear that the Khmers were not unlike the great Moghuls in magnificence, although their splendour was of a more barbaric kind.

Through all these centuries they were constantly at war with their neighbours. As luxury sapped their vigour, they became less successful in their campaigns, and were gradually overwhelmed by the vigorous, but at that time distinctly barbaric, race of the Thai, who came south from the borders of China and whose descendants are the modern Siamese. Driven at last from Angkor Thom, the royal family, effete and degenerate, moved

from capital to capital, finally settling down at Pnomh Penh, where the dynasty is now kept alive by the pleasure of its new masters from the West.

As for the visible remains of that former magnificence, one of the earliest is the great palace at Beng Mealea, built by Jayavarman II.—too far for us to visit in the time at our disposal. At Angkor itself there are nearly fifty ruins which it is now possible to visit, within a radius of ten to fifteen miles, and it is likely that more will be discovered as careful search of the forest moves farther afield. With very few exceptions, all these are temples, built of massive blocks of grey sandstone; residences and offices, having been built mainly of wood, have long ago succumbed to decay.

Two groups are pre-eminent. Firstly, the Royal City, Angkor Thom, which was begun in the ninth century and continued, with a few interruptions, to be the seat of Government until 1460, when the Khmer Dynasty was finally driven from it by the Siamese. Secondly, a mile south of the outer wall of the city there are the buildings which comprise Angkor Wat itself, built in the twelfth century and the high-water mark of Khmer architecture, after which nothing of importance seems to have been produced.

Anything like a detailed description would be tedious and, unless accompanied by a large number of big-scale photographs, would be of little use in helping anyone to visualize the characteristics of these wonderful monuments. What were our general impressions? It is necessary to restrain one's exuberance, for converts are proverbially more fervent than those who have always held the faith. We went to Angkor, I confess, a little sceptical, half expecting something reminiscent of the Hindu temples we had seen in India, although on a much more grandiose scale. In those (with the exception of some of the earlier ones) there is something repellent about the disorderly and never-ending ranks of grotesque figures, covering every inch of the surface and vitiating the effect of the whole, the stone looking as if it had been tortured and twisted into those terrible shapes; there is little of the joy of artistic creation, little beyond the expression of demon-worship, fear, and all the obscure horrors of the human mind. In spite of what we had read and of the photographs we had seen, we found it difficult to believe that the buildings of the Khmers could be on a plane so completely removed from those of the land from which their culture and religion came.

The reality at Angkor is wonderfully different from what we had feared to find. There is calm magnificence, assurance, and self-confidence. With daring and grandeur of conception, and magnificence of achievement, there is simplicity, restraint, and

a feeling for pure outline in the mass which did not prevent the builders from delighting in pleasing and intricate decorative effects.

The city of Angkor Thom is a rough square with the great temple of the Bayon in the centre. From the Bayon four roads lead straight to four gateways in the centre of each outer wall. A fifth gate—the “Gate of Victory”—in the northern half of the east wall leads to the entrance courtyard and to the main façade-terrace of the Royal Palace, which lay to the north-west of the Bayon. The perimeter of the city walls is seven and a half miles, and they are surrounded by a moat three hundred feet wide. Each of the five bridge-causeways into the city is flanked by Nagas, the head facing outwards and the body held on one side by a row of gods and on the other by demons or giants. The gateway which they guard shows the other very striking feature of most Khmer architecture prior to Angkor Wat, a tower, bearing on each of its four faces a great sculptured mask of Brahma or Shiva or, as experts now think, of Lokesvara (Avalokitesvara), the Boddhisattva. These enormous faces, of which there must be many hundreds altogether—it is calculated that there are about one hundred and sixty in the Bayon alone—are remarkable for their fine modelling and variety of expression. The greatest lover of meiosis need not hesitate to use such words as “grandeur” and “magnificence” about those Khmer builders, with their serpents three hundred feet long, stone figures ten feet high, stone elephants much more than life-size, and miles (quite literally) of intricate and vigorous carving in bas-relief.*

We entered Angkor Thom for the first time by the south gate, and drove for half a mile through the forest, which in this part of the city is only partly cleared, till the great pyramid of the Bayon rose before us. This is a series of cloistered galleries rising very steeply by tiers to an apex in the centre, where a shrine of Lokesvara changed, before the temple was finished, to one of Shiva. Until fairly recently it was covered with vegetation, trees having managed to seed themselves and grow even on the topmost platform. It is now cleared, and as far as possible the disorder and ruin brought by the forest have been stemmed. It is easy to imagine how it must have looked before the Royal City was abandoned. Damaged though it is, with its outline blurred in places, it gives an astounding impression of life and barbaric vigour. Its builders stamped in stone a spirit which no amount of ruin or decay has been able to efface.

The walls of the two lower galleries of the Bayon are covered with bas-reliefs, sometimes crude but very spirited, which give a

* I have followed the chronology hitherto generally accepted; quite recent researches point to a much later date for the Bayon.—C. F. C.

vivid representation of the daily life of the people, their trades and agriculture, their combats with wild animals; armies on the march; the amusements of the Court—a circus, dancing, and juggling; the King dispensing judgment or giving audience. The animals are especially well drawn and true to life. From the detailed carving of the clothing and jewels it is clear that the tales of wealth brought away from Cambodia by travellers were not exaggerated.

This account of our impressions at Angkor would expand to guide-book dimensions if I were to attempt even the briefest description of the remaining temples and other buildings in the Royal City, or of those in the forest to the east of it, though I should have particularly liked to write of that fascinating lotus temple in the centre of a lake and, most of all, of the temple Ta Prom, now irrevocably in the grip of giant trees. I must return to the Wat itself; but, first, there is another confession to be made.

Like many people whose thoughts have been coloured by residence in India, or whose knowledge, such as it is, of Asiatic history has been practically confined to India and the countries to the west of it, we now realize that hitherto we have made the mistake (from which we should have been saved if our reading had been wider or deeper) of coming to think of Hinduism and Buddhism in entirely separate compartments and of assuming that between the two there is an inherent antagonism. The fact is that, for Anglo-Indians who are not scholars, the word "Hinduism" has wrongly become identified with modern Brahmanism, between which and the Buddhist Church of Northern India conflict undoubtedly grew up; while by "Buddhism" they are apt to think only of the purer form of Buddhism, the Hinayana, now prevalent in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and among the present-day Cambodians, which bases itself on the Pali Gospels and has little use for the Hindu pantheon.

The buildings at Angkor, particularly those I have mentioned, have brought home to us the wrongness, or perhaps I should say the limitations, of our previous perspective. For there you have what, on that superficial view, would be termed "Buddhist" and "Hindu" sculptures on the same building, the Bodhisattvas of Buddhism apparently members of the Happy Family of Hindu deities. Not far from Angkor Thom are two large temples in adjacent enclosures; they are obviously contemporary, probably both constructed in the same reign; yet one is predominantly "Buddhist" and the other predominantly "Hindu." The explanation is that the Buddhism of the Khmers was what is known as the Mahayana—as remote from the preaching and doctrines of the Blessed One as is the Romanism of a native

Christian of Peru from those of Christ. In many of its aspects it could almost be regarded as a sect of Hinduism, an offspring in harmony with its parent, like so many other sects which have grown up within the Hindu fold. It incorporated many of the Hindu deities, merely transforming them into witnesses to and defenders of the Mahayanist faith. In particular, it showed a tendency, nowhere so strong as in ancient Cambodia, to unite the cult of Shiva with that of the Boddhisattva Lokeshvara, even sometimes with the personality of the Buddha himself. The particular cult in favour at Court sometimes leant in one direction, sometimes in the other, but the competition, if one may use that word, was not one of irreconcilable rivals—it was rather a difference of emphasis laid on different aspects of the same fundamental system. The change of dedication of the Bayon during its construction, from Lokeshvara to Shiva, indicated no "conversion" from one faith to the other, but merely a change of fashion.

At the time of the building of Angkor Wat itself these Buddhist influences had disappeared, and there we found no traces of anything Buddhistic, save for the statues of Buddha which had been placed there much later, probably during the Siamese occupation.

Angkor Wat is a temple dedicated to Vishnu, whose cult appears to have displaced that of Shiva dominant among the earlier Khmers. I have spoken of our first glimpse of it, and perhaps I should be well advised not to court failure by going further. Like the Taj Mahal, it baffles the most expert photography, and its spirit eludes the word-painting of a Loti. No description can transmit its impressiveness, particularly that feeling of what, at a loss for a word, I can only call "ascension." It is only when, having traversed the mighty causeway from the western gateway, you pass through each gallery, and are confronted with the lofty stone stairway leading to the next platform, that you get the feeling of expectant mounting and realize that it was all contrived to impress the worshipper that the ascent to the deity, whose image was on the top of the topmost platform, is difficult and steep.

The sculptures are more within ordinary powers of description. There are nearly a mile of bas-reliefs in Angkor Wat, carved on the walls of the lowest gallery of the main temple, the panels being between six and seven feet in height, and it is estimated that the number of men and animals represented come to about twenty thousand. Most of them are artistic and highly finished, but more conventional than those of the Bayon. The subjects chosen are usually scenes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, prominent among them being a tremendous battle scene of the victorious fight of Hanuman and the monkeys against the

giants under Ravana. Perhaps the most famous panel is one representing that familiar figure in Hindu mythology, the second avatar of Vishnu, the Tortoise, and the churning of the ocean of milk with the great Naga. One whole wall shows the army of the Khmers on the march, or fighting their enemies. A group of the latter, in strange, long coats apparently covered with chain armour, with fantastic headdresses and three-pronged spears, are described in a neighbouring inscription as Siamese.

But to us the most interesting of these bas-reliefs was one, some two hundred feet long, giving a graphic picture of the Day of Judgment, a subject unknown to Hinduism though depicted (according to Monsieur Marchal, the learned Conservateur of Angkor) in some of the Buddhist temples in China. The god-judge, with the help of two assessors, is sorting the dead into good and evil. Through an opening in the firmament the damned are being pitchforked into hell, where they suffer ingeniously contrived tortures, portrayed in great detail and with much gusto. Above are the blessed, wearing that bored expression always associated (except in Islam) with residence in Paradise.

The last night we were in Angkor a *lakon* (dance) was given in the park surrounding the Wat, and all the little boys of the village came with bamboo torches to escort the visitors from the hotel, which faces the main gateway. We who have seen so many similar dances in Siam preferred to enjoy the moonlight outside and to hear from afar the beating of the finger drums, the pipes, and the faint melodious ripple of the *kim*.

But the sight of that company of torches and their swinging reflections in the moat, as the procession moved along the great outer causeway, suddenly took the mind back over the centuries to those other nights when thousands of worshippers, carrying bamboo torches, pressed forward to the temple to join in one of the great festivals which played so large a part in the people's life. One could imagine the King coming down from Angkor Thom on his palanquin, carried high on the shoulders of his men; the fan bearers and the umbrella bearers; the golden vessels and other emblems of royalty all round him; and his Court following behind, their silks and jewels gleaming in the torchlight.

"Lo, all our pomp of yesterday is one with Nineveh and Tyre." That same night, a little later, some ceremony was taking place in the Khmer village close by, and for about an hour the village orchestra—probably descendants of those same worshippers—was struggling to play a European tune, faintly recognizable as the "Marseillaise."

And so, at daybreak the next morning, back along the road to Pnomh Penh and Réam. We were due to rejoin our steamer on the morning of the third day, and, in view of the very inferior

accommodation at Réam, decided to spend the previous night at Kep, one hundred and fifteen kilometres from Réam, on the opposite point of the bay. Kep is a very pretty little place, used as a sanitarium by the French population of Western Indochine. Hills come down close to the sea, the bungalows being built along the lowest slope; a line of palms runs along the little coves and jutting rocks of the shore. Westwards, a fringe of wooded islands almost gives the impression of an inland sea.

After our strenuous time climbing the ruins at Angkor, followed by a two-day journey by car, we found the peace of the return voyage very welcome, threading our way through the islands from port to port. Especially were we glad of the opportunity to sort out and arrange our crowded impressions before resuming at Bangkok the routine of our ordinary life.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

BY DR. D. J. JONGENEEL

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For the development of a country like the Dutch East Indies foreign capital is indispensable, not only for its wider development, but also in order to maintain the position it has achieved in cultural, economic, and other spheres.

In speaking of "foreign capital" the term is used in a wide sense. Not only do we have to consider private agricultural or mining enterprise, trade, and industry, but also Government industries, which may be said to have been set up on borrowed capital, which is also drawn from foreign countries.

Without the support of foreign capital the Indies not only would soon suffer from economic stagnation, but in all other respects as well would the country's progress and that of its people be retarded.

It is therefore wrong to represent foreign capital as opposed to the interests of the indigenous population.

In what way can the native population reach a higher degree of development as judged by Western standards? What will render them better equipped mentally, stronger physically, and more fit in every way to advance their own interests and those of their country?

Of course, in the first place, by a practical system of education designed to make the pupils able to fend for themselves, each in his own particular sphere.

For when the greater part of ex-pupils choose a career in which their work can be of no economical value, this will constitute a danger to material prosperity. In educating the masses we must strive to impart knowledge such as will closely bear upon future work. If not, the school will only render the pupils unfit for such work as lies within their means. Their mental development will be excessive having regard to the uses to which it can be put.

Besides, the native must be given advice in agricultural and many other matters. It also applies to political matters, for in

the political arrangement of the country a task has been allotted to the population which will prove of educational value.

The principle of local government has led to a more satisfactory application of local interests in collaboration with the people interested. The Government reorganization has given a wider scope to the working of this principle by creating provinces and councils within these regencies where the indigenous element largely predominates.

The appointment of similar representative councils (the chief of all these "People's Councils" is at Batavia, and looks after the interests of the whole of the Dutch East Indies, half of the members being natives) certainly shows that desire for development and feeling of community are considered to be sufficiently present in the indigenous population to allow of an appeal to them in the management of the country's affairs. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that the above-mentioned councils can do much towards fostering and increasing this desire for development and community feeling.

The physical development of the population is looked after by the medical service by means of sanitation, house-improvement, hospitals, vaccinations on a large scale against smallpox, cholera, etc., *léproseries*, control of water supply, and many more sanitary measures. Here, indeed, much remains to be done in the Indies, and it will involve millions of guilders. Still, as far as funds have permitted, much has already been accomplished, especially in the large centres of population, which claimed the first attention as needing most care.

To take a few subjects from many, we turn our attention, for instance, to irrigation. Here we see whole districts made suitable for native agriculture; then let us take roads, bridges, and other works of engineering craft, assuring a swift and undisturbed traffic communication; let us look at the courts of justice and the police force, who guarantee security of person and property; let us consider numberless other matters, and it will be evident that, for keeping up and especially for improving the standard of life and civilization of the population, much, very much money will be needed.

The Netherlands East Indian Government draws its funds from taxation, including import and export duties and excises, and from the profits of the State industries, one of the most important of which is the exploitation of the Banka tin mines. There are many other sources of income, both large and small, but chief amongst them are taxes and State industries, also pawnshops and the opium and salt monopolies.

But it is impossible to give proper care to the population's cultural and material welfare unless we strive for a flourishing

agriculture, trade, mining, and other industries. For only then will the sources of the country's income be able to flow generously. The money must be forthcoming, and can only be obtained in sufficient quantity if the country flourishes economically. Only then will there be life and movement in which the indigenous population can take an active part. And in this school of life the native will learn, probably sooner and better than in any other way, how to become economically independent, so that in yet another respect he may strive for equality with the European.

It is a fact not to be denied that in the Indies capital and enterprise are chiefly in the hands of the European and the foreign Easterner. The agriculture on large estates, the mining and other industries, the banking and shipping trades—all are at the present time entirely in the hands of non-natives.

Whether the future will bring any change in this direction it is hard to prophesy. We may guess and speculate on the subject and be either optimistic or pessimistic as to results; we may count on the more or less favourable influence of land and climate, perhaps as coupled to racial qualities, upon the economical chances of the native; it remains a fact that at present it is impossible to say what unforeseen factors may become powerful in the future, nor yet what unknown influences may come to govern the social community. The so-called Communist movement of some time ago, which had spread widely in the Indies, should urge us to be careful of predictions, albeit that for the present no great inner importance need be attached to the movement in itself. All the same, the fact of its existence points to an awakening, to an urge for change.

We have said that the native population takes no leading part in matters of the larger agriculture, industry, shipping, banking, or trade, yet this may not be held as a reason for stopping or retarding the economical development of a whole country. For even among such Western nations as are furthest advanced in culture and development, part of the population will always consist of the economically weak. In Western countries, however, there is no occasion for this giving rise to questions of racial difference, as it does in tropical countries, where East and West live and work side by side.

The above should clearly prove that a thorough development of the country's sources of supply will bring most benefit to the native population itself.

Subjects like the participation of the Netherlands Indies in international traffic and measures connected with the increase of population we shall leave undiscussed, in spite of the further arguments they could furnish in favour of a speedy economical development.

This urgency being duly recognized, there remains the problem of ways and means.

In order to find an answer, we must first differentiate. Agriculture, mining, and other industries—all have to be considered in turn.

To begin with agriculture. In the most thickly populated parts of the Dutch East Indies we see large Western agricultural enterprise side by side with a considerable indigenous agriculture.

This gives rise to the difficult problem of establishing suitable proportions. On the one hand, the native in principle has primary rights to the tilling of the soil. That the Dutch authorities have always recognized this fact is proved by the law, dated as early as 1875, which declares the inalienability of land from natives to non-natives. Thus have the native rice-fields in Java remained native rice-fields, and neither Western, nor Chinese, nor Arab enterprise has been able to lay hands on them.

If in principle the native has first right to the tilling of the soil, it may also be pointed out that sufficient land remains for the larger agricultural enterprise to dispose of; nor must we ever lose sight of the fact that a thorough cultivation of the soil is always to be the chief object, not only in view of the threatening overpopulation of Java, but principally because, directly or indirectly, it is indispensable to the welfare of the natives.

Now and again it may happen that native agriculture, with its smaller results, will have to give way before larger Western enterprise. That this can be proved an economical necessity will be clearly seen when we stop to consider the true aim of agriculture. For surely if this aim be to provide as well as possible for the needs of the agriculturist and his family, it will follow that an industry unable for one reason or another to fulfil its object will have lost its right to existence. Whether this be due to a higher standard of living or to the splitting up of the land into too many small lots by an ever-increasing population, the industry must either be reorganized or be replaced by another enterprise. Large Western concerns pay good wages, small trade flourishes in their vicinity. They bring benefits in the form of land rent, payments for goods delivered, etc. The needs of the native and his family are provided for more amply and on a larger scale. Therefore let us forbear to cling to a fixed idea, but, arguing from a basis of practical reality, judge in each separate instance as to which course will be of the greatest benefit to the natives and in the end most likely to advance the development of the country and its people.

Sometimes it may be necessary to replace one form of native agriculture by the cultivation of some other native product.

Of course, native agriculture will always be of the greatest

importance to the Netherlands Indies, and its advancement, but especially its improvement, should be aimed at.

And well do the Javanese realize this fact.

Note the already large increase in the importance of native agriculture. Its products nowadays represent a considerable value, thanks to the participation of the Netherlands Indies in international commerce. Communications, published by the Department of Agriculture, Trade, and Industry, give figures representing the value of exported native products over a period of several years, as calculated by the Statistical Office. From these it appears that in 1894 this value amounted to roughly 17½ million guilders, whilst in 1929 to as much as about 395 million. Of these millions, 104 are due to Java and 291 to the remaining islands.*

When in addition we see that the export of forest produce is likewise very profitable, it is clear that indigenous agricultural and forest produce can bring enormous sums of money to the population, and that the indigenous population is already taking a large share in working for the world market. It is equally evident that indigenous agriculture has left the stage in which only food products were grown, and that cultivation on a large scale of commercial and export products is no longer the monopoly of Western agriculture.

It is a curious fact that the export from the sparsely inhabited Outer Provinces should exceed that from the island of Java with its large population. The reason is that Java, with its enormous population of 41½ millions, not only requires far more for its own consumption, but also that Java, covered as it is with large agricultural estates and also with the traditional rice-fields, has little space left for extensive export cultivations.

This gives an entirely different aspect to the agricultural problem of Java as compared to that of the several times larger† but far less populated Outer Provinces, whose inhabitants amount to 18½ millions.

We shall not further enlarge upon this difference, but now turn our attention to the problem of the rice supply, which is also one of vital importance in connection with the growing population.

In spite of the intensive rice cultivation in Java, a considerable sum has to be expended yearly on the import of this article.

An increase of the rice cultivation in Java is for several reasons held to be impossible, and there is also little to be expected from

* The Dutch East Indies are generally divided into two parts: (1) the islands of Java and Madura, (2) the remaining islands, called "the Outer Provinces."

† The Outer Provinces cover 1,766,181 square kilometres compared with Java and Madura 131,611 square kilometres.

possible agricultural colonies in the Outer Provinces. To augment the rice supply of the Dutch East Indies the Government some eight years ago made an attempt at mechanical rice cultivation on a large scale.

A large mechanical rice industry was set up at Selatdjaran in South Sumatra, which, however, was doomed to failure. Rats and noxious insects did much damage to the growing crops, while the stalks shot up too high and then lay down, making mechanical reaping impossible.

It was then pointed out how existing conditions concealed an economical and political danger. Economical, because the prices of rice may rise beyond the means of the masses; and political, because the people's subsequent discontent may be abused by extremist agitators. Again, the security of existence of the agricultural and mining industries of the Outer Provinces depends upon the supply of rice for the labourers; and the price of the article produced is influenced by the price of rice, for rice constitutes part of the wages. At present these industries have no certainty of supply under all circumstances.

Without doubt it is a matter of infinite regret that the mechanical rice industry did not immediately succeed, for no one dare deny that should such an industry become a success, it would be of the very highest importance to the Netherlands Indies.

It is true that the population might for a time try to do without foreign rice, for the quantity of imported rice consumed per head is not so considerable. In the years 1919 and 1920 the Government, by buying up part of the Java-grown rice and by subsequent distribution, enjoined a sparing consumption of rice, and it then appeared that, when the need arises, it was quite possible to make rice take up a smaller place in the natives' daily fare. This may be seen from the following statistics of the consumption per head of the principal foodstuffs in Java and Madura:

	1913.	1920.	1924.
	<i>Picul.</i>	<i>Picul.</i>	<i>Picul.</i>
Rice	1.65	1.40	1.56
Cassave roots	1.15	2.60	2.48
Maize	0.47	0.71	0.71
Catatas	0.40	0.69	0.52

On the other hand, we must bear in mind the increase in population, and more especially the possibility that the quantity of rice which nowadays is still produced in Java will in the course of time not remain stationary, but will decrease. For if the inclination, already to be observed in Eastern Java, to let money take the place of products in local economical intercourse should become more general, it would most likely greatly endanger the

rice cultivation as still practised in Java according to ancient custom and with mutual assistance. The indigenous agriculturist will have to use paid labour, and the agricultural question in Java will enter upon an entirely new phase.

However it may be, it is quite certain that the problem of the rice supply of the Netherlands Indies, of which a mechanical rice industry would be the most rational solution, must be acknowledged to be one of imminent importance, and in the not too distant future perhaps even one of the greatest urgency.

(To be continued.)

THE ASIAN CIRCLE

A SURVEY OF ASIATIC AFFAIRS

THE Asian Circle aims at giving to the public, through the experience of its members, who possess first-hand knowledge of various parts of Asia, an informed, progressive, and disinterested view of Asian affairs.

It is understood that where articles are signed in this section they do not necessarily represent the views of members of the Circle other than the writer.

The present contribution is by Mr. Bourke-Borrowes, who, until recently, was correspondent of *The Times* in Persia.

PERSIA AND RUSSIA: A NINE YEARS' SURVEY OF THEIR TRADE RELATIONS

BY D. BOURKE-BORROWES

THE economic struggle against Soviet Russia in which Persia has been engaged almost unceasingly for the last nine years appears now to have reached its climax. On February 26, 1931, a law was voted by the Persian Parliament authorizing the establishment of a State monopoly of all foreign trade. This monopoly is primarily designed to protect Persia against economic exploitation by Russia.

To understand this question it is necessary to realize the dominating position which Russia occupies and always has occupied in the economic life of Northern Persia, mainly owing to its commanding geographical position, which extends right along the Northern Persian frontier for a total distance of some 1,500 miles.

Northern Persia comprises two very distinct regions. Firstly, the northern portion of the central Persian plateau, consisting of a dry upland region 3,000 ft. to 5,000 ft. in elevation, where the rainfall only amounts to a few inches yearly, and cultivation—broken by extensive tracts of desert or semi-desert lands—is carried on by means of local irrigation. The main export products from this region are wool, carpets and rugs, cotton, and dried fruits. Secondly, the narrow coastal belt between the Elburz Mountains and the Caspian Sea, comprising the provinces of Mazandaran and Gilan, with an extension eastwards through the province of Astrabad to Northern Khorassan. Owing to the peculiar local climatic conditions this tract is unlike any other part of Persia.

The annual rainfall ranges from fifty to seventy inches, and the climate is semi-tropical. The chief exports from this region consist of fish (including the well-known caviar), rice, fresh and dried fruits, together with various less important commodities. The splendid timber which grows so abundantly in the Persian Caspian forests has been little exploited in the past except in the case of the valuable boxwood, since its importation into Russia would have caused competition with the timber produced in the forests of the Caucasus and Southern Russia generally.

A large proportion of Persian exports, especially those of a bulky nature, must find a market in Russia, because, under the present conditions of transport, it cannot pay to transport these products overland by lorry or caravan to other markets. In the Persian year 1307—that is, from March 22, 1928, to March 21, 1929—the total Persian exports, excluding oil produced and exported by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, amounted in value to £9,994,872, out of which exports to Russia figured at £3,462,178, or 34·6 per cent.; in some years this proportion rises to over 40 per cent. of the total. The economic position of Russia is further strengthened by the fact that the Government of the U.S.S.R. owns and operates all steam shipping on the Caspian Sea. Thus it can be understood that questions affecting the northern export trade are of great importance to Persia, especially at the present time, when, owing to recent depreciation of the Persian silver currency, the Government is engaged in introducing the gold standard into Persia, and consequently is anxious to promote the increase of all kinds of exports as a means of supporting the exchange.

In April, 1928, the Persian Government commenced the construction of a Trans-Persian railway—approximately 1,000 miles in length—which is destined to run from the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea to a point situated near the head of the Persian Gulf. It is to be presumed that one of the objects in constructing this line is to break the economic control which the Soviet Government exercises over the richest agricultural provinces in Persia. Whether this can be accomplished or not remains to be seen, but, in any case, as the intention of the Persian Government apparently is to pay for the construction of the railway out of revenue, a good many years must elapse before this object can be attained.

The chief Russian requirements from Northern Persia are the fish products from the Caspian Sea and rivers, which are valuable both for food purposes and for sale abroad, and the raw wool and cotton, which are in yearly increasing demand to supply the textile factories operating under the Five Year Plan in Russia. Of the remaining raw products, the two main exports consist of rice and fruit, but both these are of less importance to the Russian market.

Persia entered into regular diplomatic and commercial relations with Soviet Russia from February 26, 1921, when a Russo-Persian Treaty was signed in Moscow, which, in M. Tchitcherin's own words, "definitely liquidated all the traces of the former Tsarist policy of oppression in Persia and laid the foundation for a close fraternal relation between the peoples of Russia and Persia." By the terms of this Treaty the Soviet Government not only cancelled all loans advanced to Persia by the Imperial Russian Government, but also presented as a free gift to the Persian people all the valuable Russian assets and properties in Persia except the Caspian fisheries. It was natural that the Persians should harbour great hopes of a new era of peaceful relations with Russia, based on a commercial development mutually beneficial to both nations. Up to the present, however, these hopes have not been realized, and during the years following the ratification of this Treaty a number of difficulties have arisen which have seriously disturbed the relations between the two countries.

The first disagreement occurred over the question of the Customs tariff on the northern frontiers. Pending the conclusion of a Tariff Convention, the Soviet Government insisted on reverting to the very low tariff, favourable to Russia, which had been forced on Persia by the Imperial Russian Government in 1903.

Closely following on this, another dispute arose concerning the control and exploitation of the valuable Persian Caspian fisheries. Since 1876 these fisheries had been worked under a concession held by a Russian company, which had been abrogated in 1918 owing to the company defaulting in the payment of royalties. In 1920, during the occupation of the Persian Caspian provinces by Soviet military forces, the fishing stations on the North Persian coast were seized by the Soviet trade authorities, who proceeded to exploit the industry without sanction from the Persian Government.

The serious shortage of grain in Persia, amounting to a partial famine, which occurred in 1925 only served to increase the tension between the two countries. The Persian Government found itself obliged to import large stocks of foreign wheat and to seize all available transport for its transportation. This measure reduced the importation of Russian goods into Northern Persia, and, as a retaliatory measure, the Soviet Government, which at that time practically monopolized the supply and distribution of oil in Northern Persia, proceeded to raise the price of petrol. This move was countered by the Persian Government inducing the Anglo-Persian Oil Company to compete on a large scale as a distributor and vendor of oil products in that region.

By the end of 1925 the Soviet authorities estimated that Russia's adverse balance of trade on her Asiatic frontiers amounted to

15½ million roubles, and early steps were, therefore, taken to protect the Russian currency and to redress the trade balance. In December, 1925, the Russo-Persian Bank refused to buy back the chervonetsi holdings of Persian merchants, and from February 1, 1926, the Soviet Government declared an embargo on all Persian exports to Russia except cotton. This embargo was maintained throughout most of the year, and necessarily inflicted heavy losses on the entire resident population of Northern Persia.

Since the Persian national economy was seriously affected by these events, on July 27, 1926, the Persian Government appointed the Minister of the Court, Mirza Abdul Hussein Khan Teymour-tash, as Envoy Extraordinary to the Government of the U.S.S.R., with instructions to proceed to Moscow and to negotiate on all matters under dispute.

The results of these negotiations may be summarized as follows: A compromise was effected on the question of the exploitation of the Caspian fisheries. A so-called company was formed, which may be described as a partnership between the two Governments. A board of control was appointed at Teheran consisting of three Persian and three Russian directors, but the real and complete control over the fisheries remained in the hands of the Soviet Government. On paper, Persia entered into this partnership on favourable terms, but, as far as is known, these have never been enforceable owing to the obstructive tactics employed by the Soviet authorities.

Commercial relations between the two countries were regulated by a Provisional Trade Agreement of two years' duration pending the conclusion of a regular treaty of commerce; this Agreement was passed by the Persian Parliament on October 25, 1927. By its provisions, Persian exports to Russia were fixed at 50 million roubles' worth of goods annually, divided into 20 million roubles' worth of foodstuffs and 30 million roubles' worth of other raw materials. Persian merchants were allowed to export half of each quota, the remainder being reserved for the trading organizations of the Soviet Government. In exchange for the goods exported by Persian merchants into Russia, they received 90 per cent. in Russian goods and 10 per cent. in cash, which they could remit to Persia at rates fixed by the Soviet Russo-Persian Bank. All buying and selling valuations were fixed by the Soviet trade authorities in Russia; oil and certain other Russian products were excluded from the operation of this Agreement.

As the result of negotiations carried on during 1927, in the early part of 1928 all nations having trade relations with Persia conceded to Persia the right of complete tariff autonomy, and thereafter uniform maximum and minimum tariffs were enforced on all frontiers. Pending the conclusion with Persia of com-

mercial treaties, Russia has benefited by the application of the minimum tariff.

The working of this Provisional Trade Agreement engendered much discontent amongst Persian merchants and producers trading with Russia. Since the establishment of State capitalism in Russia, the Soviet Government has organized under various names a number of commercial agencies in Persia together with a bank and a transport company. These agencies usually take the form of companies in which certain Persian merchants are allowed small minority participation in return for their useful local knowledge. They import into Persia Russian-manufactured goods of all kinds, the most important of which are oil, cotton cloth, and sugar, which they sell or sometimes dispose of by barter, and they export to Russia Persian raw products, mainly cotton and wool. Persian merchants complained bitterly about the constant undervaluation of goods exported by them to Russia and the corresponding over-valuation of the goods received by them in exchange; that goods of primary importance such as cotton cloth and sugar, which are readily saleable in Persia, were almost exclusively reserved for the Soviet trade organizations, while they received such goods of secondary importance as were handed over to them; that, owing to the rates of exchange fixed by the Soviet bank, a large proportion of the 10 per cent. received in cash was lost in transfer. Moreover, the import trade into Persia has become disorganized through the extensive dumping of Russian goods by the Soviet trade organizations, which have often been sold at prices defying competition.

The main object of the Agreement of 1927 was to establish an equal balance of trade; but this was not achieved, and the balance became increasingly favourable to Russia. In the year 1307 (1928 to 1929) Russian imports into Persia amounted to £6,059,990 in value, which represented an increase of 39.2 per cent. on the previous year's figure and 35.5 per cent. of the total imports for the year in question, and as the Persian exports to Russia during this year amounted to £3,462,178, there was a favourable balance to Russia of £2,597,812.

With the profits derived from this trade the Soviet Government used to purchase every month from the Imperial Bank of Persia sterling for remittance to other foreign countries. Owing to the slump of the *kran*—the monetary unit of Persia—on February 25, 1930, a law was passed in Persia imposing Government control on all exchange operations. This measure prevented the Soviet Government from transferring abroad Persian currency and also tended to embitter relations between the two Governments.

All negotiations towards the conclusion of a treaty of commerce having proved to be fruitless, after an extension of six months'

duration the Provisional Trade Agreement came to an end in April, 1930. Thereupon the Soviet Government excluded all Persian merchants from Russia. On June 10, 1930, a law was introduced and subsequently passed by the Persian Parliament requiring the simultaneous conclusion of Customs conventions and commercial treaties with all nations, on terms of complete reciprocity. In accordance with the provisions of this law the Persian Government proposed to exclude from Persia all Soviet trading organizations. The Soviet Government, however, retorted by referring to the 1921 Treaty, under which the most-favoured-nation treatment was granted to Russia in all commercial matters, and maintained that it was entitled to exclude Persian merchants from Russia as had been done in the case of merchants from other countries, while denying the right of Persia to exclude its trading agencies from Persia. The Persian Government was unwillingly obliged to allow this claim and was unable to proceed further in this matter. A subsequent attempt on the part of the Persian Government to organize a large syndicate of Persian merchants which should monopolize the northern trade was frustrated by the refusal of the Soviet Government to agree to this proposal.

In a final endeavour to secure fair trading conditions with Russia, on February 26, 1931, a law was passed, followed by a supplementary law on March 11, 1931, authorizing a State monopoly of all foreign trade. The Government is given complete control over all exports and imports, which will be regulated by the issue of permits in Persia. The principle is strictly laid down that all imports into Persia are conditional to the export of Persian raw or manufactured materials equal in value to the goods imported. Exports are to be carefully valued at the Persian Customs houses, but oil and fish exports are excluded from the scope of the law.

This measure represents an attempt on the part of the Persian Government to break the economic yoke under which Persia has laboured for the last nine years and to force the Soviet Government to agree to a fair exchange of goods at the Persian frontiers. Time alone will show whether the operation of this law can alleviate the ills from which Persia is suffering as the result of the peculiar economic system forced on the country by the Government of the U.S.S.R. It seems hardly necessary to add that this law must inflict great restrictions and hardships on foreign merchants trading with Persia, who will thus be penalized owing to the system of State capitalism developed by the Soviet Government.

THE INNER EAST

(Conducted by W. E. D. ALLEN, M.P.)

THE COTTON POLICY OF THE SOVIETS

[The author of this paper, who desires to remain anonymous, is a recognized authority on the economics of Central Asia and the Caucasus.—W. E. D. A.]

IF it was oil that sustained the Soviets' disorganized economic system from 1920-1921 onwards—that is to say, from the occupation of Azerbaijan and North Caucasia, supplying them with fuel for transport and a little later with the means of obtaining the foreign currencies in which they stood so much in need—it is, on the contrary, cotton, which they have to import, that constitutes a serious drain on their resources so far as liquid cash is concerned.

The following figures give an idea of the importance of this question for the economic and other interests of U.S.S.R. Their requirements generally in cotton during the last years may be estimated as follows: 1927-1928, 359,000; 1928-1929, 397,000; 1929-1930, 432,000 tons. According to the Five-Year Plan, they will need 800,000 tons in 1931-1932, though it is not quite clear whether this quantity is necessary solely for home consumption or for the purpose of dumping, in the form of goods manufactured from cotton.

During the same period the annual production amounted respectively to 216,000, 244,000, and 264,000 tons.

It is for this reason that the Soviets, at the moment when they have succeeded in realizing the Five-Year Plan on the "naphtha front" in 2½ years, are straining every nerve on the "cotton front" to avoid paying tribute to foreign countries and incidentally to reap other advantages.

* * * * *

When at Tashkent the Communists acclaimed the new General Secretary of the Party's Central Asian Bureau—in other words, the new governor of Turkistan—he in reply stated that his mission was "to carry on with you the struggle on the cotton front." In the course of a notable speech, which was in itself an entire political programme, he—and with him the local as well as the metropolitan Press—set forth the essential points of the Soviet cotton policy.

"The seed-time of the second Bolshevik spring," he declared,

employing a current expression of the official Press, "must liberate the Soviet Union in the matter of cotton from the foreigner's yoke."

It is, in fact, under this watchword that the competent authorities are conducting what they call the *cotton campaign*.

"The cotton problem is one of the most important, the most vital, the most decisive. . . . We talk nowadays of the intensified struggle against the Imperialists. We can see how they are intensifying their Intelligence service within our borders. . . . They are strengthening their offensive on the economic front, hampering our exports and attempting to thwart the Five-Year Plan. The imperialist world is arming furiously preparatory to new wars and attacks upon the Soviets. What is to be Central Asia's reply to these menaces? The answer of the workers of Central Asia to the Imperialists will consist in the realization of the watchword—"cotton independence," so that our Union may free itself in this domain from the yoke of capitalist countries" (*Pravda Vostoka*, Tashkent, March 7, 1931).

The Soviet Press is never tired of repeating on all possible occasions that "1931 is the year that will decide the question of the Soviets' 'cotton independence.'" To this end they have set on foot a whole series of measures suggestive, so far as the plans are concerned, of military operations; one reads of a struggle, of attaining the objective in fighting order, of shock brigades, staffs, mobilization—in fact, all the technical terms connected with warlike operations.

What, then, is the objective that they propose to attain? According to the Five-Year Plan, "the cotton front" or land under cotton cultivation should be extended in the third year—that is to say, this year—to an area of 2,400,000 hectares with a production of 1,900,000 tons of raw cotton. Out of this total Turkistan is expected to furnish 1,700,000 hectares, an increase of 40 per cent. as compared with 1930. The remainder is to be divided between Transcaucasia (more especially Azerbaijan) and the new regions (North Caucasia, Daghestan, Crimea, and even Ukraine). The 1,700,000 hectares in Turkistan are apportioned as follows: Uzbekistan, 1,120,000; Tajikistan, 200,000; Turkmenistan, 160,000; Kazakstan, 118,000; Kara-Kalpakstan, 70,000 (Kirgizstan is not included).

Transcaucasia is expected to provide 250,000 hectares in the following proportions: Azerbaijan, 205,000; Armenia, 25,000; and Georgia, 20,000.

The new regions, 410,000 hectares.

If one remembers that before the war the entire area under cultivation in Central Asia did not exceed 600,000 hectares, in Transcaucasia 140,000, and that in the new regions cotton was

not even sown, the magnitude of the Soviets' task will be instantly apparent, especially when one takes into account the difficulties attendant on cotton-growing. One is tempted to ask how the Soviets propose to extend the area under cultivation in a country like Turkistan and to a lesser extent Azerbaijan, where water is scarce? It is true that there are irrigation works in Turkistan, and their use forms part of the general scheme for increasing the plantations by 445,000 hectares. But so far their development is hardly more than a project, the realization of which is far from certain; in any case, the data upon which the initiation of these works is based do not err on the side of optimism. In other words, it is evident that in order to find the additional area suitable for cotton growing, lands which are already under cultivation for other purposes, such as corn, rice, and crops of primary necessity, will have to be pressed into service.

Thus we see the districts of Mirza-Tshôl, Kouva, Yengi-Yol, Shar-Khan, Tashkent, Pette-Hissar, Fergana, Yasaga, in Turkistan, assigned by decree of November 30, 1930, to the exclusive cultivation of cotton. In fourteen other districts—Kokand, Kourgan-Tapa, Jalal-Kodouk, Baliktshi, Narin, Piskend, Bina-bad, Ayim, Andijan, Marhamat, Namanghan, Koudash, Youkari-Tshirtshik, and Pesti-Tshirtshik—rice only may be grown in places where "it is impossible to cultivate cotton" (*Yash Turkistan*, of April, 1931).

It is obvious that these measures are opposed to the interests of the local population, which even in the best of circumstances has not the requisite land under irrigation for the cultivation of the crops which are necessary for its own subsistence, and in consequence is dependent to a certain degree on Moscow. The metropolis, however, in order to assure the country's "cotton independence," and in so doing flood capitalist lands with Soviet textile manufactures, neglects the vital interests of the many millions of peasants in Turkistan.

This question has been the subject of much controversy among local Communists, some going so far, while remaining faithful to Leninist doctrines, as to criticize sharply the policy of Moscow, which threatens the interests of a considerable portion of that very proletariat in whose name the Soviets govern Turkistan. It goes without saying that with the methods habitually employed by the Bolsheviks there is little difficulty in getting the better of political opponents. Recalcitrant Communists are simply expelled from the Party on the charge of "local nationalism."

It was in reference to this state of mind that the General Secretary of the Communist Party's Central Asian Bureau said:

"The realization of the cotton independence of U.S.S.R. will be a blow struck at the imperialist system. At the same time,

the development of cotton cultivation in Central Asia is a blow struck at local nationalism; for this development means the strengthening of the economic union of the peoples composing the U.S.S.R. and the forging of a close link between the rural economy of Central Asia and the industrial system of the entire country" (*Pravda Vostoka*, No. *idem*).

Further on the speaker exposes the grievances of those whom he describes as local beys (nobility) and kulaks (well-to-do peasants), but takes care to hide the fact that it is not they alone who voice these complaints, but all elements in Turkistan, including Communists. "What," he exclaims, "is the burden of the kulak programme of local nationalism? The kulak declares that the cultivation of cotton is disadvantageous for the country; that it is a measure imposed by the will of a foreign nation (Russia); that the cultivation of other crops such as rice, corn, or vegetables and fruit is more to the interest of the local rural population than that of cotton. The kulak is all for the individualization of a bourgeois Uzbekistan and is opposed to collectivization" (*idem*).

* * * * *

This opposition on the part of the people concerned is observed, together with Soviet reprisals, in Azerbaijan. At the last Transcaucasian Soviet Congress, M. Pirûmof (Pirumian), formerly First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Paris and at present President of the Gosplan (State Plans) of the Federate Republic of Transcaucasia, exposed frankly the state of mind among "learned Azeri economists."

"We Transcaucasian Communists," he said, speaking of the sabotage of the country's reconstruction, "we must be on our guard against the specific forms which sabotage may assume in a republic like ours as in other national republics. By specific forms we mean, firstly, the effort to accumulate wealth in one republic to the detriment of the economic development of the whole Federation; secondly, the dissimulation of the wealth of one republic with the object of depriving the Soviet Union of the means of developing, thanks to this wealth, the national production; and, lastly, all attempts to bring our economic system to a state which will expose it to nationalist designs of sabotage.

"Remember the struggle for cotton. The watchword of various imans and other kulak chiefs, whether saints or ordinary mortals, 'No cotton cultivation,' is not an occasional incident. The 'very saintly' descendants of the Prophet have never invented a less prosaic motto than that. It is no occasional incident to hear the 'learned' economists of the Azerbaijan Gosplan, who are now in prison, declare that: 'We have no wish to

cultivate more cotton than is necessary, for we have all that is required for the needs of our textile industries at Baku and Ganja, and we have no intention of providing cotton for the Union.' Here we see the link that connects these 'learned' economists with the Shamkhor bandits (an allusion to the raids of peasant bands against Soviet establishments at the time of the forced collectivization). Here is that form of sabotage permeated with Chauvinism of which I desire to speak, and one to which you should direct the most vigilant attention in order that we may crush it as we crush all other forms." (Zaria Vostoka of Tiflis, February 27, 1931.)

At this, Buniad zade, formerly Commissar for Agriculture, now President of the Commissars' Council in the Republic concerned, who was on the point of referring to the Transcaucasian Confederation's own needs in the matter of cotton—needs which, according to him, had increased sixfold in five years—hastened to introduce the following proviso: "But that does not by any means imply that we should not furnish cotton for the Union's needs; on the contrary, we ought to provide the textile industry with raw material and thus render it independent of foreign cotton" (*idem*, February 28, 1931).

And then, by way of laying stress on his good-will towards the Soviets, he launched the following diatribe against all who were opposed to an exaggerated development in cotton cultivation:

"The plan for laying up a stock of cotton has only been realized during the past year in a proportion not exceeding 46 to 47 per cent. of the estimated results. What is the cause? The reason is that the kulaks are opposed to cotton cultivation because they and the rural counter-revolutionary elements foresee their end, as a class, in the development of this industry. The spread of technical methods and improvements in cotton growing is their funeral knell; for progress is only possible on the bases of collectivization, the rallying of rural working masses, and the class struggle. The last years have witnessed a whole series of gaps in the domain of cotton cultivation. In spite of injunctions recommending the elimination of other crops, the kulaks insist on raising these in preference to cotton in districts suitable for the latter. Thus the best lands where water abounds are used not for cotton but for corn."

One can judge from the foregoing passages the extent to which, in the matter of cotton cultivation, opinion in the outlying districts—if we may not call them colonies—are in contradiction with the objects which the metropolis has in view. Hence Moscow has deemed it necessary to intensify cotton growing and at the same time speed up the process of rural collectivization in the cotton regions.

"In order to accelerate the march of this important branch of our industrial system, the simultaneous realization of three conditions is indispensable," writes a Soviet economist in *"Izvestia"* (April 4, 1931), and he enumerates them as follows: (a) A drastic reconstruction of cotton cultivation on the *"sovkhoz"* and *"kolkhoz"* basis (exploitation in common and on collective lines); (b) introduction of modern technical methods; (c) "national mobilization of all the forces and organisms of the Communist Party in the cotton regions with a view to carrying on a relentless struggle against the bey and kulak elements, which are openly anti-cotton and have their Intelligence service within the Party itself."

"Thus by the elimination of the beys and kulaks it is hoped to transform cotton cultivation into a 'socialized sector.' But to secure this object it is necessary to attack local nationalism. Now local nationalism is indissolubly bound up with these two elements. It is impossible to attack the one without the other; success on the cotton front can only be obtained by overcoming local nationalism just as until this is dealt a mortal blow there can be no question of strengthening the fraternal union of the peoples of U.S.S.R. in their fight against imperialism." ("The Tasks of Bolshevik Spring Sowing": Comrade Baumann's report to the Tashkent Communist Party's Conference, *Pravda Vostoka*, March 7, 1931.)

At a Plenary Meeting in December, 1930, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party it was decided that the cotton regions should be collectivized during 1931 in the proportion of not less than 50 per cent. This decision, according to the Soviet Press, has already been made effective in certain regions—as, for instance, in Uzbekistan, which is expected to furnish 70 per cent. of the total production; Azerbaijan, on the other hand, which is the principal cotton region in Transcaucasia, has only been collectivized to the extent of 30 per cent.

The total area under *"kolkhoz"* cultivation is to attain 1,500,000 hectares. The success of the campaign, therefore, is made to depend upon the "socialized sector." But Bolshevik efforts do not stop there. We have already mentioned the policy which is being applied in Turkistan of utilizing every kind of land for cotton growing. In the case of Transcaucasia, Buniadzade, at the Soviet Congress, made the following statement: "We must organize under the ægis of the Bolshevik Party a system which will assure not only the realization of the proposed plan for 1931, so far as lands and production are concerned, but the transformation as well of all level tracts of country in Transcaucasia into cotton growing districts?" (*Zaria Vostoka*, February 28, 1931.)

Moscow's cotton policy, like that of oil, is not only of economic but also of political importance.

"The application of the 'kolkhoz' system to the task of cotton growing in the Eastern republics of the Soviet Union," writes Izvestia (April 4, 1931), "is of historic and world-wide importance. Thanks to this experiment, which is being carried out with the many million little economic systems once forming part of the Tsar's colonial empire, it will be possible to verify and prove Lenin's thesis at the second Congress of the Communist International, that Oriental countries can be developed without capitalist aid by the sole efforts of the victorious proletariat. The Eastern republics of the Soviet Union, having embarked on the path of collectivization, are now passing through the preliminary stage of Socialism. The success of this undertaking will not fail to arouse a feeling of sympathy among the masses in Eastern lands for the constructive work of Socialism."

Thus in order to awaken the more or less doubtful "sympathies of millions of Asiatics," the people of Turkistan and of Caucasia are to deprive themselves of their daily bread, seeking what consolation they can in the reflection that they provide the "great motherland of all proletariats" with raw materials for the manufacture of goods destined not solely for home consumption but for dumping abroad.

Caucasian oil, Turkistan cotton—these are the two great axes around which the economic and industrial life of the Soviets rotates. Thus the countries, "benevolent allies" of Bolshevik Russia, are transformed into colonies and exploited in a manner unknown to the Tsarist régime.

Behind a screen of bombastic watchwords, imposing placards, and plausible designs, the Bolshevik policy of developing the cotton industry by arbitrarily insisting that lands otherwise employed shall be devoted to that purpose is an attempt to kill two birds with one stone: the liberation of Russia from dependence on capitalist countries such as America and Egypt, and the tightening of the economic bonds uniting the peoples of U.S.S.R., or, in other words, the subjection of millions of people in Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, etc., so far as their daily bread is concerned, to the will of Moscow.

THE ORIGINS OF THE NATIONAL PRESS IN AZERBAIJAN

III

PERIOD OF STABILIZATION, 1910-1920

BY JEYHOUN BEY HAJIBEYLI

[The writer of this article, a well-known authority on Turkish history and law, was a member of the National Delegation of the Republic of Azerbaijan at the Paris Conference; he is a member of the Société Asiatique and a frequent contributor to the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, the *Revue des Études Islamiques*, the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and other publications.]

ANNOYING though this incident was,* it could not arrest the normal development of the country's national Press. In fact, a few months later an Azeri journal with the name of *Hägigät* appeared at Baku under the direction of Uzeir bey Hajibeyli and published by Orouj zade brothers, a publishing, printing, and bookselling firm of some importance.

Although during this period the liberty of the Press nominally existed, the hand of the administration weighed heavily on publishers, as we have already had occasion to show. The permission of the police being in all cases indispensable, intending publishers, in view of the vexations and capricious methods of the Russian bureaucracy, took the precautions of keeping in hand a few spare permits. They obtained under different names and titles the right of issuing periodicals so as to be able to publish the same paper under another designation in the case of suspension. Thus *Hägigät* frequently underwent a change of name; up to 1917, the year of the Russian revolution, the Orouj zade brothers' publication was called successively *Hägigät* ("Truth"), *Gunäsh* ("Sun"), *Yeni-Hägigät* ("New Truth"), *Igbal* ("The Future"), *Yeni Igbal* ("New Future"), *Hägigati Eşkar* ("Truth of Opinions"), *Mä'lumat* ("Informations"), *Yeni-Irshad* ("The New Guide towards the Right Way"), *Tazä Khäbär* ("New News"), *Son Khäbär* ("Latest News"). The editorial staff changed equally; the only journalists of note, however, were the above-named Hajibeyli and Rasoul zade, and they only for a short period. The publishers, not being pure intellectuals, had an eye mainly on their profits. The periodicals in question

* See *The Asiatic Review*, Vol. XXVII., April, 1931.

appeared first three times a week and then daily. Their circulation did not exceed 3,000.

The *Hägigüt* was soon followed by a new journal—*Sāda* ("Voice"), edited and published at Baku by Hashim bey Vezirof, lately returned from a short exile. This paper (thrice weekly at first and then daily) in turn was obliged to change its name twice, adding first *Vātān* ("Fatherland"), and secondly *Hākķ* ("Justice") to its original title. It survived until the end of 1915, when Hashim bey died.

These organs, of modest enough format, were distinguished by their caustic wit, thanks to the editors' verve. They were especially appreciated in some circles of the Azeri public during the war, as by means of equivocal phrases they conveyed to their readers the reverse of the official bulletins, according to which the Russian armies were always victorious. When the frontier town of Sari-Kamish, close to the fortress of Kars, was captured suddenly by the Turks, thanks to a diversion by Enver Pasha, Hashim bey had recourse to a stratagem in order to inform his readers of the fact which was dissembled by Russian authorities. He related in one of his habitually humorous-satirical chronicles the case of a schoolmaster who had lost his "yellow reed pen." His ingenuity will be appreciated when it is remembered that *sari-ķamish* means "yellow reed."

In addition to these papers M. Vezirof published during this period two satirical and humorous pamphlets, *Māzāli* ("Odd fellow") and *Māzah* ("Comic anecdote").

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Another cycle of periodical organs of a literary and satirical character was published also at Baku during 1910-1917 under the direction of the popular poet Ali Abas Muznib. The following were their titles: *Hilal* ("Crescent"), *Shihab Sagib* ("Lightning"), *Dirilik* ("Existence"), *Zouti* ("Parrot"), *Babāi Emir* (an oriental comic personage). Each had a short existence and was weekly or bi-weekly. It is curious to note that the founder, publisher, and director of these organs often added a further rôle to his activities, in delivering the copies himself to the subscribers for reasons of economy.

Generally speaking, the period under review is marked by an absence of weighty organs from a moral and material point of view. It is rather a period of imitation, in which people from various environments in search of glory seek to play some part in the social and political arena, or merely to give vent to personal spite. From the material point of view there were very few who were in a position to defray the expenses connected with keeping up an organ, more or less weighty, possessing an

adequate equipment, and capable of rallying to it intellectual forces of a more or less solid nature.

The intellectual society *Nijat* ("Safety") published its bulletin in the form of a journal under the same name in Turko-Azeri and Russian. It only lasted from 1910-1912.

About the same period there was an attempt to revive, if not *Fewzat* itself, at least a literary organ of a similar kind. In fact, an illustrated literary review bearing the name of *Yeni-Fewzat* ("New Charms") appeared in 1910 under the direction of a certain Ali Pasha Hussein zade, who must not be confused with his illustrious namesake. It ceased publication at the end of a year.

A weekly review called *Hükk Yolou* ("Path of Justice") was published at Baku under the direction of Dr. Kara bey Karabekof (1911-1912).

The women of Azerbaijan had, too, their weekly review, though its life was short owing to lack of funds. This was called *Ishig* ("The Light"), and was edited and published at Baku in 1912 by Mrs. Khädiyä Khanoum Alibekova; it was the first venture of its kind.

Among the longer-lived periodicals must be noted the scholastic review *Meekteb* ("School"), which appeared at Baku from 1911 to 1920, with the exception of a break during the period of disorders. The publishers were two schoolmasters—Gafour Reshad and Abdurähman bey.

The paper that held the record for brief existence was *Mirät* ("The Mirror"), only one number of which was published.

During 1912-1913 a satirical journal, *Käl Niyät* (another comic personage in the East), was brought out at Baku by a journalist—Haji Ibrahim Kasim zade, who subsequently published a politico-social weekly under the name of *Bäsirät* ("Effort"), which ran from 1913-1920 with the exception of certain interruptions.

The former publisher of *Irshad*, Issa bey Ashourbeyli, brought out at Baku (1913-1914) an illustrated humorous journal called *Shäldälä*. It was, however, far from equalling the famous *Molla Nasreddin*.

A political newspaper, *Kourtoloush* ("Liberation"), was also published at Baku under the auspices of Hussein Sadik, but speedily came to an end.

Among Azeri organs of more or less importance must be noted *Atshik Söz* ("Frank Word"), which began to appear at Baku

in 1915 under the direction of M. Rasoul zade, who had returned from exile. It was a daily and lasted until March, 1918, when its offices, like those of *Kaspie*, were burnt during the massacres of the Muslim population of the town.

Atshik Söz's motto was "Turkify, Islamize, Modernize," and these three watchwords give a good idea of its political programme.

The same direction had been responsible for its predecessor, the weekly *Dogrou Söz* ("Just Word"), of which only a few numbers appeared.

As has been noticed, all these organs were published at Baku, the other towns of Azerbaijan not being represented by any organ.

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During the period of the Russian revolution (February), the Azeri periodical press was increased by several new organs, which appeared and disappeared with recurrent spontaneity, such as *İttifaq Mutâ'allimin* ("Students Union"), *Gänjlär Sədasi* ("Voice of Youth"), ephemeral efforts inspired by young Azeri students.

On the other hand, the various political parties as they again made their appearance in the arena hastened to provide themselves with organs for the dissemination of their opinions. Thus the Azeri Socialist parties, grouped under the name of *Hummät*, published (1917-1918) *Hummät* ("Help, Effort") and *Zähmät Sədasi* ("Labour's Voice"). The revolutionary Socialist group was represented by *Fä'lä vâ Ekintshi* ("Worker and Peasant").

The Conservative-traditionalists founded a daily paper with the name of *İttihad* ("Union"), which was edited by the present writer (1917-1918).

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When the National Government of Azerbaijan came into existence, organs of different shades of political and social programmes saw the light of day.

The first number of the new Government's semi-official journal, *Azerbaijan*, appeared at Gänjä, as Baku, the capital of the new Republic, was still in the hands of Russo-Armenian elements, who shortly before had thrown in their lot with the Bolsheviks. The publication of the first number coincided with the capture of Baku (September 15, 1918). *Azerbaijan* was first produced in two languages, Turko-Azeri and Russian, under the direction of the present writer and Shäfi bey Rustembeyli. With its transference to Baku, it was published in two editions, Jeyhoun bey Hadjibeyli being responsible for the Turko-Azeri and Shäfi bey Rustembeyli for the Russian. Both were important from

the point of view of format and contents, having grouped round them all the intellectual forces in the country that were devoted to journalism; the appearance, too, was good and comparable with European newspapers. The circulation of the Turko-Azeri edition exceeded 4,000 and the Russian 7,000. The two editions continued down to the arrival of the Bolsheviks in April, 1920; when the present writer left Baku for the Peace Conference early in 1919, the Turkish edition was carried on by Uzeir bey Hajibeyli.

In addition to the *Azerbaijan*, there was an official journal known as the *Azerbaijan Government's Bulletin*.

As a journal supporting the Government, *Musavat*, afterwards *Istiglal* ("Independence"), must be mentioned; it was the organ of the Turkish Federalist party, *Musavat*, under the direction of M. Rasoul zade.

At the same time there were various literary and economic journals such as the satirical *Sheipour* ("Horn"), directed by M. E. Sidgi (1918-1919); the literary *Mädäniy'ät* ("Civilization"), published by a group of young intellectuals; *Zähmät Hüyati* ("Laborious Life") and *Kourtouloush Yolou* ("Way of Liberation"), both devoted to economics; *Evrägi Näfisä* ("Artistic Leaves"), directed by Zulfugar bey Hajibeyli.

The Opposition organs, though less important, were more numerous. *Ittihad*, revived once more by Conservatives and Clericals, was under the direction of Dr. Karabekof.

Another parliamentary group—*Ahrar*—was represented by an organ named *El* ("People"), and the Socialists by *Al-Bäirak* ("Red Flag") and *Dogrou Yol* ("Right Way"); the revolutionary Socialists by *Khalktshi* ("Friend of the People").

Finally, the young Azeri Communists, whose spokesman in Parliament was Ali Häidar Karaef, had their own organ, which changed its name on various occasions—*Fukära Sädasi* ("Voice of the Proletariat"), *Häkq Sädasi* ("Voice of Justice"), *Azerbaijan Fukärası* ("The Proletariat of Azerbaijan"), *Yoldash* ("Comrade"), *Mäsh'ül* ("Torch"), with the said Karaef as editor throughout.

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The existence of the Azeri National Press was subjected, as we have seen, from its inception to many difficulties of various kinds, and came to an end with the Bolshevik invasion.

The period was not long enough for the Press to be stabilized in any ordinary conception of the word. On the whole the most favourable period for its growth only extended for fifteen years (1905-1920), if the first Azeri journal, Hasan bey Melik zade's *Akintshi*, is left out of the reckoning.

The real stabilization still awaits its hour, and only the future can tell whether this hour will ever strike.

At the present moment in Azerbaijan a few journals are published in Azeri, the most important of which is the official organ of the Communist party with Baku as its home—*The Communist*.

This brings to an appropriate close our study, which was solely concerned with the subject of the national Press.

There are four periods in the history of the development of the national Press of Azerbaijan:

1. Trial period (1875-1905), during which genuinely political ideas were wanting; the Press confined its activities to special domains and to certain aspects of social life. The public looked on with curiosity.

2. Beginning of a real journalistic spirit, but closely connected with certain personalities—a period of enthusiasm on the part of Azeri society, which saw a chance of giving free vent to its national consciousness. Ideological period (1905-1909).

3. Period during which the Press was industrialized, resulting in a reaction on the part of Azeri society, which no longer considered the national Press as an ideological venture. Hence a certain diminution of interest or a cool, unenthusiastic attitude (1910-1917).

4. Period of regularization (1918-1920), during which the Press came into line with that of advanced countries in the matter of classification of ideas and political programmes. This period was of short duration and was interrupted at a moment of full expansion.

THE SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

BY PROFESSOR J. COATMAN, C.I.E.

(One of the British Delegates)

THE 21ST Session of the International Colonial Institute was held in Paris from the 5th to the 8th of this month. Its proceedings appear to have escaped completely the notice of the Press of this country. The Institute was founded in 1893 with the object of bringing into touch with each other men from different countries, whether politicians, administrators, or savants, qualified to discuss the various classes of problems arising out of the possession of colonies by the great colonizing nations, and of organizing an international clearing-house of knowledge and information relating to such problems.

At the Paris Session this year there were present representatives of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Holland, Portugal, and Spain. Any international gathering for the purpose of exchanging ideas and information between representatives of the different colonizing nations on the present and, still more, the future development of colonies and their relations with their metropolitan countries and the rest of the world is inherently a matter of vital importance. But the recent Session in Paris has a significance peculiar to itself in the series of Sessions which have been held since the foundation of the International Colonial Institute in 1893. A glance through the records of the preceding Sessions will reveal them as having been largely occupied with the technical problems of administration, hygiene, finance, irrigation, law, etc. But the Session this year devoted itself to certain broad yet deep problems of economics and education, the latter comprising also an element of anthropology—the importance of which is becoming daily more apparent in matters of colonial policy and development—in the consideration devoted to the importance of the protection of indigenous customs.

On the economic side the Session devoted itself to a consideration of the division of economic activities between the various metropolitan countries and their colonies.

The position with regard to the French Colonial Empire was stated by M. Neveu. Professor G. Gonggrijp, of Amsterdam University, did the same for Holland; M. Lisboa de Lima, ex-Minister of Colonies for Portugal, read a paper on the Portuguese colonies; whilst the British side was given by the present writer.

One sitting was devoted to a discussion of the problems and points of view raised by the papers mentioned above, members belonging to all the countries represented taking part in the discussion. The idea that the mother country should impose her will on her colonies or other possessions in economic and fiscal matters found no support, and, on the whole, opinion favoured the granting of a wide measure of autonomy to the colonies in their economic development. This, of course, does not mean that there can be anything like complete autonomy in administrative or political affairs—at any rate, until important changes have taken place in the whole circumstances and conditions of the dependent colonies and other possessions. But the bulk of the Session was devoted to discussing education and the proper protection of native customs among the indigenous peoples of the colonial countries. This part of the Session's activities evoked a number of extremely valuable papers. M. Georges Hardy, director of the *École Coloniale Française*, and M. Henri Gourdon, Professor at the *École Coloniale* and also at the *École de Sciences Politiques de Paris*, read papers upon education in the French possessions in Africa and Indo-China respectively. M. J. Hardman, formerly the Director of the Department of Education in Batavia, and M. W. F. Winkler discussed the problems of education in the Dutch East Indies. M. le Dr. R. Micacchi, head of the Department of Education and Archaeology in the Colonial Office at Rome, explained what was happening in this matter in the Italian colonies. Education in the Portuguese colonies was dealt with by Count Penha Garcia. Lastly, a valuable but unsigned monograph on education in the Belgian Congo was submitted on behalf of the Belgian Delegation to the Session. Mr. Vischer, Secretary of the Permanent Committee on African Education at the Colonial Office, had intended to furnish the delegates to the Session with a written report on education in the British Crown Colonies, but unfortunately he had to abandon this intention on medical advice. Instead, however, he gave a full and very vivid account in person of the matters which would have occupied his written report. Although this side of the work of the Session dealt so largely with the imponderables of colonial activity, it was quite impossible for anybody present to avoid being profoundly impressed by the vigour, scope, and imagination with which the work of education is being pressed forward by all the colonizing nations.

Naturally, the papers read and the speeches made at the Session revealed certain differences in practice between the educational work of the various countries, but, nevertheless, it was clear that certain broad aims were held in common, and nothing but good can come from such full and open discussion of this

vitaly important and truly creative subject of the education of the indigenous peoples in the different colonial possessions.

The last item of the Session's work which need be noticed here is the attention devoted to the question of what ought to be preserved and fostered in native customs. A very interesting paper was read in connection with the French possessions in Africa by M. Labouret, Director of the Institut International des Langues et des Civilisations Africaines. The discussion on this particular subject, to which notable contributions were made from the British side by Sir Herbert Taylor and Major Buxton, gave striking testimony to the attention which is being devoted to the anthropological side of the colonial administration, and it is not rash to hazard the belief that at future Sessions of the International Colonial Institute anthropology will be increasingly in evidence.

It is to be hoped that this account, brief and inadequate as it is, of the 21st Session of the International Colonial Institute will give some idea of the interest and importance of the work which it is carrying on. The Institute has for years published a series of very valuable books and other documents relating to various sides of colonial administration all over the world, and, in particular, mention should be made of its annual publication entitled *L'Annuaire de Documentation Coloniale Comparée*, which is a bibliography of first-class importance to all who are interested in colonial matters.

It goes without saying that the social side of the Session, held as it was in Paris, was thoroughly successful. The French members of the Institute not only gave their foreign colleagues a banquet but extended private invitations to them, and in this way a number of delightful acquaintances were formed. Other social activities included a most delightful and instructive visit to Chantilly. In addition to the names already mentioned, the British Delegation included Professor A. P. Newton of London University and Professor Basil Williams of Edinburgh. No account of the Session, however inadequate, can omit mention of the excellent work accomplished by its General Secretary, M. O. Louwers, of Brussels. The next will be held at Lisbon in two years' time, after which it is hoped to arrange a meeting in London.

CORRESPONDENCE

FOUNDATION OF A PROVISIONAL BUREAU FOR THE STUDY
OF EXOTIC CUSTOMARY LAW

I. Half the globe is still under the sway of non-codified Oriental and Tropical law. The anticipation of the nineteenth century that these law systems were destined to disappear shortly has not been fulfilled, and juridical science acknowledges their importance more and more. Moreover, Article 9 of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague (1920), while it guarantees equal respect to the various juridical systems of the world, seems to take this exotic law under its protection as well as European law.

II. The difficulty is to know its tenor, to study its contents without prejudice, and to know who are the persons occupying themselves with it.

III. By way of a provisional sketch and for practical use, we may distinguish eight systems of exotic law—namely:

(a) Oceanic law.

(b) Japanese, Chinese, Annamite, and Siamese law. Even in case these systems of law should be codified in the modern manner, traditional and popular law would not suddenly disappear; to know it would still remain indispensable for the purpose of applying and interpreting these codes, such as they live in the daily life and as they are embodied in the jurisprudence.

(c) Indonesian law (Formosa, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Malay Peninsula, etc., the Chams of French Indo-China, Madagascar). The International Academic Union, founded in 1919, has just evinced its interest in a practical way, by taking up the printing of a provisional dictionary of Indonesian law, which undertaking is subsidized by six nations.

(d) The indigenous law of India.

(e) The law of Western Asia.

(f) The indigenous law of North-Western Africa, of Tripoli, and of Egypt.

(g) The indigenous law of Central and South Africa.

(h) The law of the indigenous populations of North, Central, and South America.

IV. In order to facilitate the study of these systems of law, we need to know first the work that has already been done and the various persons (students of law or not, and especially those who live on the spot) on whose collaboration we may rely.

V. For the study of Indonesian law (see above, III c) the Dutch have founded at Batavia an "Adat Law Section" (1926) of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (1778), and at Leyden an "Adat Law Foundation" (1917). An inquiry will be instituted in the Philippines in 1931. A *List of Books and Articles on the Customary Law of Indonesia* of 455 pages was published in 1927. These organizations and their publications supply the wants of juridical ethnology in a fragmentary way only.

VI. For this reason and at the instance of the Adat Law Foundation at Leyden mentioned above, the "Salle de travail d'ethnologie juridique," founded in 1929 in the Faculty of Law of the University of Paris, has resolved to declare itself prepared to act provisionally as a central bureau for the study of exotic customary law, in this sense that it undertakes to bring the scattered students, who often have not heard of each other, into contact. It therefore calls upon all those who are able to give information about data concerning the non-codified law of one of the eight groups mentioned under III. It proposes to publish all information received in a bulletin once or twice a year in order to gradually furnish the indispensable organization for this study, the urgent need of which is felt more every day.

VII. Communications may be addressed to M. le Professeur René Maunier, 7 Avenue d'Orléans, à Paris-14e.

RENÉ MAUNIER,

Professor in the University of Paris.

C. VAN Vollenhoven,

Professor in the University of Leyden.

1931.

EARLY WOMEN TRAVELLERS IN ARABIA

BY MISS CHRISTABEL DRAPER

"IN the evening I put my pistols in proper order, and made up my mind not to sell my life cheaply." These words might have been discovered in a diary kept by one of the Three Musketeers, but they were found in quite another place, having been written by a Viennese lady as she journeyed in Arabia in the nineteenth century. The phrase shows well of what mettle the early women travellers in Arabia were made, and gives some indication of the exciting stories many of them had to tell when they reached home.

Amongst the most interesting records that remain to us are those of Lady Anne Blunt, Mrs. Bent, Lady Hester Stanhope, Madame Pfeiffer and Pauline Helfer—not forgetting the mysterious Lady Venus of Mecca—all of whom travelled or lived in this difficult and dangerous corner of Asia before Miss Gertrude Bell.

Lady Anne Blunt was Lord Byron's granddaughter, the wife of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt the poet, and the first Englishwoman to number the nomad Arabs amongst her friends. She and her husband founded the famous stud of Arab horses at Crabbet Park, which their daughter Lady Wentworth (herself a poet and a traveller) has carried on until this day.

Few great travellers, men or women, have succeeded in painting their way right across or deep into the heart of Arabia, but Lady Anne Blunt was one of these. And when we consider that the first long trip she took in 1877-78 with her husband in this part of the world led her from Aleppo to Baghdad, and included a sojourn amongst the Anaze and Shammar tribesmen on the way home, and that the second trip in 1879 took her via Jauf and Jobba to Hail returning to Baghdad with the Persian Pilgrim Caravan, and that all the way this gifted lady described and painted with the clean, swift strokes of an artist every interesting place or exciting scene through which she passed, it will be obvious how pleasing and how illuminating the records of her journeys are.

Perhaps the most precious of her pictures is one of the Nefud, that mysterious belt of sand dunes which separates Jebel Shammar from the Syrian desert, the test of travellers, and a terrible place in which to lose one's way or succumb to exhaustion or thirst. Not many Europeans have crossed it. An early adventurer described it before the Blunts went there as a Sea of Fire.

In spite of this, Lady Anne plunged gaily into it quite undaunted by the fact that she had hardly recovered from an encounter with a hostile raiding party, and was suffering from the effects of a badly sprained knee at the time. The following notes from her *Journal* give some idea of her passage through this fearful and wonderful place. On January 12, 1879, she writes:

"At half-past three o'clock we saw a red streak on the horizon before us, which rose and gathered as we approached it, stretching out east and west in an unbroken line. It might at first have been taken for an effect of mirage, but on coming nearer we found it broken into billows, and but for its red colour not unlike a stormy sea seen from the shore, for it rose up, as the sea seems to rise, when the waves are high, above the level of the land. Somebody called out 'the Nefud,' and though for a while we were incredulous, we were soon convinced. What surprised us was its colour, that of rhubarb and magnesia, and nothing like what we had expected. Yet the Nefud it was, the great red desert of Central Arabia. In a few minutes we had cantered up to it, and our mares were standing with their feet in its waves."

The next few pages of the diary are given over to a description of the physical features of the desert, but by January 15 Lady Anne begins to notice the slow progress made by the party from day to day; while Radi, the guide, endeavoured to cheer the travellers by telling them stories of all those who had entered the Nefud before them and never come out alive!

"In almost every hollow there were bones," so runs the diary now, "generally bones of camels. At the bottom, however, of one fulji (a horseshoe-shaped pit, many of which are shown in the picture) there were bones of another sort. Here a raiding party perished. The bones were white, but there were bits of skin still clinging to them, though Radi said it happened ten years ago." A little later he pointed out the remains of forty camel riders, who had lost their way and perished of thirst!

Soon after this came three ominous entries in the *Journal*:

January 17—"Our water is now running rather short." . . .

January 18—"The sand seems to get deeper and deeper. . . . But for the hills which we see before us every time we rise to the crest of a wave, it would be very hopeless work. Everyone is very serious tonight."

January 19—"A terrible day for camels and men." . . .

At last, after days of struggling southward along the top and up and down between the huge sandhills, the party emerged safe and fairly sound into the hollow where the little town of Jobba lies. Here they rested two days before proceeding on their journey to Hail; that exciting but dangerous city, the centre of Ibn Rashid's Government of which Miss Bell wrote thirty-five years later, "Still

to the spiritual sense the place smells of blood." It would take many pages to tell of all that happened to them there. The fullest account of their sojourn in Nejd, and indeed of all their Arabian wanderings, remains still in the long unpublished diaries at Crabbet Park, but a detailed and very pleasant record of their journeys can also be found in two books written by Lady Anne, and compiled from the diaries, after she reached home. These are the *Beduin Tribes of the Euphrates* and *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*; both of which, although out of print, can still be picked up sometimes second-hand. Many other countries besides Arabia, Persia, and India were visited by her before she died; yet the length and extent of her Arab journeys alone, and the records she left of them, suffice to prove that she must have been a very great and heroic traveller.

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Mrs. Theodore Bent was also a heroine, but she was not so happy and not so fortunate as Lady Anne; for whereas the Blunts journeyed purely for pleasure, feeling drawn to the heart of Arabia by a romantic curiosity and imaginative sympathy with Beduin Society, Mr. and Mrs. Bent passed dangerous months in the southern borderlands simply because it had been suggested to them that a survey of that exclusive district known as the Hadhramaut might be useful to the Government.

They set off in the winter of 1893-94, and took with them an Indian surveyor, a botanist from Kew Gardens, an Egyptian naturalist, an Arab interpreter, and a mixed escort; but the expedition does not seem to have been a very happy one. Much useful work was done, but almost all the way, and in most difficult and often precipitous country, Mrs. Bent and her husband were harassed by quarrels within the party and threatening natives without. Over and over again irritation, suspense, and weariness might well have caused this strong woman to break down, yet she kept up her spirits and cheered everyone on through the most exasperating adventures, and never failed to note down anything of interest which they came across.

She had narrow escapes of many kinds, but, being an indefatigable traveller, the troubles she encountered on this first expedition did not deter her from venturing on a second with high hopes, when Mr. Bent and she once more embarked on a hazardous South Arabian undertaking and once more brought back much valuable information at great cost to themselves. The records of their journeys are interesting, but are not so entertaining as some of the others to read because, being unused to South Arabian dialects, they were not able to get into close touch

with the people, nor to make many Arab friends. It is true at one time they fell in with a set of odd fellows who called them Theodore and Mabel without delay, but as a rule their relations with the inhabitants were of a rather distant and formal kind.

But Mrs. Bent deserves to be placed next in order of merit to Lady Anne Blunt because she remains to this day the only European woman who has ever ventured with a scientific exploring expedition into the depths of the still little-known country which lies hidden behind the shores of the Southern coast.

* * * *

Lady Hester Stanhope! The career of this astonishing person is, of course, quite well known: how she sailed away from England in 1810 to sample the Near East and at length settled down in a converted stronghold at Djoun in the Lebanon.

Here she seems to have lived such a curious and unusual life (especially for a niece of William Pitt) that everyone who met her felt compelled to write home about her, as though she were one of the seven wonders of the world.

She was described as brilliant, dashing, mad, bad, sad, a helper or a wicked meddler in Arab politics, just according to each writer's point of view; though all were united in praising her courage, her horsemanship, and her vivid personality.

Kingslake, Burckhardt, and Lamartine were amongst the travellers who described her, whilst Dr. Meryon after her death brought out a long and intimate biography; but the most satisfactory one was published much later, by her niece the Duchess of Cleveland, in 1914. Here truth is disentangled from fiction, and it is possible to read in Lady Hester's own letters how her long life was spent from the fine days in 1813 when she went huge desert excursions and was hailed Queen of the Desert, the Lion, and the Light from Heaven, till the dark days nearly twenty years later, when as a sick and lonely old woman she wrote to Lord Hardwicke, deep in money troubles, a fortnight before she died.

"I have no reproaches to make myself, but that I went rather too far—but such is my nature——" she wrote in her last letter. If only her "nature" had not so rashly run ahead of her reason it is quite possible to dream that this able and energetic lady might have lived most usefully and happily in Syria.

* * * *

And now we come to consider the Lady Venus, a she-Daniel amongst women, whom J. F. Keane discovered living quietly and

calmly in the very centre of Mecca, when he ventured to pay a short visit to that city disguised as a pilgrim from India in 1877.

He first heard of her through a barber, who, learning that he knew English, recommended him to go and visit her as one of the rarities of the town. She was known simply as the Lady Venus, and thought to be a widowed Englishwoman from India who had embraced Islam and so was tolerated by the citizens and no questions asked.

The idea of an Englishwoman actually living in Mecca was so exciting to Keane that he could not rest till he had tracked her down. And once he had met her, he saw her again and again, each time endeavouring to persuade her to tell him the full story of her adventures and to explain how it was she came to be living in such a precarious position so far from her friends. But the Lady Venus was reticent; though sometimes she wept a little as the thought of the past came over her, and sometimes she smiled.

By degrees Keane managed to piece together her story, and it sounds more like a plot for some melodramatic novel than a true history. For it appears that once upon a time, almost nineteen years before, the Lady Venus had played some part in the siege of Lucknow, and that after the siege was raised she was carried off (willingly or no she would never tell him) by one of the rebels, with whom she lived for more than a year. Soon after this the English put a price on the man's head, and drove him from place to place till at last he sought refuge in the Holy City of Mecca and brought her there. Here they had lived together safely until eight years before Keane came on the scenes, when the man had died, leaving her without money and alone. Since then she had been housed by a rich merchant, Mohammed, who had dealings overseas; and she earned a scanty income by helping him with his foreign correspondence, and by embroidering skullcaps, which were bought from her by dealers in the Bazaars. She appeared about forty years of age when Keane saw her, and had a pale olive complexion, light coloured eyes, and short thin hair. Her face had been slightly pitted by smallpox, and she always addressed him as "Child!" on account of his lighthearted attempts to raise her spirits (as he proposed to send for her when he got back to England, and so on). "But I can't make out who you are, child," she said at the end of their first meeting; neither could he make out who she was; and though later on when he got home, he interested the Foreign Office in her, by that time Mohammed had swept her off to India, and when they traced her there and asked her if she would care to be released from her surroundings, she replied that she was well content. And she told them a slightly different version of her story, something about a possible Kashmiri mother—so she contrived to keep her secret,

and nobody knows even now who the Lady Venus was, and how she began and where she ended. She remains the most mysterious figure in the annals of the women travellers.

* * * * *

It is curious to turn from her veiled history to the transparent, almost naked, narrative of Madame Pfeiffer, who first launched her grown-up family in Austria and then set out, like a prince in a fairy tale, to see the world.

When her friends told her it was madness for a woman to think of venturing alone "into the wide world, across sea and mountains and plain," she remained quite calm, merely noting down, "My trust in Providence gave me calmness and strength to set my house in every respect in order. I made my will, and arranged all my worldly affairs in such a manner that in case of my death (*an event which I considered more probable than my safe return*) my family should find everything perfectly arranged."

Needless to say, it was this indomitable lady who, in some tight corner, made the magnificent remark with which this article began!

Fortunately for her family and for the reading public, Providence brought her safely through journeys in Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, India, China, Chili, Iceland, and Brazil. Everywhere she went she jotted down her impressions of people and places, and made some rather original suggestions, too; one of which was that to save expenses European missionaries in far countries might do well to marry natives, when there would be fewer sick wives and delicate children, who had to be taken to Europe because of ill-health.

Four years after her tour in Palestine, Madame Pfeiffer was off again round the world, and as she started from Hamburg to Rio de Janeiro she did not set foot on the Arabian Peninsula again till she was returning homewards via Muscat, the Persian Gulf, Baghdad, Mosul, then on by dangerous stages into Persia, then westwards through Armenia to Constantinople and Trieste. Finally, she hastened towards Vienna, only to find (in the words of her diary) "it had been taken by storm on the last day of October, and was not opened again till the fourth day of November." Her feelings of impatience at this contretemps can well be imagined; however she reached home at last, and, after finding out that none of the family felt any the worse for their storming, she proceeded to "return thanks with a grateful heart to the good Providence which in all her dangers and troubles had so remarkably protected and preserved her in health and strength."

In 1851 she appeared in London saying she intended to walk about Africa for a change—but one cannot pursue her further, for

space demands that we should return to Arabia, this time to remind ourselves of Pauline Helfer, pattern of all the faithful wives who from the days of Eve have made it their business to extract pleasure out of the painful duty of following a roving husband from place to place.

* * * * *

A doctor of medicine by profession, Johann Wilhelm Helfer, of Prague, was also a keen naturalist, who was overcome early in the nineteenth century by the desire to throw up his practice and journey East. So off he went, taking his young wife with him, and when they reached the banks of the Euphrates they came upon Colonel Chesney, "the gallant Fitzjames," and other members of the English Euphrates Expedition, with whom they were highly delighted, especially when they received an invitation from the Colonel to wait and go down the great river with him on one of the first steamboats ever to make such a trip. Their adventures as they steamed and swirled and ran aground downstream towards Baghdad, with an account of her visit later on to the Sultan of Muscat's harem, are all described in a most entertaining manner by Pauline Helfer, who brought out a book, called *Travels in Syria and Other Lands*, in memory of her husband, who was killed by a poisoned arrow when they reached the Andaman Islands.

Now although in the past there have always been many Western women, like Madame Helfer, who followed their husbands about the more frequented parts of the Peninsula, and many pilgrims and saints, like Paula, who reached Palestine; yet besides these people there must also have been others, from quite early days, who ventured further afield in Arabia. And it is a pity the records of these travellers are so hard to come by, for it would have been pleasant to complete this short survey by quoting from a diary kept by some over-adventurous pilgrim, or by one of those spirited European ladies who contrived to see so much of Arabia at the time of the Crusades.

LITERARY SECTION

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

THE WHITE MUTINY. By Sir Alexander Cardew, K.C.S.I.

(Reviewed by A. L. SAUNDERS.)

This book might well have been sub-titled "A Study in Anglo-Indian Temper." "Anglo-Indian" is here used in the older and better-recognized sense. In Indian matters we have unfortunately to deal with an ingenuity which finds insult in established terms, such as "Eurasian," "uncovenanted," and "native." Sir Alexander himself has to explain that in using the last of these he means no harm. He tells us here of a crisis of terrible menace which arose in the Madras Presidency in 1809, of impending mutiny, rebellion, civil war, and foreign invasion, of strife between the civil and military power, between the European and native troops of the Company, between the Company's army and the King's, until it seemed that wholesale slaughter must be the inevitable result; and for all his clear exposition and vivid narrative we remain entirely in a fog as to what it was all about. Grievances there were, no doubt, in plenty among the European officers of the Company; grievances about pay, about allowances, about seniority and promotions and supersessions, about the status and appointments of Company's as compared with King's officers. These were and are the daily fare of servants of the State in India, nor are they unknown elsewhere. The wiser men shrug their shoulders and carry on; those of duller heads and livers establish themselves as bores, and eventually become terrors to smoking-rooms and editors, even to Parliament. But mutiny is another matter. At least we have got beyond that.

Sir Alexander Cardew makes good his principal thesis, his vindication of the Governor, Sir George Barlow. Some of his utterances may not have been quite judicious, but he faced the mutineers, including his Commander-in-Chief, with firmness, and nothing more was really needed. His plan of a test, of requiring a declaration of loyalty, was, as Sir Alexander says, a master-stroke of policy. To accept it was to yield; to refuse was to become an avowed rebel. He had the Governor-General, Lord Minto, behind him. The final determination came from the power behind the throne, from the Sepoys. Indians have a great reputation for loyalty to their chiefs, but it is possible to trade on it too far. Once it became clear that the men had no stomach for rebellion in earnest, all was over. A most interesting and instructive book.

THE POWER OF INDIA. By Michael Pym. (G. P. Putnam's Sons.) 15s. net.

(Reviewed by L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

Of the making of books there is no end, we learn on high authority; and this is certainly true concerning books on India. Yet there is always room for just one more, if it be good. Mrs. Pym starts with a considerable advantage over the majority of people who record their impressions about India, in that she is a trained observer. Further, she disarms much criticism by renouncing any ambition to settle the problems of the country, her intention being merely to convey to her reader the manner in which these problems present themselves to her observation. Possessed of a lively and sympathetic mind, she also displays a cultivated critical faculty, with the result that her comments are at once shrewd and unconventional. Perhaps equally important, as equipment for the task she has set herself, is her excellent working knowledge of several Indian vernaculars.

Mrs. Pym finds India "different" from the rest of the world, particularly from the Western world, and the main purpose of her book is to illustrate, and, if possible, to explain, this difference. She has got very close indeed to the mind of many classes of Indians, both men and women; and as a statement, illuminating and perhaps startling, of the contrasts between the Indian and the Western outlook on life this volume has a value something more than topical. As was perhaps to be expected, she is more successful in exhibiting these contrasts than in explaining them; for generalizations, such as are involved in explanation, tend to be unconvincing when applied to the widely varying conditions of India. To resolve this dilemma she is obliged, as it seems to me, to overestimate the political content of Indian cultural unity, and to postulate, as already attained, something like "the soul of a people." However true the conception may be of certain nations dwelling on Indian soil, it is not yet true of India, and the superficial unity induced among the Indian peoples by the consciousness that they are more closely akin to one another than any of them are to the representatives of the alien culture of the West, may well prove a more transitory thing than Mrs. Pym imagines. At least, it is highly arguable whether this new consciousness will survive the passing of the irritation of alien rule—against which it is in essence a psychological reaction.

Mrs. Pym's judgments of men and things are always illuminating and frequently provocative of thought. Her impression of the Indian States is very favourable, and she rightly discovers in them a political force of the first order. She comments with some acerbity, for which facts give considerable warrant, upon the pettiness and lack of dignity occasionally characterizing British policy towards the Durbars, and she displays a surprisingly intimate knowledge of such incidents as the Berars case. On the whole she endorses the opinion expressed by Sir Walter Lawrence and some other observers that the people of the Indian States are more at ease, on the whole happier, and in general no worse governed, than the people of British India—a conclusion to which the results of the last census lend emphatic support.

In a volume which covers so wide a field as this it would be impossible to avoid some slips. Perhaps when a second edition is called for the author

might bear in mind the few comments which suggest themselves to me. Abul Fazl's *Ain Akbari* is inadequately described if it is termed a chronicle (page 146). It is not correct to say that Christianity as a creed hardly counts in India (page 149). Lord Irwin's historic declaration was published at the end of October, 1929, not in January, 1930. And please, Mrs. Pym, may we have an index?

WARREN HASTINGS AND PHILIP FRANCIS. By Sophia Weitzman, M.A., PH.D.
(Manchester University Press.) 25s. net.

(Reviewed by K. M. PANIKKAR.)

The career of Hastings in India provides a perennial theme to historians. The achievements of that Governor-General in the realms of war, policy, and administration, his long and bitter controversy with Philip Francis, and, finally, the sensational climax of a parliamentary impeachment, invest that career with a special glamour in the eyes of all who are interested in the origins of imperial policy in India. The literature on the subject is still growing, though the echo of the controversy with Francis died down long ago, and Hastings came to occupy a prominent place in Anglo-Indian regard.

The fact is that though no one now attacks Hastings, the views of Francis have, through the Whig tradition, coloured the views of every student of British Indian history. As Dr. Weitzman points out, the success of Francis lay in the influence he was able to exert on the Whig opinion of the next century. What the apologists of Hastings seem desirous of doing is not merely to extol the virtues of their hero, but to show him as a great and noble patriot traduced and persecuted by malicious and ignorant opponents.

The controversy between Hastings and Francis was not purely of a personal character, though the incompatibility of temperaments of an Anglo-Indian administrator, and of pamphleteer steeped in the Whig theories of government, contributed a great deal in making it bitter and acrimonious. Nor is it right to think that justice and statesmanship were all on Hastings' side. In fact, as Dr. Weitzman points out, "while the contest round the Council table was, to some extent, but a war of petty personalities, it was backed by real differences of opinion on policy." Hastings was determined to make the Company the responsible governing body in Bengal, while Francis, on the other hand, was equally determined that, if there was to be an extension of British authority, it should be the authority of the Crown and not of the East India Company. He wrote: "Circumstances inseparable perhaps from the constitution of the East India Company disqualified them in every sense from the duty and the office which the acquisition of territory in India imposed on them. A body of merchants had interests to provide for besides those which belonged to them in their assumed character of sovereign. Profit being the only object of trading company, became the sole object of government when the two characters were united. Com-

mercial principles of the worst as derived from the constitution of an exclusive company were all the principles which the India Company brought with them into the government of a great kingdom." Only a blind partisan would refuse to see the real conflict of principles underlying these points of view.

It means no reflection on the greatness of Hastings as an administrator to say that the view held by Francis, and on which he based his public conduct, had much to commend it. The displacement of the Company and the assumption of direct sovereignty by the Crown was, after all, a justification of Francis' point of view. It is a weakness of history to idealize what has happened on the ground of inevitability and declare that no other course was possible. But it is legitimate to remember that if the alternative course recommended by Francis—the extension of the Crown's authority over its possessions in India—was accepted, the indeterminate policy of commercial profits and territorial aggrandisement followed during the next three decades would perhaps have given place to a system of administration meant to benefit India.

It is not merely on questions of general policy that Francis showed this insight. There is no doubt that on many of the specific points on which he was at issue with the Governor-General he was right. Dr. Weitzman has, I am afraid, been too much influenced by the apologists of Hastings to see that in many cases the actions of the Governor-General were open to grave objections. Especially in the case of spoliation of the Raja of Benares, Dr. Weitzman seems to forget the historian in the apologist. She says that Hastings refused to add Francis' reservation "that the Raja be informed that this additional charge would not be imposed upon him beyond the continuance of the present war," on the ground that a very grave principle—"the right of the Company to exact under the pressure of affairs an extraordinary sum from its vassal princes"—was involved. She seems to forget the fact that the treaty with Chait Singh explicitly stated that no demand of any kind will be made on him beyond the subsidy.*

Francis no doubt was a cantankerous man. There is also no doubt that he was so prejudiced against Hastings as to become blind to the Governor-General's abilities. But it is clear that, in spite of these faults, he was able to put his finger on the weak spots of Indian administration and bring to light the abuses which had so far made the administration of the East India Company almost a by-word for corruption in England. Dr. Weitzman, like all the apologists of Hastings, fails always to see that it is not merely by the diplomatic and military victories of the Company that the policy in India should be judged. The interests of the people over whom the Company had acquired sovereignty is also an important fact in that connection. It is to the credit of Francis that he and those whom he was later on able to influence, notably Burke, brought that point of view to the foreground.

* Selections from the Letters, Despatches, etc.: their State Papers in the Foreign Department, 1772-1785. Q. W. Forrest, Vol. II., p. 402.

Dr. Weitzman has rendered a great service to students of Indian history by publishing as an appendix to her book a large selection of Francis' unpublished letters from the Francis message at the India Office.

INDIGENOUS BANKING IN INDIA. By L. C. Jain, M.A., LL.B., PH.D.(ECON.)LOND.
With a preface by Dr. Gilbert Slater. With frontispiece, maps, diagrams, three appendices, bibliography, and glossary. (Macmillan.) 18s. net.

(Reviewed by DR. LANKA SUNDARAM.)

This interesting study fills a notable gap in the history of Indian banking. This inquiry was sponsored in 1926 by the Economics Department of the Allahabad University, where Dr. Jain holds the position of Lecturer in Currency, Banking, and Statistics. A *questionnaire* was issued in the *Indian Journal of Economics* for April, 1926, which produced a considerable number of replies from several competent persons and agencies, most of them belonging to the indigenous banking classes of Northern India. The author himself conducted a personal inquiry in the United Provinces, and, being a member of the Jain community, he was able to offer useful and hitherto inaccessible information on the magnitude and methods of the operations of the indigenous banking classes, who are noted for their secretive conservatism. Later, Dr. Jain pursued a course of research methods at the London School of Economics, and the study is the thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Economics) of the London University. The inquiry was thus undertaken under good auspices and conducted with exceptional ability.

The present monograph is divided into eight chapters: The Early History of Indigenous Banking; Its Structure and Functions; Its Methods; The Interest Charged by Indigenous Bankers; The Economic Position of the Borrowers; The Relationship between Indigenous Bankers and the Joint-Stock Banks; The Defects of Indigenous Banking; and Its Future—are discussed with admirable thoroughness, and supported by statistical data wherever available.

The rates of interest charged by the moneylenders surpass those in any country in the world prior to the development of modern credit institutions. The legal incompetence of the law courts in India to disallow extortionate rates of interest is the strongest bulwark of the moneylenders, and small wonder that we find reported cases where the agreed rate of interest is as much as 2,250 per cent. per annum.*

None the less, even a superficial acquaintance with the actual conditions in India would convince the reader that the indigenous banker has a necessary and important place in the economy of that great sub-continent. The exist-

* *Vithilinga v. Ravana* (1882, 6 Madras, 167). Quoted by the reviewer in his paper on "The Indian Mahajan" in the *Indian Journal of Economics* for October, 1927, Vol. VIII., Part II. (Allahabad University.)

ing credit institutions—the Imperial Bank of India, the joint-stock banks, and the co-operative credit institutions—only touch the fringe of the problem of adequate finance of the country, while the entire feeding of the agricultural operations of an uneducated and uneconomic people is controlled by indigenous bankers.

Summing up the whole situation with minute care, Dr. Jain comes to the conclusion (page 237) that "the slow but sure disappearance of many indigenous moneylenders will be unfortunate for India, as it will involve the loss of a wealth of knowledge of local conditions, personal contact and relationships, extending over centuries, and of ancient banking methods and practices which, if retained and judiciously mixed with modern, up-to-date developments, should be a source of great strength and solidarity to the Indian banking system." Instead of accepting the suggestion made by some people in India to altogether scrap the indigenous banking agencies by legislation, Dr. Jain adumbrates a scheme of indigenous banks controlled by moneylenders themselves, which, if perfected and adopted, would not only not compete with the existing credit institutions and thus endanger them, but would mobilize "the dormant capital resources of the country for the development of the rural areas."

Dr. Jain's survey of this important and least-known chapter in Indian rural economy and credit agencies will have a permanent place in the scanty but, happily, growing literature on banking in India.

MUGHAL RULE IN INDIA. By the late S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O., and H. L. O. Garrett, M.A. (*Milford*.)

(Reviewed by J. V. S. WILKINSON.)

The story of the Timurids—a story extending over nearly five hundred years—is unquestionably the most wonderful of the many wonderful dynastic histories of Asia. Above all, the period of the six great Mughal emperors, from Babur to Aurangzeb, from its variety, its achievement, its splendour, and its tragedy, has never ceased to fascinate and enthral, and to engage the attention of researchers. The consequence is that, as the sources are gradually combed, fresh facts are continually being revealed by scholars of the type of Mr. Moreland and Professor Jadunath Sirkar—to mention two only of the most eminent of recent writers. The intention of the two authors of this book was, as they explain, to offer in a single volume a comprehensive record of the period, gathered from a wide field, both from original sources and from modern works.

The result of their industry and skill is a valuable compilation which will appeal to the scholar and the general reader alike, for, apart from the more strictly historical chapters, there are sections on administration, on economic and social features, on the arts, and on the causes of the Empire's decline; while the book is anything but a dry record of facts. Indeed, some of the best pages are descriptive, giving an intimate picture of the habits and amusements of the Court and the everyday life of the times.

Modern criticism has discovered many chinks in the Mughal armour, and the verdict of this book is rightly condemnatory of much in the system, such as its lack of economic policy, its waste and extravagance, and its disregard of the material needs of the people. Nevertheless, the authors fully recognize that the grand style is in itself a virtue, and that much can be forgiven to men of the heroic calibre of Babur and Akbar and to the builders of the architectural glories of Agra and Delhi.

The book is well illustrated and is furnished with a map and a detailed family tree of the House of Timur. There are a few repetitions—e.g., we are told three times of Humayun's weakness for opium. The remarks on polo, on page 286, are a little misleading. Himalayan polo is not quite the same as the European game.

KHAROSHTHI INSCRIPTIONS, with the exception of those of Asoka. Edited by Sten Konow. 40, with map and 36 plates. (Calcutta: Government of India.) £3 3s.

This stately volume forms Vol. II., Part I., of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, of which the first volume, the *Inscriptions of Asoka*, was reissued in a new and independent form by the late Professor Hultzsch. The choice of Professor Sten Konow, of Oslo, for the preparation of these Kharoshthi Inscriptions was most fortunate. In a very short time he was not only able to collect these inscriptions from various sources, but also to decipher, to read, and to edit them. The author's work has been accomplished in a manner which is beyond all praise. The introduction of 127 pages in quarto size gives testimony to his masterly grip on the subject, and, on looking at the various books of reference quoted in the footnotes, we cannot point to any single one that has been omitted. The historical introduction, with its remarkable information, will be used and referred to by authorities on the subject. Each of the ninety-six inscriptions receives individual treatment. Not only is the text transcribed and translated, but we also learn where it was discovered, by whom, where to be found today, and the inscription is also minutely dealt with from a philological point of view.

The printing of the volume and the plates was done by the Oxford Press, and is of the very best. The Government of India deserves the greatest praise for granting the means for the continued promotion of sound scholarship.

BULLETIN OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM. New Series. Vol. I., The Littoral Fauna of Krusadai Island, and Vol. II., The Flowering Plants of Madras City. By P. V. Mayuranathan, 4°. Each volume containing a number of plates. (Madras.)

The Madras Museum must feel a justified pride in publishing these handsome volumes. Former publications were mostly of a smaller size, but a new departure has been made by issuing a large monograph on Natural History

and on general sections such as Anthropology and Archæology. Both these volumes give testimony to a high grade of efficiency in the Museum. Mr. F. H. Gravely has modestly withheld his name as editor of the series, and yet most of the articles in the first volume are by his own pen. They are kept on strictly scholarly lines, each order has been treated intimately, is suitably described, and authorities, both English and Continental, are extensively quoted at the end of each article. Further praise should be accorded to the Indian assistants, who have provided their share in a most praise-worthy manner.

In the case of the second volume, dealing with the Flora of Madras, the same observations apply. This volume has for its author Mr. Mayuranathan, another able assistant in the Museum. The Indian Government deserves every credit for encouraging Indian students and scientists to pursue studies of a most serious kind, which have been pursued in the past chiefly by the British. A new generation has arisen, and they show that they need not lack efficiency. The bibliography on the subject is brief, and we wonder whether Continental works already exist. Monsieur Boissier may be cited. There is a good glossary and various indices, including one for English, one for Tamil, and one for Telugu names. All these are very useful. Colouring of the plates would have made the volume of 345 pages of text and 38 plates perfect, but it could not in that case have been offered for sale at the very modest price of Rs.8. We hope that the next volume will be either on Archæology or Anthropology, which will no doubt be compiled in the same masterly manner as the first two volumes of the new series.

THE HISTORY OF KERALA. By K. P. Padmanabha Menon. Edited by T. K. Krishna Menon. (Ernakulam.) 12s. net.

(Reviewed by K. M. PANIKKAR.)

A melancholy interest attaches to this volume. Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, a distinguished scholar of Malabar, had worked patiently and for long on this new edition of Visscher's letters, but death overtook him before he could arrange for its publication. The manuscript was left for publication with Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon, who has now fulfilled that onerous task by publishing the notes in two volumes under the incongruous title of *The History of Kerala*. The first volume was published in 1924, and after a lapse of six years the second volume has also now been made available.

Jacob Canter Visscher was for many years Chaplain at the Dutch fort of Cochin. He was a careful and observant man who took considerable interest in the political and social conditions of Malabar in his time. His narrative of contemporary events is of great historical value, especially as at the period that Visscher was in Cochin the Dutch were working towards the attainment of political power in Malabar. Visscher wrote regularly to his friends and relations at home, and his letters covered a variety of subjects, displaying wide interests and a cultivated mind. Among the letters now published in the second volume are those dealing with the laws of Malabar, the accounts

of national assemblies, the coinage of India, an account of Topasses, Syrian Christians, Jews, and the Malabar Mohammedans.

Mr. Padmanabha Menon used these letters as a peg on which to hang the numerous notes he had made from other sources. His work, therefore, is in no sense a history of Kerala, and a reader who turns to these volumes with any expectation to find a consecutive or readable story of that picturesque part of India will be greatly disappointed. His method of treatment, however, is of value to the students of history, as it collects under different heads the views of previous writers. The effect, therefore, is that of a source book of secondary authorities to which reference may be made by those who have no access to original sources.

Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon, who loyally carried out the duties entrusted to him by his deceased friend, was, unfortunately, in no sense an historian. The material so laboriously collected has therefore been published, in spite of its pretentious name of history, only as material. Many of the notes incorporated consist mainly of quotations from such well-known books as *Captain Ni Euhoff's Voyages*, *Gollenesses' Memorial* (translated and published by Galletti), and of Mr. Nagam Aiyyas' *Travancore State Manual*.

The book would have gained considerably in value if, instead of attempting to make it an almanack or directory of eighteenth-century Malabar, the editor had put together some of the valuable notes dealing with the ancient royal families and confined himself strictly to historical subjects. As it stands, the book deals learnedly with the law of land tenure, with the descriptions of the different kind of ordeals (sixteen pages), and the method of taking oaths and the procedure in regard to sales and loans (thirty pages). All these are no doubt interesting, but could hardly find place in a history of Kerala. The notes could also have been greatly compressed with profit, especially by the omission of long quotations. It would also have been well if the editor could have omitted his own long sermon on the iniquities of social reformers and the difficulties felt by high-caste Hindus "in sitting among a company of unwashed, malodorous, and possibly diseased humanity," which has been introduced unnecessarily as a note.

In spite of these obvious defects, the book is likely to be of interest to students of Kerala history. It has been very carefully printed by the Cochin Government Press, and the index at the end is adequate and descriptive. It may be permitted to hope that the editor will now undertake to give the public a connected narrative of the history of Kerala based on the notes of Mr. Padmanabha Menon.

LOPES DE CASTANHEDA. *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses (1552-1561)*. Thirty-one chapters of the lost livro IX., re-discovered and now published for the first time by C. Wessels, s.j. (The Hague: *Martinus Nijhoff*.) 10s. net.

Castanheda's great work on the history of the discovery of the Portuguese colonies in India was to consist of ten volumes. Eight of them were published, and parts of the ninth chapters are now reproduced for the first time by Father Wessels, who discovered them in the archives of the Society of

Jesus from the transcripts of G. P. Maffei, with a suitable introduction in English. This is indeed a valuable discovery. Two pages of the original MS. have been reproduced, and, though they are clearly written, Father Wessels must have experienced much trouble in deciphering the old script.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA. Vol. V., British India, 1497-1858.
Edited by H. H. Dodwell. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 30s. net.

The new volume of this scholarly series deals with the first and larger period of Indian history during which the British have resided there, first as settlers and later as conquerors and administrators of the whole peninsula. There are thirty-two chapters, and the first is entitled "The Portuguese in India," by Sir Denison Ross. In subsequent chapters the Dutch find their biographer in Professor P. Geyl, "the French Factories" in Monsieur H. Froidevaux and other writers. "The Activities of the East India Company" are composed by Sir William Foster and Mr. P. E. Roberts. Not only the various wars with Indian Princes are retold, such as the one with Tipu Sultan, the Marathas, the Sikhs, Ceylon, or Burma, but also Legislation and Administration find their place. It will be noticed that the chapters are necessarily short, a volume of 700 pages covering 350 years, and yet we obtain a complete view of the British work done during this momentous period. Bibliographies are appended at the end (about fifty pages) to each section. The chronological table and index are also very carefully done. We are pleased to note that the series has found much favour, else it would have been impossible to issue this large and beautiful volume at the low price of 30s.

JAHANGIR AND THE JESUITS, with an account of the travels of Benedict Goes and the Mission to Pegu, from the relations of Father Fernao Guerreiro.
Translated by C. H. Paine. With portrait and five maps. (*Routledge.*) 12s. net.

The translator has united three distinct accounts of different countries, and they have been brought together into one volume, as they relate to one period—i.e., the early years of the seventeenth century. It will be remembered that Jesuit missions were stationed at the Mughal Court and that Jahangir took the greatest interest in the Christian religion and frequently listened to the disputes between the Jesuits and the Mullahs, though he never was willing to be converted. The diary of Goes consists of letters written whilst travelling from India to Yarkand. The third relation is that of the Portuguese occupation of Syriam.

Mr. Paine has once again bestowed great labour on his book; he is not only familiar with the period of Eastern history, but he has read in the original all chronicles pertaining to it. The numerous notes of each of the three "relations" are extremely welcome to the reader, who otherwise would receive an imperfect picture of the countries.

INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY OF INDIA. By Rajani Kanta Das. (*P. S. King and Son.*) 8s. 6d. net.

The author has gained a reputation by some previous books dealing with Indian labour and workers, and he has continued his research, resulting in the present work. Dr. Das complains of the inefficiency in Indian industry, which has as the result that on the whole the population remains poor. He goes so far as to express in percentage the loss in natural resources and in capital. It is very difficult to determine to what exact extent the position might be improved. At any rate, Dr. Das suggests four remedies: one, the development of physique; then a social reorganization; and political and industrial reconstruction. In order to achieve this, very properly the adoption of a firmer educational system is suggested. Without it a higher achievement in proficiency is impossible. The author shows by his writings that he is a serious student of economics.

FAR EAST

THE JADE MOUNTAIN. A Chinese Anthology, being Three Hundred Poems of the T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618-906). Translated by Witter Bynner and Kiang Kang-Hu. (*A. Knopf.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by JOHN CALDWELL-JOHNSTON.)

It is a curious and yet refreshing experience in this industrial, machine-made age to encounter a work which is so plainly a task of love and dictated neither by desire of gain nor yet of notoriety. There are stated to be ten years of labour in this volume—twenty years, if the fact of the twofold collaboration be reckoned in the account—nearly one-half the working life of the average man. The poems themselves present the fine blossoming of the high summer noon of Chinese poetic genius, and they have been handled with loving care; so that we ignorant barbarians of the Far West can truly gain a glimpse of the magic Jade Mountain, dragon-infested, fabulous, cloud-girt, hardly to be seen, which is Chinese poesy at its best.

The original collection, called "Three Hundred T'ang Poems," from which these verses are translated, was made (so the joint authors inform us) by an anonymous editor in the eighteenth century, who signed himself Heng T'ang T'uei Shih, or, A Retired Scholar at the Lotus Pool. The title of his selection was based upon a common saying: "By reading thoroughly three hundred T'ang poems, one will write verse without learning." The collection has always been in China one of the most popular, for poets and for the mass of the people alike. Even illiterates are said to be familiar with the title of the book and with lines from it. None can compare with it in extensive circulation and accessible influence. Mr. Witter Bynner and Dr. Kiang Kang-Hu have, therefore, chosen wisely and well the subject for their skilled, and withal affectionate, hermeneutic labours.

The Chinese have always written poetry. As far back as history runs there is unbroken record of poems. The oldest now extant were composed

by the Emperor Yao (2357 B.C.), and one of them was adopted as the Chinese national song at the beginning of the Republic. But the T'ang Dynasty is commonly recognized as the golden age of Chinese poetry. Beginning with the founder of the dynasty, down to the last ruler, almost every one of the T'ang emperors was a great lover and patron of poetry, and many were poets themselves. Centuries ago, cultivated Chinese had reached the intellectual saturation which has tired the mind of the modern European. The Chinese gentleman knew the ancient folk-songs compiled by Confucius. He had also, all around him, a more poised and particularized sophistication, a more elaborated and enriched civilization, than we Westerners have yet attained or are likely to experience for centuries to come. Nevertheless, through the glittering cycles, everyone has written verse. There is a simple secret in these generations; it is that down the ages and amid all the changes and chances that the centuries have brought the Chinese has managed to maintain within himself the head of a man and the heart of a child. That is why the Republic today has taken for its hymn the poem written by the old Emperor Yao 4,500 years ago, and that is why poetry lives and will live in the souls of the Chinese people. On any Chinese mountain-climb towards a temple, rock after rock with its terse and suggestive inscription will bear witness to this temper. So will the street cries of the pedlars, or the names of the tea-houses; and on many hilltops and lakesides the casual but reverent jottings of this or that anonymous appreciator of natural beauty.

It has been a common occurrence in China that poets, even the best of them, devote their earlier years to some form of public service. Century after century Chinese poems reflect this deep devotion of their authors to the good of the State—their unwavering allegiance to righteousness, even when it implied official degradation or exile or even death.

To illustrate with just one quotation, a poem by Chi-wu Chi'en :

"Thoughtful elation has no end :
Onward I bear it to whatever come.
And my boat and I, before the evening breeze,
Passing flowers, entering the lake,
Turn at nightfall towards the western valley,
Where I watch the south star over the mountain
And a mist that rises, hovering soft,
And the low moon slanting through the trees;
And I choose to put away from me every worldly matter
And only to be an old man with a fishing pole."

To any student of Chinese poetry this book will be indispensable, and all lovers of poetry will find it a volume to treasure and re-read.

LES TEMPLES DU JAPON : ARCHITECTURE ET SCULPTURE. Par Albert Maybon.
With forty-four illustrations in collotype. (Paris : Bocard.) 60 fr.

In 1878 Professor J. Conder contributed the first articles on Japanese architecture to the Transactions of Royal Institute of British Architects, and in 1882 M. Ch. Dresser followed with his work on the same subject.

Mr. Albert Maybon, who has travelled extensively in China and Japan, has now devoted his indefatigable energy on the first European study of the branch of temple architecture in Japan. Mr. Maybon is not an architect, but is an art connoisseur, and, gifted with the French inborn sense and love for art, opens, perhaps for the first time, our eyes and minds to the wonderful beauty which is to be found in Japanese temples, their architecture, and the sculpture treasures which they contain. The reader can easily follow the author, whose elegant French style makes it so pleasant to accept him as a guide through his temple wanderings. If anyone reading these lines will take the trouble to read the eighty-five pages in quarto size he will not only find his trouble repaid, but will learn another side of Japanese greatness and simplicity.

The development of the two arts, architecture and sculpture, is dealt with epoch by epoch, whilst always keeping in touch with the religious movements, Shinto and Buddhist. After all, religion is responsible for the rise of art. Art, music, painting, and architecture attained their highest achievements in a religious atmosphere. The very first picture, *The Kondo of Horyuji*, must strike everyone with the greatness of architectural achievement; then, again, Fig. 36, the bronze statue of Kwannon Bosatsu, is perfectly sublime.

The book is beautifully printed, is easy to read, and the illustrations, produced by collotype, are throughout well chosen and of the best.

SUR LES TRACES DU BOUDDHA. By René Grousset. (Paris: Librairie Plon.)

(Reviewed by W. F. WESTBROOK.)

M. René Grousset, of the Musée Guimet, Paris, has already to his credit a fine record of notable service in making familiar to Western peoples the art and the learning of the Orient from ancient times. In his *Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient*, issued last year, he carried to completion his studies of India, China, and Indo-China, which were only partially treated in his *Histoire de l'Asie* published in 1922. Into this new volume he has condensed a vivid and scholarly survey of the great Middle Age of Buddhism—about our seventh century A.D. The doctrines of the Buddha had by that time spread from India eastward and northward, and had been flourishing throughout Central and further Asia, Ceylon, China, Japan, and developing in those lands a vigorous intellectual and social and religious life; into China they had entered soon after the dawn of the Christian era, and had become the State religion. The new-born creed of Islam had not yet begun its militant missionary expansion from Arabia, nor had tenacious Hinduism recovered its agelong supremacy in India. This was the epic age of the Chinese in Central Asia; it was the era of the great pilgrimages to the holy land of the Ganges, of Mahayanist idealism, and of Gupta art. This remarkable epoch of Eastern culture M. Grousset recalls and recreates, giving special attention to the foundations of Chinese Imperialism, notably in the Emperor T'ai-T'iong and the T'ang Dynasty, and to the pious and intrepid

pilgrims from China to India, notably Hiuan-Tsang (602-664) and Yi-Tsang (634-713). By A.D. 630 T'ai-Tsong had broken the Turcoman domination in Asia and had made the Chinese masters of Mongolia, Turkestan, and other countries of Central Asia as far as India, and had founded the famous T'ang Dynasty. During these warrior times of T'ai-Tsong there grew up, in North-Western China, the young scholar and Buddhist monk, Hiuan-Tsang (602-664), destined, says M. Grousset, to be associated with that Emperor in a common renown—emperor and pilgrim. The incidents and vicissitudes of his famous pilgrimage, between the years 629 and 645, to India and to the home and sacred places of the Buddha, and of his return and later life, have become well known through his own and later writings. His early sympathies were with the Mahayana rather than the Hinayana teaching. Like many another learned and pious Chinese pilgrim before him and after him, he felt drawn to solve his difficulties by travelling to the "Great West" and to India, to verify the Doctrine according to the Sacred Books, and to discuss the Dhamma with the Buddhist and other religious sages in the country of the Brahmins. And thus, at the age of twenty-six, this "Master of the Law," notwithstanding Imperial prohibition, boldly started out from Western China. His odyssey of the next seventeen years proved to be an astonishing exploit—difficult and adventurous and dangerous—and otherwise not easy, even though that was a time when learning and religion were an accepted passport, the world over, to respect and veneration. His own story of it, in wonderful manuscript, is remarkably lucid and informing; he was an incomparable observer of Brahmanic society; and his notes on places, temples, stupas, and the like, are still very valuable guidance for practical Indian archaeologists. M. Grousset has illustrated and completed the whole by the aid of other documents, such as the History of the T'ang Dynasty, and especially by the narratives of many important discoveries in Buddhist history and art, patiently made during modern times by eminent scholars and archaeologists and explorers, as Pelliot, Foucher, Chavannes, La Coq, Stein, Sylvain Lévi, and others. M. Grousset has written with profound and exact learning, and in evident sympathy with his subject, and with a charming manner; so that he is a very genial guide and philosopher and friend as he, in imagination, travels with his readers over the long road or discourses on Buddhist doctrines and teachers and history. He gives some attractive verbal vignettes of great personages; and also of places—as, for example, Kanauj, Taxila, Ayodhya, Prayag. He adds eight varied and typical illustrations of Buddhist figures; and the map of Asia and Europe, as about A.D. 650, is useful, and is marked for most of the route traversed by Hiuan-Tsang. The volume is an intensely interesting study of an important chapter in the history of humanity, and has also its special attraction for Buddhists and students of Buddhism. We shall hope to see its appearance in an English translation.

BOROBUDUR. Six original etchings by Jan Poortenaar. Explanatory introduction by Dr. N. J. Krom, Professor of Javanese Archaeology in the University of Leyden. With a foreword by Laurence Binyon. (*Luzac*.) Limited edition (200 copies), £6 6s.; edition de luxe (12 copies), £8 8s.

(Reviewed by J. V. S. WILKINSON.)

Borobudur's prestige as the noblest and most beautiful monument of Buddhist art in the world is undisputed, and its exquisite relief panels are familiar to all who have any acquaintance with Eastern sculpture. The well-known Dutch artist, Mr. Jan Poortenaar, is not, in these six etchings, concerned with sculptural detail so much as with general aspects. He depicts the stairways and terraces of the rounded stone-clothed hill in their relationship with the incomparable landscape setting of hills and broad rice-fields, as they are seen in twilight or under the midday sun from a distance, or from some intermediate gallery, or from the highest terrace of all. The Buddhist architect, in Java as in India, had a keen sense of scenery and setting, and natural features were everywhere his coadjutors.

As Mr. Laurence Binyon justly observes in his foreword, Mr. Poortenaar has seen his subject not merely as a picturesque relic, and for the sake of its architectural effects of light and shade, but with a sympathetic appreciation of its religious significance.

Professor Krom's introduction explains, in a lucid manner, what Borobudur meant to the believer, and what were the conceptions which influenced its construction.

SIAMESE TALES, OLD AND NEW. THE FOUR RIDDLES AND OTHER STORIES. Translated from the Siamese by Reginald le May. (*Noel Douglas*.) 8s. 6d. net.

The volume contains fifteen stories, more or less short, from which we learn a good deal of Siamese life and thought. There are scholars who endeavour to translate literally from Oriental languages, and there are others who seek to render them into more fluent and lucid language. Mr. le May has adopted the latter course, and the reader will be grateful. The stories read like fairy tales or fables, sometimes disclosing the foibles of men or women. In the second part of the book the author gives not merely a good account of Siamese life, but he enlarges upon the stories by explaining them, sometimes by comparing them with those of Europe, but chiefly the Siamese mind is laid open, and their high morality is insisted upon. One might maintain that this entertaining volume discloses a great deal of Siamese folklore, and the author can claim credit for helping us to understand the Siamese people.

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION. By Dr. R. Wilhelm. Translated from the German by J. Joshua, with introduction by L. Giles. With thirty-three illustrations. (*George G. Harrap and Co.*) 12s. 6d. net.

Professor R. Wilhelm is well known to English readers through other translations of some previous works, as well as his German originals, such

as the renderings of the Chinese classics. He therefore needs no introduction. In the present volume the author depicts, more or less in outline, the history of Chinese culture from the very beginning. The division of the book is typical of the author; it is exact, and, without referring to the elaborate index, the fine list of contents saves the reader all trouble in finding the particular subject in which he may be interested. It is, however, to be hoped that the whole volume will be studied; it is easy and pleasant reading, and the story of a country's culture, especially that of China, being still unfamiliar to the Western mind, is full of fascination. There is a long and useful bibliography of European and Chinese works which the author has consulted. The numerous illustrations are beyond praise. Mr. L. Giles has written a preface to the English edition (able—needless to say), and has also revised the translation. All this contributes to making this volume a little masterpiece. The price of 12s. 6d. is kept low, no doubt, in expectation of a large sale corresponding to the value of the attractive volume.

LA PHILOSOPHIE MORALE ET POLITIQUE DE MENCIOUS. Par Yuan Tcho-Ying.
(Paris: *Paul Geuthner*.)

The honour of having compiled the first French monograph on Mencius belongs to a Chinese student. Mr. Yuan, although an ardent follower of the doctrines of Confucius, yet holds the view that republican institutions are quite compatible with the old teaching. Our author has made himself thoroughly familiar with European methods of working, and the result of his studies is a felicitous one. The volume, a university thesis, is divided into four parts: the life and work of Mencius, philosophical conception, the "morale," and politics. One must agree with the author that the rendering of Chinese philosophy into a foreign language is very difficult, and that the thorough knowledge of the Chinese mind is essential. Mr. Yuan has given us—and this is gratefully acknowledged—the orthodox Chinese view of Mencius, quoting from ancient and modern Chinese texts, but it is to be regretted that he does not appear to have equally studied recent European literature on the subject. The word "jên," for instance, has received a masterful commentator in D. T. Suzuki (*Brief History of Early Chinese Philosophy*). Professor Bruce, in his treatise on *Chu Hsi*, has also explained in detail the meaning of "jên." These are but two recent writers, and there are others.

NEAR EAST

LE COMMERCE EXTÉRIEUR DE LA PERSE: COMMENT EN ASSURER LE DÉVELOPPEMENT. By Parviz Khan Kazemi, Docteur en Droit. (Paris: *Rousseau*.)
40 fr.

(Reviewed by SIR ARNOLD WILSON.)

This book goes some way to meet a long-felt want.

Very numerous books have been published during the last ten years in the principal languages of Europe, treating of the inhabitants, the art, architec-

ture, history, and politics of Persia. Yet with the exception of a few essays written by students in Paris desirous of qualifying for their doctorate, no serious attempt has hitherto been made to deal comprehensively with the external trade of Persia, and students have had to rely almost exclusively on the annual reports of the Administrator-General of Customs, on the six-monthly reports of the Ministry of Finance, and on the Annual Reports on Economic Conditions in Persia issued in London by the Department of Overseas Trade. To these last no reference is made in the brief bibliography at the end of this work—a notable omission. The author has taken pains to marshal his facts, and has succeeded in giving to his readers in compendious form a very clear idea of the principal features of Persian commerce. He devotes only eight pages out of two hundred and eighty to Persian trade with the world from the beginning of history down to the end of the nineteenth century—a most inadequate allowance, for there is ample material for a whole volume on Persian trade with the rest of the world during this period. Further study would perhaps show that the Arab conquest stimulated rather than retarded the economic development of Persia, whereas the Mongol invasion under Tamerlane in the fourteenth century (which the author does not mention) inflicted injuries on the country from which it has not yet recovered. The state of Persia under the Safavi monarchs is described with justifiable pride; the decline of law and order, and the failure to resist the Afghan invasions in the seventeenth century, is ascribed to the increasing influence of the priesthood at the Court—surely an unconvincing explanation! Of the Qajar Dynasty the author has, not unnaturally, nothing good to say, but it is an exaggeration to say (page 17) that the population of Persia was reduced by one-fifth during the Great War, by famine and epidemics, and that Persia suffered greater material losses than any belligerent country.

Here and there the author has allowed his imagination to run riot. He claims, for example, that the murder of the U.S. Vice-Consul at Tehran in 1924 by a fanatical crowd was the work of mischief-makers suborned by foreigners whose interest it was to prevent a concession for oil in North Persia being taken up by American financiers. He says that eyewitnesses saw the crowd being incited by certain individuals to kill the Vice-Consul; he adds that a few innocent persons were punished for the crime, and that the clergy and their ignorant followers were merely the tools of foreign interests. It is to be regretted that the author has given currency to such fables, which judicial and other inquiries held in Tehran at the time showed to have no sort of foundation.

The title of Chapter VI.—“The Creation of a National Merchant Marine and the Suppression of Foreign Intermediaries as Obstacles to the Freedom of Trade”—explains itself, and requires no comment. The author would have done well to refer to Hadi Hasan’s masterly treatise on the History of Persian Navigation, and to have considered more fully the economic and other difficulties which may make the construction of dockyards at Bandar Shapur for the erection of sea-going merchant vessels a less attractive scheme than he appears to think.

His proposals for the elimination of foreign merchants or agencies include the formation of a Persian Export Association, under private management,

with State assistance, to negotiate on an equal footing with the U.S.S.R. and with other countries which place obstacles in the way of Persian trade.

Chapter VIII. deals with "Free Access to the Mediterranean." The author suggests that one of the principal ports of Syria should become a "free port" for Persia, and should be connected with the Iranian plateau by road or rail via Rowandiz, Mosul, and Nisibin, with an alternative route through Turkey via Urmi, and he suggests that a Franco-Persian agreement should be negotiated with this end in view.

The concluding chapter of this interesting work is notable for a fine passage devoted to the rights and duties of women, who, says the author, have a part to play not less important than have men, both in the office, where they could do much that is not performed by men, and in the factory. "Persia," he concludes, "lives and will live. What it needs is a patriotic governing class to guide it in the path of progress, and ruling with justice and equity. Thus only can the Persian people develop their qualities and uphold the standard of Iranian culture."

A HISTORY OF ANCIENT PERSIA FROM ITS EARLIEST BEGINNINGS TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By Robert W. Rogers. With illustrations and maps. 1929. (*Chas. Scribner and Sons.*) 30s. net.

For many years past Professor Rogers has been known as a great figure amongst the students of Babylonian history through his famous work *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, of which six editions have gone through the press. Anyone who has had the advantage of his personal acquaintance will remember his humane and kindly manners, and will now read with much sympathy and regret that the *History of Ancient Persia* will be his last work. Professor Rogers is adding once more to his reputation. It is a notable work and a glorious conclusion to his literary life. The volume is divided into four sections, of which the first introduces the reader into the ancient Persian atmosphere, the land and people, the language and the religion. The second section opens with the conquest of the Medes by Cyrus the Great, and ends with the Persian King's downfall through Alexander the Great, and, finally, the Macedonian's achievements are discussed in full. The whole volume testifies to the learned author's great learning and wide reading, of which he gives proof in the references at the foot of each page from English, German, and French authors, as well as from the original texts.

Professor Rogers will earn nothing but praise for his *History of Ancient Persia*. His extreme modesty, worthy of a great scholar, will only add to the affection which he has enjoyed by anyone who has been favoured by his personal acquaintance, and it will not efface the expectation that his last volume will crown his rich and beautiful life.

THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF INDIAN EMIGRATION.—IV

BY DR. LANKA SENDARAM, M.A., PH.D. (LOND.),
F.R.ECON.S., F.R.STAT.S.

A FURTHER charge against the Indian settler is the problem of the poor white man. Unfortunately he does not want to engage in manual work alongside of the Indian or of the indigenous African, but wants to direct occupations entailing manual labour on the part of these communities. Professor Gregory observes: "Sir Hely Hutchinson, former Governor of the Cape, clearly expressed the fact that the poor white is the fundamental difficulty of South Africa. The poor white will not do the work of a skilled artisan. 'The poor white problem is one of the most pressing of South African problems. It is in a sense the direct result of native and coloured environment.'"^{*} The question is often raised whether the immigrant Asiatic, on account of this factor, does not compete with the white worker. A recent publication on labour conditions in British Columbia put forward the following plea:†

All we demand is the domination of our own race. We struggle to prevent our average white citizen from being displaced by Chinese and Japanese in the commercial, industrial and agricultural life of British Columbia.

Such is the cry at the present day in every country where Indian settlers have congregated in the course of a century. Alluding to South Africa, the writer of the above publication observes as follows:‡

When the Indians completed their term of service on the plantations they took to planting on their own, also to shopkeeping. Before the end of the last century, so serious had the commercial competition become throughout South Africa, that street after street in towns there, where white merchants had established themselves in business, were gradually occupied from end to end by Indian merchants.

It is submitted that, in the first place, it is entirely legitimate on the part of the free Indian settler to engage in lawful occupations of an agricultural, commercial, or industrial character. Such an opportunity was offered to him and to his descendants by the employing agency before he

^{*} T. W. Gregory: *The Menace of Colour*, pp. 130-131 (London: Seeley, Service. 1925).

† T. MacInnes: *Oriental Occupation of British Columbia*, p. 34 (Vancouver, B.C. 1927).

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

was induced to leave the shores of India. In this connection one of the resolutions of the *Conférence Internationale de l'Emigration et de l'Immigration*, held at Rome in 1924, is of particular significance. Paragraph 7 of Resolution 7 of this Conference runs as follows :*

The labour contracts drawn up in the emigration countries between the employers and the workers, in conformity with the laws of that country, shall have full force in the immigration country, except as regards clauses of public order and the laws and regulations of the latter country.

So long as the Indian settler does not violate his civic responsibilities in his country of adoption or domicile (and on this point the evidence is unanimously in favour of the Indian emigrant settler), any encroachment on his lawful rights is obnoxious in international law.†

On the other hand, it is entirely unproven that the Indian trader and artisan, and even the planter overseas ousts his European neighbour from the latter's legitimate pursuits. On this point, the Memorandum presented by the India Office to the Imperial Conference of 1911 contains the following statement :‡

It is practically certain that there will never be any large Indian population in Canada, Australia or New Zealand, the Dominions in which the aboriginal population is small, and in some cases decreasing, and which will, in the ordinary course of events, be, for all practical purposes, purely European. But in South Africa not only does the native population so enormously outnumber the whites that unskilled labour will probably always remain in native hands, but a small Asiatic element has existed for nearly two centuries. Cape Colony has found it possible to govern without friction and to utilize the " Malays " imported by the Dutch East India Company, who are Muhammadan in religion and distinctive in their social habits. They have established a position as fishermen, drivers and petty agriculturists. It cannot be maintained that South Africa can accommodate only white and black and has no place for the brown races.

Again, as recently as 1926, the Government of India questioned this theory of the overseas Governments. In the case of Natal, where the domiciled Indian population outnumbers the European population, the Indian Government telegraphed to the Government of the Union of

* *Proceedings of the Conference*, vol. iii., p. 115 (English text). (Rome : Commisariat Generale Italien de l'Emigration. 1924.) The late Sir P. Rajagopalachari was the Indian delegate to this Conference.

† I consider this statement to be valid even against the agreed convention that intra-imperial politics are outside the pale of the League of Nations and of the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

‡ *Memorandum of the India Office, June, 1911, on the Position of Indians Overseas. Proceedings of the Imperial Conference, 1911*, p. 278 (Cd. 5,745, 1911).

South Africa that their deputation of enquiry (commonly known as the Paddison Deputation) were

unable to find any justification for the general opinion held by Europeans in Natal that Indian competition in trade is increasing, and is closing fruitful avenues of employment to Europeans.

Protesting against the passage of the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill, the Indian Government wrote to the South African Government:*

Any measure tending to depress the social and economic standards of Asiatics may be expected to intensify rather than mitigate industrial and commercial competition between them and the white population.

Notwithstanding the fact that no clear data are quoted on behalf of the contention that the Indian settler ousts the white worker in the overseas Dominions, several discriminatory measures were passed against the former. The case of the Transvaal is an instance. Unfortunately the economic factor is intermingled with the racial one, and hence it is necessary that we should discuss this matter in the next section.

We must here take note of the fact that certain Indian settlers undersell themselves to the detriment of their white neighbours. Human nature being what it is, such a thing is not confined to any one country or community. Indeed, it was recognized that the poor white settler of South Africa is not exempt from this charge. But fraudulent measures have a remedy in the strict enforcement of the law. On the other hand, means of a different nature are available in the shape of machinery for the proper regulation of economic activities. In the case of South Africa, a standard wage, irrespective of race, has met this proposition in an admirable manner. Further, the growing absorption of Indian workers by the trade unions — a beginning has already been made in this direction — is sure to act as a deterrent to the above-mentioned weakness on the part of the Indian settler.

A résumé of the legislation passed against the immigration of Asiatics, including Indians, is important. It is convenient to start with the foreign states and then come to the British Empire for a detailed examination of the situation.

In the United States of America several exclusion Acts have prevented Asiatics from entering the territory with a

* *Telegram from the Viceroy of India to the Governor-General of South Africa, January 10, 1926. See Correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of the Union of South Africa regarding the Position of Indians in South Africa, p. 21 (Delhi: Government Press. 1926).*

view to permanent settlement. Recently Chinese and Japanese have been admitted under certain conditions. Such facilities are denied to Indians.* In the case of Costa Rica a decree of October 26, 1925, prohibits the landing of Indian workers engaged under contract.† In French Indo-China special regulations operate stringently against the settlement of Indians.‡ In the Dutch Indies various labour ordinances impose similar discriminatory penalties over persons of the Indian race.§ In the case of Panama, Indians are excluded along with other Asiatics.|| Paraguay, Uruguay, and Turkey have similar legislation excluding Asiatic immigration.¶

We will now turn to conditions in the British Dominions. The "White Australia" policy was adumbrated during the closing years of the nineteenth century, after the abortive attempt of Queensland threatening secession from the Commonwealth if Indian immigration were not permitted.** The literacy test imposed upon intending immigrants is a definite bar making for their exclusion.†† Fortunately, stringent anti-Indian rules denying facilities for visits to the Commonwealth by even educated and wealthy Indians have been recently removed, and the visit of Diwan-Bahadur T. Rangachariar, M.L.A., on the occasion of the opening of the Commonwealth Parliament at Canberra, produced excellent results in this respect.‡‡

In the case of Canada, the *Komagata Maru* incident in

* H. F. Fairchild: *Immigration: A World Movement and its American Significance*, p. 467. (New York: Macmillan. 1925.)

R. D. McKenzie: *Oriental Exclusion*. (Institute of Pacific Relations. New York. 1927.)

H. P. Fairchild (Ed.): *Immigrant Backgrounds*, chap. xii., pp. 180-195; J. M. Davis: *The Orientals*.

The Preamble and Constitution of the Asiatic Exclusion League of North America (1905) contains the following passage: "The Caucasian and Asiatic races are unassimilable. Contact between these races must result, under the conditions of individual life obtaining in North America, in injury to the former, proportioned to the extent to which such contact prevails." Quoted by E. G. Mears: *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast*, p. 435. (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations. 1927.)

† International Labour Office: *Migration Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II.; *Immigration Laws and Regulations*, pp. 52-53 (Geneva. 1928).

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¶ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

** Myra Willard: *History of White Australia Policy*, pp. 99-106. (Melbourne: University Press. 1923); Ch. Fleetwood: *Australia—White or Yellow?* (London: Heinemann. 1926).

†† International Labour Office: *Migration Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II., pp. 49-50.

‡‡ In this connection see the India Office Memorandum presented to the Colonial Conference of 1911, *loc. cit.*

1914 proclaimed a régime in which there could be no scope for Indians to emigrate with a view to permanent settlement.* The imposition of the continuous voyage test upon the Indian would-be emigrant creates a definite bar against any future emigration from India. Yet other Asiatics enjoy in certain cases greater facilities than His Majesty's Indian subjects. On this the India Office Memorandum presented to the Colonial Conference of 1911 pointed out : †

While the Government of India have not taken exception to the present arrangement, it is to be noted that a British Indian subject is at present required to have more money than a Japanese alien,

before he is allowed to land in Canada, and continued :

Nonetheless it is a striking fact that British Indians are allowed by foreign countries privileges denied to them by the Dominions.

So far we have surveyed the immigration restrictions imposed upon Indians in various parts of the world. But there is a more serious factor to be considered. What of the Indian overseas settlers who have for generations lived side by side with foreign nationals in the overseas empires ? It would be impossible, on account of considerations of space, to go into the *minutiae* of the discriminatory legislation passed by different countries imposing disabilities on domiciled Indian settlers, which are economic in external manifestation but entirely racial in character. The case of the Transvaal is an example of such discriminatory legislation.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi's work in this colony twenty years ago will not, of course, be forgotten.‡ The late G. K. Ghokale was the first person to impress the Government of India with the necessity of the abolition of indenture in South Africa, particularly in Natal. His resolution was accepted by the Government of India in 1911, and his subsequent visit to that Dominion produced a profound effect on the local authorities. Emigration to Natal was actually stopped for a time. But conditions remained unaltered until the passive resistance movement focussed attention of the authorities of both the Governments upon this subject.

* Panikkar's book, already referred to, provides a scathing indictment of this incident, which resulted in severe loss of Indian life on account of the ungenerous attitude of the Immigration Officers of the Dominion.

† Cd. 5745, p. 276 (1911).

In this connection, see the petition of the Hindu Friend Society of Victoria, B.C., to the Colonial Office, dated April 28, 1911, which contains a trenchant indictment of the Canadian policy of discrimination against Indians. *Ibid.*, pp. 279-281.

‡ A full description is in M. K. Gandhi : *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, two vols. (Ahmedabad. 1929). See particularly Vol. I., pp. 205-401, and Vol. II., pp. 3-271.

A recent writer tersely summed up the position in this colony in the following words :*

Many of the Natal Indians freed from indenture had entered the Transvaal after its retrocession to the Boers in 1881. Their liberty to acquire property and to trade was questioned by the Europeans, and despite the diplomatic attempts of the British Government to enforce the claims of its Indian subjects—claims secured under Article XIV. of the London Convention of 1884—Law 3 of 1885, imposing restrictive measures, was passed. An award made by Arbitrators, 1885, and a decision of the Supreme Court of Transvaal, 1898, virtually abrogated Article XIV. of the London Convention and the rights enjoyed under it by the Indians.

On the prejudice demonstrated by the white population in the Transvaal there is a wealth of authentic evidence. But space does not permit of a thorough survey of this data.† The whole range of this kind of legislation may be summed up under the heads, imposition of disabilities upon Indian emigrants with respect to acquisition of landed property, the imposition of a poll-tax, the refusal of trading licences and the admission of the wives and children of the emigrants.

Fortunately, some of these disabilities have been removed by the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, and the appointment of an Agent of the Government of India in South Africa in that year augured a new era in the relationship between the Indian settlers and their white neighbours. The first Agent, the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., has rendered meritorious services to the cause of Indians overseas.

One point which was the outcome of the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Act of South Africa must be noted here. An attempt to segregate Indians into particular quarters was deemed by the Union Government to meet the situation. But, unfortunately, such a policy would be futile and its repercussions would be wide and far-reaching. As the Aga Khan wrote in 1918 :‡

* P. C. Campbell : *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire*, pp. 171-172. (London : King. 1923.)

† In this connection, see a series of parliamentary papers published by H.M. Stationery Office :

Correspondence relating to Legislation affecting Asiatics in Transvaal, Cd. 3,308 (1907). *Further Correspondence*, Cds. 3,994 (1907), 4,327 (1908), and 5,363 (1910).

Correspondence respecting a Bill to regulate Immigration into the Union of South Africa, with Special Reference to Asiatics, Cds. 5,363 and 5,579 (1910); Cds. 6,087 and 6,283 (1912); and Cd. 6,940 (1913).

Correspondence relating to the Immigrants' Regulation Act and Other Matters affecting Asiatics in South Africa, Cd. 7,111 (1913).

‡ *India in Transition*, p. 119 (London : The Medici Society. 1918).

A rankling sense of injustice was aroused by the reservation of the best lands for Europeans and by a succession of ordinances and regulations based on an assumption of race superiority. It must be remembered that such a state of injured feeling evokes a subconscious spirit which in a few decades may lead to results out of all proportion in importance to the original causes.

The international repercussions of this question are worthy of note. At the time of the passage of the Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Act of 1907 the Chinese Minister in London lodged a protest with the Foreign Office in the following manner:*

Apart from the fact that the Ordinance is not in consonance with the principles of international comity, it is indeed repugnant to the policy of fairness and equality which is always advocated in the United Kingdom.

A recent Japanese view on this question is equally important:†

These discriminatory regulations are a source of great humiliation to the peoples of the Orient. In these days of increasingly close international relationships and world organism, it must be admitted that society can only advance through the recognition and application of international fairness and justice. Unfair and unjust discrimination is not to be justified, much less to be encouraged, although it may be necessary to overlook or tolerate temporarily, for reality cannot be ignored although ideals must not be forgotten.

The Government of India have been extremely conciliatory in hoping for a satisfactory settlement of the Indian question in South Africa. They postulated:‡

The problems of South Africa, we believe, are probably racial only on the surface. They rest on differences of history, outlook and civilization of constituent elements of its population which penetrate deeper than colour of their skins.

With a stroke of statesmanship, and at times in direct opposition to the wishes of certain sections of the Indian domiciled population of the Union, they accepted the declared policy of the Union Government in the following resolution agreed to at the Cape Town Round Table Conference in 1927:

The Government of the Union have impressed upon the Government of India that public opinion in South Africa will not view with favour any settlement which does not hold out a reasonable prospect of safeguarding the maintenance of the Western standard of life by just and legitimate means.

* Cd. 3,887 (1908), p. 1.

† K. S. Inui, *Unsolved Problems of the Pacific*, chap. xii, "Discrimination of Orientals in British Colonies and Dominions," pp. 242-246 (Tokio, 1925).

‡ *Correspondence with South African Government*, p. 1; and *Further Correspondence*, p. 3 (Delhi: Government Press. 1926).

Notwithstanding this settlement, it is sad to read the annual report of the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa for 1927, which contains the following passage :*

Race feeling against the Indian is strong in Natal, especially where professional or trade rivalry exists to aggravate it.

Racial segregation is no satisfactory remedy. The work of the Indian Agent in South Africa consists, in part, of "upliftment" of the South African Indian. Elsewhere in Mauritius the position is full of hope. Kunwar Maharaj Singh reported in 1925 as follows :†

The spread of education, greater combination among labourers, the growth of self-respect among agricultural classes, and above all the abolition of indenture have given the labourer better protection.

But as the Government of India put it in the case of East Africa :‡

We believe that sanitation and social convenience could be adequately secured by mutual consent, by strict enforcement of sanitary and building laws, and by a just administration of municipal revenues. In this way the end which Lord Milner has in view to promote social comfort, social convenience and social peace might be attained. But legislation on racial lines, so far from mitigating, will stimulate hostility and ill-feeling. It will, we fear, gratuitously provoke a conflict which may have greater political consequences in this country and throughout the Empire.

One is happy to note that things are taking a better turn in Durban, which is, one hopes, an index to the possibilities of the future.§

Arising out of the previous two issues of economic competition and racial juxtaposition, the problem of civic enfranchisement and the consequent apportionment of political power for the benefit of the Indian settler is of the highest importance. In Malaya there is an Indian member on the local Legislative Council. In Ceylon two Indians represent the emigrant interests.|| In Fiji, under the Letters Patent promulgated in February, 1929, the Legislative Council contains three Indian elected members.

* *Annual Report of the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa*, p. 10 (Calcutta: Government Press, 1928).

† *Report on Deputation to Mauritius*, p. 23 (Delhi: Government Press, 1925).

‡ *Correspondence regarding the Position of Indians in South Africa*, pp. 6-7 (Cmd. 1,311, 1921).

§ *Annual Report of the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa*, 1928, pp. 18-19 (Calcutta: Government Press, 1929). See also the admirable chapter entitled *Furor Africanus Orientalis* in W. M. Ross: *Kenya from Within*, chap. xx. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1927).

|| The present writer has assisted the Hon. Mr. I. X. Pereira, M.L.C., who came to London on deputation to the Colonial Office, and a fairly satisfactory settlement of the Indian constitutional rights in Ceylon is in sight.

The question of political power is of great consequence in the case of East Africa, where the domiciled Indian population outnumbers the white settlers. The Hilton-Young Commission has favourably reported upon the question of a common electoral roll.* But these proposals have been met by the strong opposition of the European community in the colony. Sir Samuel Wilson further reported that the door is not as yet closed for the question of the electoral roll being settled without injustice to the Indian interests.†

The needs of the Indian community have been summed up by the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, in a report submitted by him to the Government of India. Mr. Sastri wrote:‡

No one who visits Kenya can fail to be struck by the utter lack of mutual understanding in political outlook between the Indian and European communities.

Mr. Sastri recommended that the Government of India should—

1. Press for inquiries as to the basis of a civilization franchise which shall be common to all races alike.
2. Invoke the good offices of the Colonial Office and of the Government of Kenya in securing the consent of the European community to the establishment of a common roll.
3. Oppose the grant of responsible government to Kenya or of any institution leading up to it.
4. Oppose the establishment of a Central Council on the lines proposed by Sir Samuel Wilson.
5. Demand, in case of the establishment of some such body, that the unofficial representatives from each province should include an adequate number of Indians.
6. Advocate the continuance of the official majority in the Legislative Council of Kenya.
7. Demand that the representation of natives in the Kenya Legislative Council should be by natives or by Europeans and Indians in equal proportions.

Anyone who understands the complexities of the situation and the safeguards necessary for the protection of the Indian interests would endorse the views of Mr. Sastri as befitting the ordered evolution of any community in the world.

V. THE FUTURE

The future is one of sincerity and hope. His Majesty's Government have repeatedly declared themselves against a

* *Report of the Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa*, pp. 204-211 (Cmd. 3,234, 1929).

† *Report of Sir Samuel Wilson on his Visit to East Africa*, pp. 23-25 (Cmd. 3,378, 1929).

‡ *Report of the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri regarding his Mission to East Africa*, pp. 2-6 (Delhi: Government Press. 1930).

policy of racial discrimination against the Indian settlers in the overseas Dominions.* If racial discrimination cannot be abjured in the case of fresh emigration, at least the rights of existing domiciled Indian communities in all parts of the world should be safeguarded.

A memorandum on Indians in Kenya published in 1922 declared the policy of His Majesty's Government in respect to the way in which they propose to tackle the problems of Indian emigration overseas. The Memorandum states:†

The interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail. Obviously, the interests of the other communities, European, Indian, or Arab, must severally be safeguarded. Whatever the circumstances in which members of these communities have entered Kenya, there will be no drastic action or reversal of measures already introduced, such as may have been contemplated in some quarters, the result of which might be to destroy or impair the interests of those who have already settled in Kenya.

The Report of the Hilton-Young Commission on closer union of the dependencies of Eastern and Central Africa supplies a complete solution of the problems arising out of the Indian settlements side by side with other communities. Their recommendations are worthy of citation:‡

The basis of a satisfactory treatment of the problems of government in Africa must be a definite policy for dealing with what is the most difficult task, namely, the fulfilment of the Government's trust for the natives and the regulation of the relations between the natives and the immigrant communities.

... the obligation resting on those responsible for the government of these territories should properly be regarded as a threefold trusteeship.

First, for the moral and material development of the native inhabitant.

Secondly, for humanity as a whole (the duty here being to develop the vast economic resources of these territories for the benefit of the whole world), a duty the conception of which has been made familiar by Lord Lugard in his doctrine of the "Dual Mandate."

Thirdly, for the immigrant communities, whose initiative, knowledge and material resources are necessary instruments in the fulfilment of the first two tasks.

* From the peroration of Joseph Chamberlain before the Imperial Conference of 1897 to the present day H.M. Government have persistently declared themselves against any racial discrimination imposing disabilities on Indian settlers overseas. The reports of the Imperial Conference of 1911, the Imperial War Conference of 1918, and the Imperial Conference of 1923 are of particular interest from this point of view.

† *Indians in Kenya—Memorandum*, p. 10 (Cmd. 1,922, 1923). See also *Future Policy in regard to East Africa* (Cmd. 2,904, 1927).

‡ *Report of the Commission on the Closer Union of the Dependencies of Eastern and Central Africa*, Chapter III., pp. 35-36, 41 and 235 respectively (Cmd. 3,234, 1929).

These three obligations are not necessarily in conflict. Properly interpreted, they are complementary parts of a single obligation which cannot be fully performed if any of those parts are neglected.

. . . The Government must do all in its power to help the immigration communities. Indeed, the essence of our recommendations is that the field of native interests should be clearly defined and safeguarded, not only in the interests of the natives, but also as to make clear the scope for development of the immigrant communities, and to make it possible for government within these limits to give its active and unequivocal support.

. . . As the whole population—native and non-native—must, with the advance of civilization and development of the territory, move steadily forward in the direction of increasing political responsibility, it is necessary to look forward to a day when the immigrant communities and the natives will together control the whole business of government.

It may be added that in a recent White Paper regarding closer union in East Africa, His Majesty's Government stated that in their opinion the establishment of a common roll is the object to be aimed at and attained, with an equal franchise of a civilisation or education character open to all races. They proposed that an enquiry should be made as to what is the most practicable action to be taken in this direction in the immediate future.

Besides these specific proposals to ensure justice to the domiciled Indian communities overseas, the whole question of Indian emigration should be reviewed in its proper light. The days when the "coolie" and the "sawmy" used to represent the Indian nation in the overseas empires are gone with the abolition of the indenture system. The recrudescence of nationalism in India has instilled pride into the hearts of Indians beyond the seas in the same manner in which their increasing wealth has produced a profound effect upon their moral and material welfare. Indians overseas do not ask for preferential treatment. What they want is justice and fair-play. If the whole question is not viewed in that spirit, the reciprocity resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1918 on the one hand, and India's membership of the League of Nations on the other, may, in the not distant future, be invoked for retaliation and arbitration respectively in case of unjust treatment of her nationals overseas. One is happy to recognize the efforts made by the Government of India in using every diplomatic channel available to secure a satisfactory settlement of the Indian emigration question. They have been extremely conciliatory in their approach to the Governments of the various countries where their nationals are found at the present day, and in this they have the confidence and support of the people of India.



EVEREST RANGE FROM SANDAKPHU

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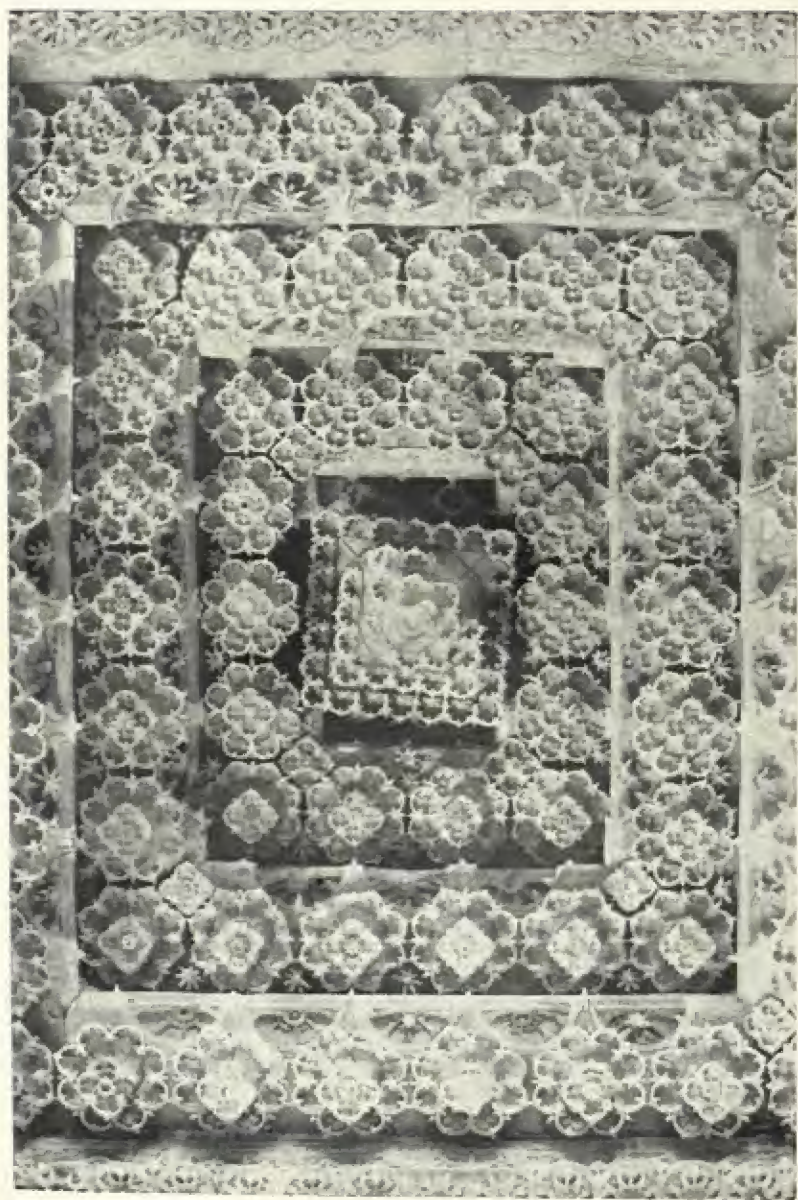
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THE BAYON, ANGKOR-THOM



Photo by Catharine Lady Cook.

ONE OF THE FOUR-FACED TOWERS ON THE TOP PLATFORM OF THE
BAYON, ANGKOR-THOM



Photo by Catharine Lady Cook.

THE GATE OF VICTORY, ANGKOR-THOM



Photo by Catharine Lady Cook.

THE GATE OF VICTORY: GIANTS HOLDING A NAGA, ANGKOR-THOM



Photo by Catharine Lady Cook.
CLOSE-UP OF SOME OF THE GODS, ANGKOR-
THOM



Photo by Catharine Lady Cook.
THE GATE OF VICTORY: GODS HOLDING A NAGA, ANGKOR-THOM

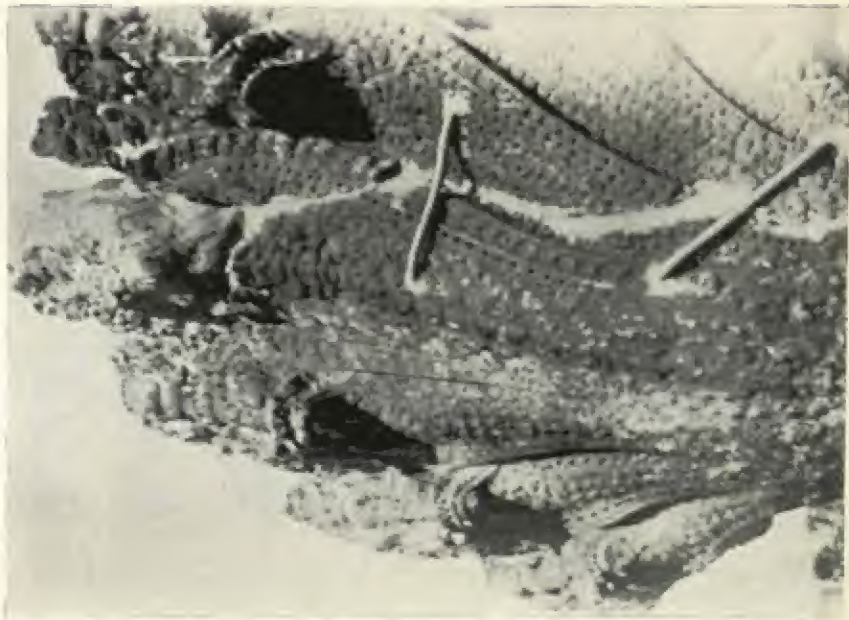


Photo by Catharine Lady Cook.
 DETAIL OF ANOTHER NAGA, ANGKOR WAT



Photo by Catharine Lady Cook.
 FIRST VIEW OF THE MAIN TEMPLE FROM
 INSIDE THE WEST GATEWAY, ANGKOR WAT



Photo by Catharine Lucy Cook.

TYPICAL SEVEN-HEADED NAGA ON CAUSE-
WAY OUTSIDE THE WEST GATEWAY,
ANGKOR WAT



Photo by Catharine Lucy Cook.

THE TEMPLE SEEN DIAGONALLY ACROSS ONE OF THE BASINS
FLANKING THE MAIN CAUSEWAY, ANGKOR WAT



Photo by M. Philippe Gangnat.

TJANDI KOLASSAN, NEAR DJOCKJAKARTA
(As restored by the Dutch)



Photo by M. Philippe Gangnat.

THE FESTIVAL AT THE VILLAGE OF TANGONAM, BALI



Photo by M. Philippe Gangnat.

NIKKO: RED LACQUER BRIDGE



Photo by M. Philippe Gangnat.

KYOTO: KIVOMI JU-DERA

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The views expressed in the pages of the ASIATIC REVIEW must be taken
as those of the individual contributors.

THE INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL EXHIBITION IN PARIS AND THE INDIAN VISITOR*

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., D.SC.

It is greatly to be hoped that the International Colonial Exhibition at Paris, which was opened this spring and will remain open until the close of October, may be seen by many Indian visitors to Europe, for it has much to show that may justly claim their special interest. The exhibition has been organized under the auspices of the French Colonial Ministry and the direction of Marshal Lyautey as Commissioner-General to represent the economic resources and manifold attractions of the territories comprised in the vast Colonial Empire of France, besides those of the overseas possessions of certain other countries, including Holland, Belgium, Italy, and Portugal.

The Indian section, it is true, occupies but a modest pavilion among the array of great structures, including a permanent colonial museum, exhibition galleries, halls, etc., which, interspersed with ornamental gardens, places of entertainment and the like, spreads itself over an area of more than 250 acres. Yet there is probably at the present day no other place to be found where the powerful influence exercised by the old civilization and art of India over great regions of Asia outside its own limits is presented to the eye in more impressive a fashion.

The vast extension of Indian cultural influences, from Central Asia in the north to tropical Indonesia in the south, and from the border lands of Persia to China and Japan, has been fully revealed to the world at large only during the last seventy years or so and almost entirely through the researches of Western scholars. They have shown that ancient India was the radiating centre of a civilization which by its religious thought, its art and literature was destined since two thousand years to leave its deep mark on

* The number of visitors to this exhibition from the day of opening to September 20 has been 22,794,839. An illustration of the Permanent Exhibition will be found facing page 694.

racess wholly diverse and scattered over the greater part of Asia. Yet India herself may be considered to have remained until quite recently unconscious of this its great rôle in the past. This curious fact can largely be attributed to the peculiar features of traditional Indian mentality. These *inter alia* account for the fact that amidst the vast stores of Indian classical literature there are to be found but very scanty relics of what may be properly classed as written historical records.

However, the fertilizing contact with Western thought through modern education has made its effect felt in this direction also. Some knowledge of a "Greater India" is gradually being brought home now to a wider circle of the Indian public. It is bound to be justly pleasing to patriotic pride and may be expected to command increasing attention.

A visit to the Colonial Exhibition at Paris will prove a very interesting and instructive experience to those visitors from India who are not acquainted with the steadily growing number of fine publications devoted to the art remains of Indochina, Java, and the Far East reflecting Indian inspiration, and who cannot find time to visit the museums and private collections into which specimens of those remains are being eagerly gathered nowadays throughout Europe and America. On visiting the Colonial Exhibition they will in the area assigned to French Indochina find a multitude of beautiful objects of art and craft, brought together in original or faithful reproduction, once adorning the temples and palaces of a region deeply imbued of old with Hindu civilization and Buddhism. They will be able there also to admire full-scale reproductions of such famous architectural creations as the main temple of Angkor Vat with its wonderful wealth of plastic decoration. Structures and sculptures alike strikingly reflect the influence of Indian models. At the same time they pleasingly display the artistic feeling of the indigenous populations in Annam, the ancient Champa, Cambodia, and Laos, which during the first millenium of our era so readily absorbed many features of early Indian culture.

The abundance of Sanskrit inscriptions, composed in true Indian classical style, has enabled French scholars for the last fifty years gradually to recover much of the history of those Khmer and Sham dynasties under which for centuries there flourished a civilization, in many ways essentially Hindu, in those distant lands of Farther India. At the same time their researches have thrown much light on the way in which that civilization was affected by the potent influence of ancient China, the eastern neighbour of those lands. Apart from relations in language and race, that influence made itself felt through the assertion of Chinese political power. Information about this is

gathered from the historical records of China which here as elsewhere in Asia form a precious source of reliable historical information.

But how that earlier and in many ways stronger Indian influence was carried across the seas, and perhaps by land also, through religious propaganda, trade, and other means we may never learn with any certainty. Indian literature, so rich in the spheres of philosophy, religious doctrine, poetry, and various sciences, unfortunately maintains complete silence about this notable cultural conquest just as it does about the same in the direction of Central Asia and the great islands of Indonesia. All that can be assumed with some confidence is that, as far as the last-named field and Indochina are concerned, that conquest emanated mainly from Southern India.

Recent news has told of the destruction by fire of the important Netherlands Indies section. Fortunately, this has been rebuilt in an incredibly short time. This accident might otherwise have made it impossible for the Indian visitor to visualize there how great a rôle Buddhism and Hinduism have played in shaping the early civilization of the more advanced Indonesian races were it not for the fact that the pavilion is being re-erected with the maximum of speed. In any case the wonders of the great Buddhist Stupa of Borobudur and the charming survival of Hindu cults and customs on islands like Bali are too well known to obscure for the intelligent visitor the extent which may be claimed for India's cultural influence in that direction also.

It has already been stated that the realization of what may justly be described as "Greater India" is the result of scholarly labours reaching back scarcely further than the last two generations. If we leave aside the great region to the north-west and north, including Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Tibet, the main share in the work of elucidating the facts concerning that expansion of early Indian culture must be attributed chiefly to French scholars.

It is an achievement of which France, that home of sound critical methods in the fields of historical and antiquarian researches, may be proud, and a worthy accompaniment of its great past as a colonizing power. The work was begun by French scientific missions from the very time when French protectorates were first established on the coasts of Indochina in the third quarter of the last century. The study of the materials thus collected was the merit of a small but highly distinguished group of scholars working at Paris, among them that great Indologist, the late M. Barth.

But the systematic organization of the work dates back only to the very end of the last century, when the *École française*

d'Extrême Orient was established by M. Doumer, then the far-sighted Governor-General of Indochina and now President of the French Republic. It was meant to assure the prosecution of those researches under the conditions most helpful to it—i.e., in the country itself. At the same time it was to provide also the organ for the careful preservation of the multitude of ruined temples and other monuments which attest the ancient civilization implanted in that soil.

Created after the model of the Great French Schools of Rome and Athens, the *École française d'Extrême Orient* has under the direction of distinguished savants like MM. Finot, Foucher, Maitre, and Cœdès rendered splendid services in both directions. With a staff strengthened by a steady flow of competent young French scholars it has carried on researches of the greatest value for the history, languages, and archæology, not merely of Indochina, but of vast regions extending from India to China and Japan.

On the archæological side the *École* has, by means of systematic conservation and excavation within the territories under French protection, recovered a series of magnificent monuments which, owing to the influence of a tropical climate and to other adverse conditions, were lying in ruins and exposed to final destruction. Under its supervision a number of excellently planned and housed museums have been established at Hanoi, the capital of French Indochina, and at the chief places of the several provinces. All of them shelter an abundance of relics of ancient art. Being wisely provided with ethnographic sections, these museums in addition offer ample opportunity for the study of the development of local arts and crafts from the earliest stages to the present day.

Special exhibits in the Arts Section of the Exhibition devoted to Indochina bring the results of these manifold activities of the *École française d'Extrême Orient* before the eyes of visitors. Others without going to Paris will find those results admirably summed up and illustrated in a special publication prepared by the *École* for the occasion of the exhibition. It would be well if the Archæological Survey of India, which since its reorganization, due to Lord Curzon, has under Sir John Marshall's direction successfully carried on tasks corresponding to the archæological side of the *École's* work, but extending geographically over the much larger field presented by India, were in a not too distant future to be offered an opportunity to demonstrate the fruits of its labours in a similarly impressive fashion at the centre of the British Empire.

Turning to the African portion of the far-flung colonial dominions of France as represented at the exhibition now open

at Paris, Indian visitors would also find much to interest and instruct them. There, in the coastal region extending from Tunis to Morocco, Islamic civilization, which has so much enriched the artistic heritage of India, has produced some of its finest fruits in architecture and crafts. The sections of the exhibition devoted to Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco contain reproductions of some of the most striking architectural objects surviving in those time-honoured seats of Muhammadan culture.

But Morocco is the land in which this culture has longest escaped disturbing foreign influences, and there a fortunate dispensation of our time has assured the continued survival of indigenous crafts in their artistic and technical excellence. The merit for this is due to Marshal Lyautey, the great French pro-consul of our times. While securing peace and ordered progress to Morocco during his long tenure of office as Resident-General, he directed special attention also to the protection of its traditional arts and crafts. By his intimate knowledge of Oriental civilizations and his appreciation of their arts he was predestined for this task in Morocco just as he is for his present functions as *Commissaire-Général* of the Colonial Exhibition.

By a carefully planned and steadily pursued policy Marshal Lyautey succeeded in preserving the high standards of indigenous Moroccan craftsmanship in domestic architecture, wood-carving, textile manufacture, etc. This is not the place to detail the methods by which this happy result was attained, beneficial alike to the local producer and the Western lover of good art work. Encouragement given to the masters to maintain their traditional good taste and skill, protection afforded to the old guild system, strict exclusion of inferior materials and shoddy examples from the European market, have all played their part in this effective policy.

The results thus attained may be judged by the superior merit of the products of modern Moroccan arts and crafts to be seen at the exhibition. The prices which these products deservedly command among appreciative Western purchasers prove the economic benefits secured through Marshal Lyautey's policy. They are aptly illustrated by the fact that the *service des arts indigènes* established in Morocco, which through its French staff supervises the activity of the guilds, the supply of sound materials to the craftsmen, the disposal of the products, etc., has for a long time been self-supporting.

It would be easy for the visitor who is conscious of the decay or complete extinction of many, if not most, of the art industries for which India was once famous, to appreciate the lesson to be drawn from the Moroccan example. Unfortunately conditions may have "progressed" too far for this example to be success-

fully followed on Indian soil. But probably it is not yet too late for an endeavour to be made in one portion or another of the great sub-continent by systematic encouragement, such as rulers of Indian States might afford, to save what superior skill and taste are still to be found among local art workers.

Such and similar thoughts may well suggest themselves to observant visitors from India. If, then, on their return they felt stimulated to follow up those thoughts on practical lines, they would find themselves rewarded for their visit to that remarkable exhibition by more than an agreeable recollection of the pleasure its manifold sights and attractions are likely to have given them.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE FUTURE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE OF INDIA

BY SIR AKBAR HYDARI

It is scarcely necessary, at this stage of the constitutional discussions between Britain, British India, and the Indian States, to emphasize the degree in which the idea of Federation now overshadows all possible alternative solutions of the difficulties which confront us. But the general acceptance of the Federal idea has, if anything, added to the difficulty of clear thinking, by reason of the complicated adjustments between different interests that must in the first instance be postulated before we can attempt to forecast the working of the system which we hope to bring into existence.

Among the more important of these adjustments are those which will fall to be made between British India and the Indian States. It is necessary to remember that Federation is quite as much to the interest of the former as of the latter. At present the relations of the Indian States are with the Crown as paramount power; and, since the Crown rules British India, it serves as the nexus between the two parts of the country. Only on the strength of this nexus is it possible, unless a very circuitous route is taken, to link Bombay to Madras by a railway which traverses territory under the sovereignty of H.E.H. the Nizam. Save through the Crown, there can at present be no administration of subjects which are of common concern to the States and British India; and unless the functions of the Crown are to continue unaltered in the future—which British India does not contemplate—it is essential for British India to arrange a new nexus of co-operation by agreement between the States and itself. For this the goodwill of the States is essential. It seems to be for the advantage of all parties that this nexus should take the form of a Federal Government in which the Indian States will have their full share. One of the two vital organs of this Federal Government will be the Federal Legislature, concerning which I hold that certain important considerations deserve to be kept steadily in view.

The nature and composition of the Federal Legislature must be determined primarily by the functions which will be allotted to it; and in this connection it is necessary to project our minds away from present conditions. In the future, it is conceded on all hands, the units of the Federation will have the fullest possible autonomy. The Governments of these units in British India will be wholly Indian; they will be fully responsible to democratic

legislatures. It will be these Governments which will deal with matters affecting the day-to-day life of the ordinary individual. They will administer finally, in full and unimpaired authority, the subjects which most concern the people: their land-revenue administration, their police administration, their system of education and public health, their development of irrigation, agriculture, and so forth. But in contrast to the matters which will fall within the purview of the federating units, the subjects within the sphere of the federal centre will be comparatively few. Moreover, they will be largely administrative and very technical in nature, such as communications, posts and telegraphs, currency, and so forth. The federal structure need not and should not, therefore, as it seems to me, be modelled on what the provincial structure may be; for the latter will be designed for purposes quite different from the former.

Personally, I share with Mr. Gandhi a preference for a unicameral federal legislature, and I should like to see the possibilities of this idea further explored. For it would seem both simpler and more economical to entrust the Federal subjects to one Chamber, which, in view of the democratic character of the Provincial Governments represented in it, would itself be both democratic and Indian. But if British-Indian sentiment, which I should be the last to ignore, remains inexorably in favour of two Houses, then I would strive to make these Houses as compact as possible. The advantages are many. There would, in the first place, be economy in money—a very important consideration in a poor country like India. There would, secondly, be economy in time taken for the despatch of public business, which is also important where provincial representatives have to travel long distances to the federal capital. There would, in the third place, be economy in personnel in not denuding the provinces of large numbers of their best and most representative men, in not withdrawing these men from really nation-building work, in not encouraging them to cast longing eyes upon the spectacular environment of Delhi and Simla.

If we adopt the bicameral principle, the Upper House will presumably represent the units of the Federation, and the Lower the Federation as a whole. I do not consider the terms "Upper" and "Lower" at all applicable, for I do not believe in one Chamber being fashioned with the set purpose of exercising a stabilizing influence over the other. Both should be equally stable. It is essential that the highly technical and mainly administrative subjects which it will fall to the Federal Legislature to consider should be dealt with by those who can approach them with different sets of experience and knowledge. Such experience and knowledge should be distributed over the two Chambers, so as to make them

both equally important and valuable. Both should be started, I think, on a footing of absolute equality so far as the written constitution is concerned. One Chamber may gain superiority over the other; one class of questions may come to vest in one House and another in the other. But we should leave this to time and experience; and meanwhile, all Bills, including money Bills, should be introduced in, and amended by, either Chamber. For both Chambers will be equally concerned, not merely in current legislation on the subjects with which the Federal Legislature will deal, but also in matters of Federal taxation, which will intimately affect the internal resources of the federating units. Differences of opinion between the two Houses in regard to money Bills and the voting of supply, as well as to other matters, should, I consider, be resolved in a joint session composed of an equal number of representatives of each House; but the adoption of a scheme of Federal finance entirely acceptable to the States would dispose me to agree to the joint session with reference to money matters being composed of the full strength of the two Houses.

What should this strength be? My own preference, having regard to the British-India desire for a bicameral system, would be to endorse the suggestions of the last Report of the Federal Structure Committee, which advocated one House of from 100 to 150 members, and the other of 250 members. But if British India feels strongly, in view of the increased population shown by the 1931 Census, that some advance should be made upon these figures, then a maximum of 250 for one House and of 350 for the other might be considered.

While I am willing to concede that British India should have a greater proportion of representatives than the States in each House (sixty: forty, or some such figure), the endowment of the two Chambers with equal powers would seem to imply that the proportion of members as between the States and British India would be the same in both. I would deprecate one Chamber coming to be considered as more the Indian States' Chamber than the other; and I am so anxious for the Indian States and British India to consider that they are equally interested in the work, and equally responsible for the reputation of both Chambers, that I would be prepared to accept a modification in my demand for weightage in one, in return for a compromise in regard to weightage in the other.

But on the assumption that the strength of both Houses bears some relation to the figures which I have suggested, will it be possible to secure adequate representation for the Indian States within any quota of seats which even weightage is likely to place at their disposal? To assess the relative importance of individual States is a task so delicate as to require, in my judgment, the

that it should prepare such material as was designed to help the Peace Conference in perfecting the Labour Clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, at that time under discussion. Thus it will be seen that, at a time when experience and resources at the disposal of the Peace Conference were limited, this Commission was asked to do too much in a hurry. The injustice done to India, and the troubles connected with the first three years of the International Labour Organization, are traceable to the confusion of thought exhibited by the group of idealists who were asked to perform this difficult task.

It is a well-recognized fact that British initiative was mainly responsible for the creation of the International Labour Organization. At the first sitting of this Commission, on February 1, 1919, the British Empire Delegation submitted an exhaustive scheme outlining "A Draft Convention Creating a Permanent Organization for the Promotion of International Labour Conditions." Article XXXIV. of this Draft Convention ran as follows: "The self-governing Dominions of the British Empire and India may become parties to this Convention and have the same rights and obligations thereunder *as if they were independent States.*"* The wording of this Article clearly indicates the anxiety of the British Government to raise the status of the Dominions and India among the nations of the world. We have elsewhere seen the valiant efforts made by the British Empire Delegation to secure such recognition for them in the Covenant of the League. In regard to the International Labour Organization, such recognition was not only to be perpetuated, but actually strengthened. Hence the specific inclusion of the clause "*as if they were independent States.*"

But by the time this Article came up for discussion by the Commission, on February 26, the British Empire Delegation thought it fit to substitute a revised draft as follows: "The British Dominions and India, and also the fully self-governing Colonies or Possessions of other Powers, shall have the same rights and obligations under this Convention *as if they were separate High Contracting Parties.*"† This amended draft of the Article does not materially alter the position of the Dominions and India. But, unfortunately, the specific idea that they constitute independent States for international purposes, thereby enhancing their position in international law, was consciously or unconsciously suppressed in the revised draft.

The inclusion of the self-governing Colonies and Possessions of other Powers besides the British Empire led to several complications, both in regard to imperial policy and international law.

* I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. I., p. 15. *Italics mine.*

† *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69. *Italics mine.*

Belgium strenuously opposed this revised draft, and the question was referred to the Drafting Committee. When the matter was once again discussed by the Commission, Sir Malcolm Delevingne, the British delegate, substituted a further modified text which dropped out reference to the possessions of other Powers but retained the text which declared that the British Dominions and India shall have the same rights and obligations under this Convention as if they were separate High Contracting Parties.* This Article was finally incorporated in the text of the Draft Convention as was presented to the Peace Conference.† This is the first step in the direction of elevating the status of India in her own right in regard to her membership of the International Labour Organization.

When once the question of membership in the Organization was settled, the most thorny problem connected with the membership of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office was mooted. Article VII. of the British draft of the Draft Convention and the protocol thereto defined the composition of the Governing Body. According to the original draft of the protocol, it was to consist of twenty-four members, of which twelve were to be Government representatives. Of these twelve, the five Great Powers (Great Britain, the U.S.A., France, Italy, and Japan) were named as entitled to Government seats on the Governing Body, while the remaining seven were to be filled by election from among the Government representatives of States members of the Organization. For the remaining twelve seats the Employers' and Workers' Delegates to the International Labour Conference were to elect six each.‡

The Belgian Delegation once again moved an amendment§ to the protocol, the purpose of which was to omit the names of the States mentioned as initially entitled to Government representatives on the Governing Body and to make the elections procedure uniform to all the three groups, subject to the proviso that the Government group should have as many representatives as the Employers' and Workers' groups put together.

This amendment was unacceptable to the British Empire Delegation, while the American Delegation contended that if, in accordance with the Belgian amendment, the Government representatives were freely elected by the Government delegates present at the Conference, it would be possible for the British Empire to obtain a larger number of seats on the Governing Body than under the British proposal.

* I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. I., p. 75.

† *Ibid.*, p. 105. This became Article XXXV. when the Draft Convention was submitted to the Peace Conference in its final form. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Owing to this deadlock, the British Empire Delegation substituted a revised draft of the protocol, which was responsible for all the subsequent trouble connected with the composition of the Governing Body. This draft ran as follows: "Of the twelve members representing the Governments, eight shall be nominated by the High Contracting Parties which are of chief industrial importance, and four shall be elected by the Government Delegates to the Conference. The question as to which of the High Contracting Parties are of chief importance shall be decided by the Executive Council of the League of Nations."* The phrase "of chief industrial importance" played a large part in the evolution of India's international status.

Two doubts were raised on this revised draft. The American Delegation questioned whether there was the possibility of an autonomous Dominion of a particular State or of the individual States of a Federation being represented on the Governing Body in addition to the representation which might be accorded to the State in question. To obviate this doubt, a clause was subsequently framed to the effect that no High Contracting Party, "including its Dominions or Colonies, whether they be self-governing or not, can have more than one Government representative on the Governing Body."† But, happily for India, this clause was not included in the final draft of the protocol as accepted and passed by the Commission.‡ There is no doubt that, as subsequent events turned out to be, the British Empire Delegation were anxious not to tie their hands, but leave the door open for the Dominions and India to secure representation on the Governing Body. The second question was raised by the Italian Delegation, which queried whether this proposal provided for adequate representation of the working classes of a country where agriculture played an important part. On this point the Commission evolved a formula according to which the "chief industrial importance" clause could not exclude *Western countries* in which a large proportion of the wage-earning classes were employed in agriculture.

The elucidation of these two issues is of great importance to India. In the first place, the door was left open for the Dominions and India to press for Government representation on the Governing Body. Secondly, the "chief industrial importance" clause was interpreted as not barring out agricultural countries in the West. By a logical as well as an equitable extension of this interpretation, India's claim in this regard was strengthened to a

* I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. I., p. 84, February 28, 1919.

† *Ibid.*, p. 85.

‡ The protocol to the Draft Convention as submitted to the Peace Conference is found on p. 280 of the *Bulletin*.

very great extent. Such was the position of India before the matter came up for decision by the Peace Conference.

At the Peace Conference this scheme for the creation of the International Labour Organization was passed without any serious difficulty. With this acceptance of the scheme a fresh stage in the efforts of India for recognition by the world community was inaugurated. The provisional list of States of chief industrial importance attached to the protocol of the Draft Convention was the cause of great misgiving, and Sir George Foster, the Canadian delegate, asked the Secretary-General of the Peace Conference whether that list was final.* This inquiry resulted in a telegraphic communication, dated July 8, 1919, from the Organizing Committee of the Washington Labour Conference, which was set up by the Peace Conference, and with its headquarters in London, to *certain States*, requesting statistical information relating to an elaborate questionnaire which was expected to cover the field of industrial activity all over the world.† "On the information available, though, owing to war and formation of new States, statistics [are] very uncertain and compilation list very difficult," the Organizing Committee compiled a list which included the U.S.A., Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Switzerland, and Spain, in the descending order of industrial importance.‡

The Washington Conference sat between October and November, 1919. Baron Mayor des Planches, the Italian Government Delegate, was elected chairman of the group of Government Delegates and presented to the Conference the list of Governments which were elected to the Governing Body. In communicating this list, as prepared by the London Organizing Committee, the *rapporteur* observed that India and China stressed the necessity for their representation on the Government group of the Governing Body. While China did not make any specific claim for a seat, Baron des Planches observed: § "The Indian

* Letter dated June 5, 1919. I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. I., pp. 451-453.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Letter from the Organizing Committee dated August 20, 1919, in confirmation of telegram dated August 12. See I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. I., pp. 362-365.

The position of Germany being uncertain, nine States were listed on the understanding that, in case she became a member of the Organization, Spain would drop off. Actually, Germany was admitted by the Washington Conference to Government representation on the Governing Body, while the U.S.A. dropped out on account of the domestic political situation, which culminated in the fall of President Wilson and her consequent aloofness from the League.

§ Nineteenth sitting of the Washington Conference, November 25, 1919. See *Final Record of the Washington Conference*, p. 131. The formal protest of the Indian Delegation will be found on p. 353 of the *Record*.

delegates, through Mr. Kershaw, refused to take part in the election, against which they protested, and demanded that their protest should be communicated to the Conference. They considered that, as the Council of the League of Nations has not pronounced on the objections made to the list of the eight States of chief industrial importance as proposed by the Organizing Committee, the Governing Body could not be chosen unless there was complete unanimity, which had not, in fact, been secured."* This protest proved to be of no avail, and the Indian Delegation refused to take part in the elections for the non-permanent seats, which were filled by Spain, Argentine, Canada, and Poland.

India was not the only country which was dissatisfied with such a hasty settlement of this important question. Actually, the Conference itself registered its sentiments on the irregularity of the proceedings. A motion of censure, moved by Mr. Gemmill, the South African Employers' Delegate, and supported by Japan, India, and Great Britain, was carried by forty-four votes against thirty-nine, to the following effect: "The Conference expresses its disapproval of the composition of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office inasmuch as no less than twenty of the twenty-four members of that Body are representatives of the European countries."† Despite this vote of censure, the first Governing Body continued to function during the normal period of its life, which is three years. But India's moral victory at the Washington Conference was assured and finally realized. Even more, besides India's specific claim, the whole question of the representation of extra-European countries on the Governing Body both for the Government, the Employers, and the Workers groups, was raised and remains unsatisfactory even after eleven years of the existence of the International Labour Organization.

In the next instalment of this paper I will show the vigorous action taken by the late Edwin Montagu, then Secretary of State for India, who paved the way for the actual stabilization of India's status among the nations of the world.

* Through the courtesy of Sir Louis Kershaw I had the opportunity of examining the report of the Indian Delegation to this Conference. From 1925 the reports of the Indian Delegations both to the International Labour Conference and the Assembly of the League of Nations are annually published for general information.

† Twenty-Fifth Session, November 29, 1919, *Final Record of the Washington Conference*, p. 197. See also I.L.O. *Official Bulletin*, Vol. I., p. 440.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE BRITON IN INDIA AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

BY SIR HUBERT CARR

(Member of the European Delegation to the Round-Table Conference)

Most speakers on India comment on the great variations of climate, country, race, and civilization occurring in the vast territories known under that common name. The same variation has to be noted when speaking of the Briton in India in relation to the political advance of the country, for the Briton in India comprises all classes and conditions of thought and political creed. Moreover, ninety-nine out of every hundred are provincialized—that is, they base their Indian views very largely on conditions ruling in the Province in which they find themselves.

Let me explain that in the term "Briton in India" I do not include those splendid security Services which have done so much for the country, and whose influence is in the very forefront of British work in India. They will continue, I trust, for many years to exercise their influence in unifying India and upholding standards of government for which they are rightly praised by every unbiassed investigator into Indian conditions. Their members are often in a peculiar position of advantage for getting a more intimate and wider view of the country and its problems than the non-official. In the past they have stood rather outside the British community in their neutral and administrative aloofness, and in the future they will, as servants of the country, largely sink their nationality in the Indianized Services. Nor do I include the Army nor the various Services which perform important functions in the administration of the country which they serve so well. In fact, I confine my remarks to the non-official Briton in India, which includes the merchant, etc., who, in his search for adventure and gain, has built up a great

system of trade bringing marked material advancement to millions in India, and at the same time opening a vast market for British goods; the planter who, living in comparative isolation among the more backward peoples of the soil, has pushed back the jungle, brought great areas into the service of man, and added enormously to the productive wealth of India; the engineer, who has laid roads and railways across forest, river, desert, and plain, and, uniting distant points, has done so much to banish that old dread enemy, famine; or who has dammed rivers, dug canals, and brought fertility and riches to impoverished lands; and the miner, who has uncovered new deposits of mineral wealth and made available stores of riches abandoned as unworkable by earlier generations. The term also includes the banker, the missionary, the doctor, the educationalist, the nurse, and a number of other workers who go to make up the British community of under 100,000 souls—not concentrated in one or two centres, but scattered throughout India.

PLACE IN THE COMMONWEALTH

Let it be granted that the very great majority go to India for adventure or to find a career: the fact remains that it is almost impossible to make a career without benefiting the country, directly or indirectly. The great businesses and industries which have been founded have not merely served to maintain families at home from generation to generation, but have made India a very material gainer in spite of the partial withdrawal of profits, for that is very small compared to the development of wealth which remains in India. Consequently the British in India have earned a place which is more than that of representatives of the British people—and they are that—but also a place as one of the clearly defined communities of India with all the rights of any other community.

The general political outlook in such a position as the Briton has enjoyed has been that of the traditional view of his countrymen forming the administrative Services. The Briton ruled and led in most walks of life, and he was honestly satisfied that, in spite of mistakes, he was attempting to do what seemed best,

and he doubted if any change would lead to better results than he saw increasingly evident in all the sections of the country.

This, with a few exceptions and modifications, was roughly the attitude of the non-official British towards Indian political aspirations in pre-war days.

POLITICAL VIEWS

Since then a great change has been taking place. The necessity under the 1919 Reforms for taking a hand in politics has forced the British community to study the position. A result has been that the attitude of the leaders of the community, and its representatives in the Legislatures, has been distinctly liberal and actively benevolent towards Indian constitutional aims. It is true that this outlook did not at once commend itself to all sections of our community. Some of those with long experience in India, and many who were prepared to adopt political views evolved in casual discussion rather than as a result of first-hand knowledge, retained the traditional attitude, but always their numbers were decreasing. When the necessity for making a markedly forward move in order to meet the political situation was made evident by the Simon Commission Report, many of those members of the community who work hard and play hard and who have not yet been pressed by circumstances to study political history, began to take fright, with the result that there was what the Press called "The European Revolt" in Calcutta. Unquestionably, the position made a large number of our fellow-countrymen in Calcutta and some other districts take stock and hold meetings. How was it, then, that, not long after, the representatives of the British community at the Round-Table Conference aligned themselves with their Indian colleagues of the British Indian Delegation in advocating a great advance? Not only did they do so, but their actions were confirmed by practically every branch of the European Association, the chambers of commerce, and most of the leaders of the community.

There were two principal reasons for this happy degree of unity. One was the essential sympathy with which the average Briton is inspired when he investigates genuine Indian Nationalist

aims, and the other was the great educative effort which was undertaken by a hard-working committee of the European Association. The Chairman of that committee, who was to have addressed you today, but, unfortunately, has been prevented by illness, was Mr. Villiers, of Calcutta. It must have been the greatest satisfaction to him and his co-workers that, although the European delegates to the Round-Table Conference had taken a position considerably in advance of that deemed wise before the Conference opened, and although their action was publicly repudiated by the then President of the European Association, the large majority of their countrymen supported them. In fact, the liberal policy was adopted in a more definite fashion than could have been hoped, for the branches not only accepted the policy, but confirmed the election of Mr. Villiers as President of the Association. Before his illness he was spending his short leave home in getting support for the policy of the Association, and in this he is, I am glad to say, meeting with considerable success—due, I believe, in no small degree to the moderation of our community's demands.

THE CLAIMS OF THE COMMUNITY

At the Conference the European delegates were concerned to ensure the preservation for their community of all the rights enjoyed by any other of His Majesty's subjects in India, and to assist the shaping of a form of government which would be effective in the enforcement of law and order, the administration of justice, and the maintenance of the stability of the country in the eyes of the world.

Our peculiar wants are few—but fundamental. One item referred to the necessity of our being able to select our representatives for the Legislatures in separate electorates. This may not be absolutely democratic, but it is essential. Without this concession we might have, for instance, Mr. F. W. Wilson representing British commerce and Mr. C. F. Andrews representing our planters!

Another claim is the retention of the criminal trial procedure laid down some eight years ago by agreement between members

of the two races, whereby certain special rights which had been reserved to Europeans were extended to all communities. These arrangements have in practice proved effective for counteracting unhappy results of racial feeling in criminal trials.

On neither of these points did we receive any opposition at the Conference, and there is no reason to anticipate, in spite of changes in personnel, any grave difficulty in securing the moral force of the enlarged Conference for their confirmation.

The third clause related to British commercial rights in India. The British position is set forth succinctly in clause 14 of the Report of Committee III. of the Round-Table Conference as finally amended by the whole Conference. It reads as follows :

"At the instance of the British commercial community the principle was generally agreed that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies trading in India, and the rights of Indian-born subjects, and that an appropriate convention based on reciprocity should be entered into for the purpose of regulating these rights."

As was to be expected, these claims were accepted as fair, and the clause setting them forth was noted by the Conference with but one dissentient—though not without much prior discussion and considerable pressure, not only from our British, but also from some of our Indian friends. Since the publication of the Reports of the Conference, this agreement has been assailed in many Indian quarters, and in a manner which indicates the possibilities of racial antagonism, against which, in common with other minorities, we require safeguards.

ARBITRARY DISCRIMINATION

The last thing I wish to do in dealing with this question is to fan the embers of racial animosity. I think I understand and sympathize with the Nationalist point of view in no small degree, but views are being voiced and things are being done today which must be openly faced and dispassionately met if our community is to share adequately in the future service of India. There must be candour on the subject if there is to be any prospect of mutual respect for each community's rights and a sound basis for that good relationship which we all have enjoyed and valued.

There is no doubt that the commercial position of the Briton in India is intensely irritating to the politician. He feels that the British hold a position of commercial superiority which greatly hampers, if it does not indeed prohibit, Indian merchants taking a leading place in relation to industry. He realizes the value of commerce and industry in the life of a country, and he is tempted to try to acquire a commanding position by legislation, instead of by gaining it through the hard work which has led to the strength of British commerce and to the establishment of great Indian firms in the very forefront of Indian industry.

That this is no overstatement of the political attitude is demonstrated by the treatment of British firms by Congress organizations which, among other conditions of a similar nature, stipulate that cotton mills working in India shall place their business with Indian-owned concerns—banking, insurance, and shipping—as the price of being allowed to carry on without interference. Further, they prescribe that the firm managing such mills shall not in any capacity import foreign yarn or piece-goods—foreign being construed to include British; while other clauses which Congress agents insist on include the employment of Indians only in all possible capacities.

Such conditions are being successfully enforced under the present system of government, but what may we expect when and if Congress representatives have the power to impose them by law or administrative action, instead of through methods of intimidation and blackmail?

These conditions are not merely the outcome of the commercial-political boycott campaign, for they were still being enforced after the Irwin-Gandhi pact had been signed. Nor were they being acted on in Bombay only, but also in Cawnpore and, I believe, in other centres. Further, they are not part of any individual policy, but represent a large proportion of commercial-political thought, which is summed up in the Press report of Mr. Walchand Hirachand's meeting with Mr. Gandhi in February last, when he said that "the attitude of the majority of Indian commercial opinion was that the talk of equality of commercial rights between Indians and Europeans was preposterous." Mr.

Gandhi himself has ridiculed the proposition as being equivalent to proclaiming equality between an elephant and an ant!

ESSENTIAL SAFEGUARDS

But I need not labour this point. The British community, as already explained, is not primarily interested in politics. Scattered about the country it has pretty close contact with all layers of Indian society, and, from the point of view of the "frog beneath the harrow," has few delusions as to the manner in which various suggested constitutional changes would operate in certain directions. Equally, to an audience interested in India it is obvious that the British community in India, if unprotected, is bound to face racial antagonism and commercial jealousy masquerading as patriotism. In fact, it would be almost impossible for our many Indian friends in a time of racial excitement to resist pressure which would be directed to the practical expropriation of British interests—or at least to a curtailment of their activities by legislative and administrative action which would rapidly lead to their disappearance.

There are, therefore, certain essential safeguards in the interests of India and of himself which the Briton in India demands his countrymen at home shall include in the new Constitution, and they are, in his opinion, vital. These safeguards predicate not merely comprehensive legislative provisions but also that which affects all communities alike—the means which will permit legislative intentions being rendered effective. They require a constitution which will attract popular goodwill towards its Legislature and Government, and also will ensure the services being kept in a state of efficiency. This is of paramount importance to the security and happiness of all the peoples of India, and in considering Indianization of the services the British community is deeply concerned that the pace shall not be such as to risk them falling below a requisite standard of efficiency. Moreover, if Ministers of the future are to be able to shoulder their great responsibilities it is essential that they shall have no less reliable weapons than those of their bureaucratic predecessors.

LAW AND ORDER

The British community realizes that good government is not the only thing to be considered. No one really thinks that the changes contemplated in the Constitution are for the better government of India. They are recognized as steps in the fulfilment of Britain's declared intentions to help India to self-government. As such, the European community is desirous of implementing them, but their desire does not blind them to the risks lying ahead. If they accept the Simon Commission's recommendations for placing the police under popular control, it is not from conviction that such a move is wise—or even safe. They may concur in the change in recognition of the logic of the situation, although they would much prefer to see the police under control of the Governor or his nominated Minister until a fully representative Assembly had voted in each Province for the transfer by a large majority. Such a method would make the police a far more reliable instrument in times of stress, and would give them the immeasurable advantage of popular support.

Again, in the Provincial Legislatures our community strongly urge two chambers: not because they want to take away with one hand what is given by the other, but because, if properly constituted, a second chamber would do much to counteract the deplorable irresponsibility which has so often been apparent in popularly elected Legislatures. Moreover, it would afford an insurance against one-chamber mistakes. Practically every administrative unit in the world, of the size of the Indian provinces, has found such insurance advisable.

I refer to these two points of provincial importance because I wish to illustrate the British community's point of view which is coloured not by the intention of fulfilling Britain's undertakings in a grudging fashion, but by conviction founded on practical knowledge of the country and its peoples that constitutional measures which neglect facts are fraught with so much unhappiness, if not real danger, that risks must be covered if possible. Moreover, the safer the machinery of government the more rapidly and completely self-government can be introduced.

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE

For the same reason the British community has been opposed to any popular control of the Central Executive until the Provinces have become established. It is true that in anticipation of early federation the European delegates agreed to a measure of responsibility on certain definite conditions, but they still believe that for the good of India an Executive Council, somewhat on the American system, composed of trained British-Indian, Indian States, and British administrators responsible to the Viceroy would be immeasurably the better way of rendering India self-governing and independent of Whitehall.

Time and experience would allow conventions to evolve probably tending to make the executive amenable to the Central Legislature, but if these two vital factors are to be eliminated by political expediency it is essential that certain provisions shall be incorporated in the Constitution which will protect the country in war and in peace, financially and administratively, from their absence.

Another important point with regard to the Central Legislature is the question of Crown representation. By Crown representation I do not mean officials or Europeans only. I mean Indians, Anglo-Indians, and Europeans to be selected with a view to supplying any defect in the representative nature of the Legislature, and for the purpose of facilitating the passage of legislation deemed essential by the Governor-General. I am not suggesting for one moment that this representation should be large enough to carry matters against the will of the elected sections of the chambers, but that it should be influential enough to promote stability and responsibility.

BRITISH CITIZENS OF INDIA

Reverting to the particular needs of the British community, we stand by a principle throughout, and that is that the new Constitution shall not permit the British in India to be treated as foreigners. It is claimed that in no sense can Britain be looked on as a foreign element in the economy of modern India, for

India is a unit only by virtue of the British connection. Consequently our community has solid ground to demand the rights enjoyed by any other of His Majesty's subjects in India to come and go, to carry on its vocations; that and nothing more—and nothing less.

In a meeting such as this, it takes no argument to commend this demand, but there is not the least doubt that the present political agitation against British commerce is a direct challenge of our fundamental right to trade. In 1928 the All-Parties Conference included in the Nehru Report the following paragraph:

"As regards European commerce, we cannot see why men who have put great sums of money into India should be at all nervous. It is incredible that there can be any discriminating legislation against any community doing business lawfully in India."

When I put forward our views last year in these exact words without quoting their source, I was accused by an influential organ of the Congress Press of making an absurd and insupportable claim. The only conclusion one can draw from the present campaign, in view of the very fair and friendly way in which many patriotic Indians back up our contention, is that those interests which have been assisting the civil disobedience movement by funds are now claiming their dividends from the Congress politician.

The attitude of the Briton in India towards the Round-Table Conference in its first sittings was cordial, for he had always pressed that all parties should be consulted before any move was made. Further, the pluck and self-sacrifice of many delegates in their desire to secure a favourable settlement of the Constitutional question were recognized, and their political views were respected, and, as one who took part in the Conference, I feel this attitude was justified.

THE RESUMED ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE

Future sittings of the Conference with the addition of new members, however, lead our community "furiously to think." While making full allowance for exaggeration caused by political excitement, we dare not shut our eyes to facts, in justice to our

own generation, to those who come after, and to the mass of people affected in this country, and we must not forget that Congress has officially accepted separation from Great Britain as its political goal, that its leaders are publicly opposed to equality of treatment for the Briton in India, and that they rarely fail to express their sympathy with any murderer of our countrymen.

Consequently the general attitude of the British community to the resumption of the Round-Table Conference must be one of conditional benevolence. Their sympathies are as lively as previously to Indian aspirations, because, perhaps, they are better understood. In any future Constitution, however, the unfriendly elements will probably have considerable power, and the British community, therefore, cannot translate their sympathies into action except on conditions which will eliminate as far as is humanly possible all risk of endangering the good name of India, the peace and tranquillity of the country, and justice for all its peoples—including the Briton in India.

Safeguards, therefore, must be provided, but they will not be considered satisfactory if left wholly in the hands of the Governors and Governor-General. In such case it is easy to foresee conditions under which a political crisis might be the alternative to an act of administrative injustice of relatively small importance to the State but of great urgency to the individual, and the strain on the official in question might prove intolerable.

On the other hand, the community, in common with other minorities, is likely to suffer from administrative acts rather than from legislation, and, consequently, the new Act must make the care of minorities against discrimination the special care of the Governors. The methods of protection which commend themselves to our community are the reservation of all legislation involving discrimination, thus retaining access to Parliament and a trade convention between India and Britain which the Governor-General would have the power to implement to be scheduled in the Act.

Judging from experience at the last Conference, prospects of securing agreement with Indian delegates on these points are favourable, for they also are desirous that the British community

should have that confidence under the new Constitution, which alone would enable them to take their due place in the promotion of India's advancement.

I hope I have not given the impression that any section of the community is facing the transitional period lightheartedly. No one who has lived and worked in India can be blind to the risks and dangers ahead—dangers arising not only from lack of experience and lack of unity among the Indian communities, but also from racial animosity. Those of us who believe that the best line of progress for England as well as India lies in meeting national desires to the farthest point of safety, fully appreciate the fears which compel others of us to try and delay the inevitable advance. Nevertheless, we believe that delay may increase rather than reduce the risks, and that is why we are desirous of grasping the present opportunity of settlement—the first opportunity when all classes of British India, the States, and Britain have met in Conference.

To pretend no regret that the old order has passed would be hypocritical; none the less it would be a libel on our community to suggest that its own interests are the sole factor in determining its political outlook, for the Briton in India has genuine sympathy with the advance of India to self-government and with Indian claims for equality of status with the Dominions of the Empire. Further, I am convinced that under a Constitution framed in accordance with the dictates of security and justice, India will continue to find in the Briton in India a sincere well-wisher and a helpful foster son.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, June 30, 1931, at which a paper was read by Sir Hubert Carr on "The Briton in India and Constitutional Changes." Sir Walter Willson was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present :

Sahibzada Nawab Basalat Jah, of Hyderabad, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Dane, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir George Godfrey, Sir Leonard Adami, Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Nusserwanjee N. Wadia, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Basanta Mullick, Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Edgar Wood, Lady Carr, the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, C.H., the Right Rev. Bishop Eyre Chatterton, Mr. A. L. Saunders, C.S.I., Mr. F. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. Matthew B. Cameron, C.I.E., Colonel R. A. Needham, C.I.E., D.S.O., Lieut.-Colonel R. V. K. Applin, D.S.O., Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. H. R. Wilkinson, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. J. W. Lewis, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mr. J. M. Holms, Mr. C. B. Chartres, Mrs. Latifi, Mr. S. Evans, Miss Beadon, Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Barns, Mrs. Drysdale, Miss Curteis, Miss C. K. Cumming, Mr. S. M. Sharma, Mr. Jalis Ahmad, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Willmott, Colonel H. O. Clogstoun, Mr. G. W. Chambers, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. C. A. Silberrad, Mr. S. Altaf Husain, Mr. B. K. Lal, Miss Hopley, Mr. B. Ward Perkins, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mrs. Cecil Cobb, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. Hale, Miss Gordon, Mr. H. Fisher, Rev. A. G. Mortimer, Mr. A. J. Moir, Mr. M. Johnston, Dr. Andreas Nell, Mr. B. T. Keshavaiyengar, Mr. V. Subboo, Mrs. J. M. Walter, Mr. G. H. K. Agha, Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, Mr. L. G. Pilkington, Mr. P. Chandra, Mrs. C. Maistre, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : Sahibzada, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I have pleasure in introducing Sir Hubert Carr, who is to read the paper. He has been in India, mostly Calcutta, for some thirty years. He retired recently as the head of one of the big firms in Calcutta, one of those firms commonly known as managing agents, but which might well be described as industrialists. Sir Hubert Carr comes before you in three capacities this afternoon : in his own capacity as himself, as a recent President of the European Association, and as a delegate to the Round-Table Conference. The European Association and what it stands for is, I think, well known to all of you, but, briefly, it is only necessary to remember that it is the one and only organized body of non-official European opinion in India. (Applause.)

(The Lecturer read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN : Sahibzada, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—You have now had an opportunity of hearing Sir Hubert Carr's paper, and the subject is open

to discussion. For myself, I find it, as would be expected from the title, explanatory rather than argumentative. Sir Hubert Carr is always very moderate in his choice of language, but I am not quite sure that he has kept within his usual limits today; at all events, I find one point on which to join issue with him to start with; for the rest, I find I am so much in accord with his sentiments that I seize upon a trifle. In the language of Wimbledon, I think Sir Hubert has served a fault or a let in his first paragraph, in which he claims that 99 per cent. of us are provincialized in our views. I am loath to think that only five out of every five hundred men I have known in India are travelled and well acquainted with the country. I feel disposed to think, rather, that since the practice is that so many firms have branches in different provinces, and since, as in the case of the banks, there is a sort of general post, at all events in the covenanted services, we might reasonably claim to be quite well travelled and informed. Of course, I know there is the uncovenanted service which does not travel so much, but I am not aware that it holds any very definite political views or, if it does, that it very often expresses them. I will leave Sir Hubert Carr to take that to "Vantage all" if he feels disposed to do so in his reply.

I entirely agree with Sir Hubert that the Government servant has generally the greater opportunity for a far wider and intimate perspective, but I claim that the Government servant has not the same opportunity of mixing with and realizing the mentality and the viewpoint of the big Indian business man in the cities. So I do think that our community is really fully qualified to express opinions on a great many of India's severe problems.

Sir Hubert Carr referred to the fact that the delegates to the Round-Table Conference had taken up a position considerably in advance of what was thought prudent before the Conference opened. That is typical of our community. We have, fortunately, been blessed with men who, when compelled to take views in advance of the current opinions of their community, have done so and earned for themselves the position of leaders. Sir Hubert Carr is just such a man. It was through no choice of his own that he was President of the European Association; he was absolutely forced to take it on; but his work there was so highly approved that, though the risks which he took in representing his community at the Round-Table Conference led, as he pointed out, to a good deal of criticism, amounting even to a repudiation in one quarter, his views and those of his colleagues are now thoroughly endorsed by the great majority of the British community in India. That is surely a very high tribute to the qualities of Sir Hubert Carr and his colleagues and a personal triumph for them.

To me the most important point in his paper is my old friend "discrimination." I suppose I have heard as much as anybody of our community, from my seat in the Legislative Assembly, of the attempts which have been made and are being made and will continue to be made to undermine our position in the trade and commerce of India. I have no manner of doubt that these attempts will be tremendously reinforced if and when the new road is opened up towards the goal at which we are aiming unless the road is carefully hedged in. The acceptance by the Round-Table Conference of the principle of no discrimination is all very well so far as it goes, but, as

Sir Hubert points out, the extent to which that clause has been assailed in India only emphasizes its essentiality. In order to save time, Sir Hubert Carr did not read out from his paper the soporiferous paragraph in the Nehru Report. I have most prominently in my mind the speech of the same pundit, Motilal Nehru, in the Legislative Assembly, which was to this effect: He said: "Discrimination! Of course we shall discriminate. Why should we not do so?" And he went on to explain that he would retaliate against what he was pleased to indicate as the sins of commission in the way of discrimination by the British in the past. I entirely agree with Sir Hubert Carr that "no discrimination" should be clearly laid down in the new Constitution in the plainest possible language. Whether it is in or attached to the Constitution does not matter for my present argument, but I do want to see very firm ground definitely established upon which a Viceroy can take his stand. Nothing else will satisfy our community; neither would we have the same ground for approaching the Viceroy unless it were there. The Viceroy should have that rock on which to stand with a power to be exercised. Just as he has had to exercise the powers of certification before, he should have the power to prevent the introduction of a Bill aiming at discrimination, or the power to refuse assent to it after it has been through the Assembly. (Applause.)

Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI craved leave to put the case that Sir Hubert Carr had expounded from a slightly different angle. Towards the end of his paper Sir Hubert Carr had this sentence: "The Briton in India has a genuine sympathy with the advance of India to self-government and with Indian claims for equality of status with the Dominions of the Empire." Upon that they took their stand, and he was very happy to find that their claim to equality with the Dominions had the sympathy of the Briton in India. (Hear, hear.) He wished, however, to ask whether its implication was realized in full. In the British Empire as at present constituted each Dominion had the power, and exercised it, of discriminating against those who were not its nationals. That was laid down in the law; it was exercised in the daily administration. The people of India had cause to feel the edge of that power. Was it realized that this was a time when India was growing to full status? It was said: We are all in sympathy with endowing India with a Constitution tomorrow, purporting to put it upon an equality with the Dominions. The proposal as set forth in the paper was to handicap India at the very outset, to deny to her the power which the other Dominions had, and were daily exercising. He did not say that if they were given that power they were going to exercise it against the Briton in India. That was far from his desire and was far from the point of view which he wished to urge. But it could not be claimed by the European community that they were sympathetic to the demand for equality with the Dominions of the Empire, and at the same time at the very start to seek to handicap India in a way in which no other Dominion was handicapped.

He was no merchant; he was not engaged in any industry; he was one of those people who was considered a danger to the State, whose one occupation was political agitation; he paid no income-tax even. Speaking, therefore, as a pure politician—of which he was not ashamed—he desired to point out

that there was a fundamental inconsistency between profession and practice in this matter. It might be said: You will have theoretically the power. As the language of the understanding embodied in an earlier part of the paper showed, it must be implicitly recognized. He was one of those who, with Sir Hubert Carr, laboured to bring that clause into effect, and it was passed at the meeting of the Minorities Committee at the instance of the British commercial members. The principle was generally agreed that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community and the rights of Indian-born subjects, and that an appropriate Convention based on reciprocity should be entered into for the purpose of regulating these rights. That language clearly implied that there should be a Convention hereafter based upon reciprocity between Britain and the people of India or the nationals of India. In another part of the paper Sir Hubert Carr had definitely claimed, in language which by the leave of the Chairman he would say was emphatic, and left no room for ambiguity, and was by no means soporiferous, that the Briton in India should not be treated as a non-national. Was it possible without a law of nationality that that clause could be brought into effect? They had not yet clearly defined what Indian nationality was. It would be time enough when they had made that definition to introduce an appropriate clause which would bring about the very point sought for by this Convention. A Convention based upon reciprocity was asked for which would give to the Briton in India—that was, the Briton who had become the national of India in a legal sense—every right which any Indian-born subject had. By all means let such a law be brought into effect, and let them make that Convention; but it would be a derogation absolutely unwarranted and involving humiliation to insist beforehand that a Constitution that they were framing now should start with a handicap upon the powers of the Indian to legislate in his own country.

Sir Hubert Carr was perfectly entitled to ask what their intentions were; they should state them. Sir Hubert was perfectly entitled to ask that they should come to some understanding on the subject. But, first of all, India should be put in a position where she could negotiate on equal terms. The Government of India was dominated today by the British. Any Convention entered into between India and Britain was only nominal. Nobody would allow it to be as between two peoples based upon parity. Any Convention entered into today, as they were, would merely mean the British ruling in India and in England. He asked to be given power; to be placed as nearly as possible, subject to certain reservations to which they could all agree, upon Dominion status; then a Convention might be asked for. That was fair and square. Those very Congress people whose misdeeds had aroused suspicions and alarms amongst them would then, perhaps, be found to accord to the British in their entirety the privileges for which they asked. But they must first show their intention to place India upon an equality. What were the steps towards Dominion status that were absolutely essential? They were with regard to the external relations and dealing with the Indian States and so forth. They would ask that in economic matters, such as tariffs and other things, there should be no reservation or safeguard embodied in the statute which, in an unconstitutional or arbitrary manner, the Governor or Viceroy

would be able to enforce against the Indian people, because in his view that seemed to be the wrong way of going about a business as to which in substance there was, as he ventured to think, nearly complete agreement between those whom Sir Hubert Carr was speaking for and those whom for the moment he was speaking for. Britain should not seek to handicap them further than was absolutely essential (hear, hear), and should not seek to get from them now, while they were not free to deal with Britain on the footing of equality, that which would be fair only when Indians were in their own country what Englishmen were in their own country.

On other matters, Mr. Sastri said there might be a difference between himself and Sir Hubert Carr, but he did not wish to raise those particular issues; they were all secondary. The one he had dealt with was the important matter. He knew that those represented by Sir Hubert Carr had the matter in their hearts, and he knew that India would have to meet them upon the point fairly and squarely before anything could be done; but he asked that Indians should not have ascribed to them the view which in a moment of political excitement had found expression rather strongly elsewhere. There was, for instance, the desire of India to get away from the British Empire that was expressed by Congress when it was in open revolt against this country. Nobody said anything about that now. What was the use of bringing that up today? No doubt Congress passed such a resolution, but it passed it before the Irwin-Gandhi pact. That Irwin-Gandhi pact it was their business to confirm and turn into a lasting peace.

Sir Hubert Carr's anxiety was very great with regard to business interests. Those interests had been more or less threatened, and he (Mr. Sastri) was as anxious as Sir Hubert to place these matters on another footing. But the line suggested by Sir Hubert did not seem to be appropriate; it might rupture those relations which they wished to be perfectly cordial. He appealed to Sir Hubert, in the name of the future good relations of Britain and India, not to press this matter to the bitter end, and not to take the line that, while India was still struggling, rights should be taken away from her which before her very eyes the Dominions were exercising daily, because that would not be fair. (Applause.)

Colonel APPLIN said he claimed the privilege of addressing the meeting because, although no longer a Member of Parliament, he had been co-opted to serve on the Conservative India Committee and sat on it weekly with representatives of both Houses of Parliament. In the first place, he desired to say he had listened with very much interest and sympathy to the speech of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, but he thought that Mr. Sastri had made one small mistake. There was no discrimination against Indians in England. Every Indian had exactly the same right in every particular as every Englishman. (Hear, hear.) Indians had actually been elected and sat as members of the Imperial Parliament. Therefore, it could not be said that we had any discrimination against Indians, even before self-government for India was thought about.

Mr. SRINIVASA SASTRI said that he was speaking of equality with the Dominions.

Colonel APPLIN, continuing, said that he would show that the Dominions

had not the power of discrimination. When we fought against the Boers, the Dutchmen of South Africa, we fought the Transvaal solely on the question of recognizing the right of Englishmen to vote in the Parliament of the Transvaal. The Jameson Raid took place for that purpose, and that led to the war, because President Kruger refused those rights to the British who were living in the Transvaal. South Africa was divided into separate States, exactly like India, with separate Governments. As a result of the war, they were united as one, and there was no discrimination against any Englishmen. They were asking now that, when self-government was given to India, there should be no discrimination against the British who were in India or who might go there. Surely they were justified in that? When self-government was given to the other Dominions we made the dreadful mistake of not insisting on there being no discrimination against British subjects. It was because of that that our own fellow-subjects in India had been shut out from several of the great Dominions. That mistake was made by trying to be too liberal; we must not make the same mistake with regard to our Indian friends. Such arrangements should be made that would ensure that we had a united India under one Government within the British Dominion, and that there should be no discrimination against any member of the British community throughout the world.

With regard to Dominion status and giving self-government to India, so far as he was aware there was no man in this country who knew anything about India who was not prepared to carry out the promise that had been made. He would ask our Indian friends to look at history, which was, after all, the thing to be looked at for guidance, and to see if we ever made a promise to any country in the world that we had not carried out and fulfilled to the very letter. We had trusted those people to govern themselves. That was the strength of the British Empire; that was the link, and the only link, that bound men all over the world to the Crown and the Mother Country—the fact that we had given all and they could trust our word. He would like Mr. Sastri to note this: There was no country in the world, including our Dominions, which had a Federal Government until they had had self-government in their provinces for many years, and it should be remembered that the Mother of Parliaments invented this plan of government; it did not come from any foreigner. The United States of America fought a bloody war between themselves in order to get one great united State, with one President and one flag, of which they were now so proud. It was to be hoped that India would not have to fight such a bloody war for such a purpose.

Having regard to the clash between the two great religious communities, it was imperative to see, first of all, that each province had its own Parliament, and its own two Houses, and its own complete self-government. When every State was governing itself perfectly, then would be the time for the federation of those States. In the Mother of Parliaments in this civilized country so great was the feeling at one time between the two religious communities that Roman Catholics were forbidden to sit in the British Parliament and legislate in their own country. Then the time came when Roman Catholics and Protestants were able to join hearts and join hands in

the government of their country. So that today we had Roman Catholics and Protestants sitting on the same benches in Parliament and legislating even with regard to the question of the Protestant Prayer-Book revision. When it was realized that it took centuries for us to do that, it would be realized that it might take India some years before she could reconcile the troubles between the Hindu and Muslim. They must be reconciled before any form of local self-government could come about.

In conclusion, Colonel Applin said that he represented a very unfortunate community, a community that ought to have the deepest sympathy of every Englishman and every British-born man, because they represented the father, and the community ought to have the sympathy of every Indian, because India represented the mother—he was speaking of the Anglo-Indians, those who were born of mixed parentage. It was a small community which would inevitably fall between two stools; they would be neither British subjects nor, unless India was very generous, would they be recognized as true Indians; yet India was the land of their birth; India was their mother, and if any Indian had any doubt about that community, in his opinion they were among the finest, although the most unfortunate, men and women in that country, because, with all our British valour available, it was two Anglo-Indians, born in India, who brought down the two first Zeppelins and earned the Victoria Cross. (Applause.)

Sir EDGAR WOOD said that he and Mr. Sastri were very old friends. They came from the same Presidency of Madras, and in Madras for almost decades they had looked upon Mr. Srinivasa Sastri as their great man. He still remained their great man, and it was, therefore, with great temerity that he, the speaker, rose to cross swords with Mr. Sastri. Mr. Sastri had a very altruistic outlook on life, having great trust in his fellow-beings, and, therefore, was apt to take very much greater risks with his fellow-beings than he, the speaker, as a common business man would care to take. Although agreeing in their desire to see Indian aspirations fulfilled with regard to self-government and control of their own domestic affairs, they differed as to the means to be adopted. His feeling was that if the people who were going to control Indian affairs were to be of the type of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri we should be safe to accept Mr. Sastri's ideas and to place our confidence in the people who were going to the top. (Hear, hear.) There were a great many people like Mr. Sastri, but he doubted very much indeed if those people were now going to get the control of affairs in India; it was extremely doubtful, although no doubt they would do so in the end. In his opinion, right would come to the top in the end, but if the time came when the wrong people were put in charge of affairs in India, then God help India if they had a free hand. It was not only the people with Communistic tendencies of whom he was thinking, but of some of the so-called big people in India who at the present time were definitely working for their own selfish interests as against the national interests of India. There was a large body of people who talked of expropriation. That was a body of people who, perhaps, need not be feared quite so much as the body which worked underground and for its own selfish ends. At the present time there were people working very hard to upset financial stability in India.

There were people who were remitting large amounts of money home in the hopes of depreciating the rupee so that there might come a time when that money could be brought back into India at a large profit to themselves. That meant that they were deliberately working—although, of course, they would not admit it—for damaging India's credit. That would result, as no doubt Mr. Sastri recognized, in great hardship to the poor people; it would reflect upon them. There would be instability in prices; the poor agriculturists would really be indirectly at the mercy of speculators; the petty trader would be ousted by the big man who could withstand the shock of large rises and falls in prices; as a consequence of these large variations, internal credit would be very difficult to come by, and India's external credit would suffer. Mr. Sastri was looking for a time when India would develop, particularly commercially. India could never develop commercially or industrially if her credit with the outside world was damaged. That was what India was riding towards at the present moment. When the politicians said that they wished to get hold of finance, they were pointing the way towards the destruction of India's credit with the outside world and India's destruction as a nation of commercial greatness. It was because of their practical knowledge of these facts that the British representatives at the Conference were asking for safeguards. A large section of the Indians at the Conference had seen the necessity for those safeguards, and he was quite sure they had gone back to India and tried to explain to their fellow-men that those safeguards were necessary. We should take up the position of the man who insures his life for the benefit of his children—not because he expects to die immediately, but in case he should die. We must not lose sight of the fact that the wrong people may get charge of affairs in India and bring about India's downfall. That was where Mr. Sastri and he disagreed. Mr. Sastri was too much of an idealist, and he, the speaker, a simple, common business man. (Applause.)

Mr. SILBERRAD suggested that a possible solution with regard to this question of discriminatory legislation was that, in view of there being a communal electorate, any question coming up for legislation, which affected one community rather than another, should require a majority of the representatives of that community in the Assembly to support it, irrespective of whether it was supported by a majority of the whole Assembly or not. It would afford an automatic method of dealing with such legislation, if any legislation, against which the majority of the representatives of the community voted, were reserved for, say, the Viceroy's decision. (Applause.)

Sir GEORGE GODFREY said, as one who had very recently left the business circles of India, particularly in its real commercial capital, Calcutta, it might be useful and, he hoped, interesting for him to give the views of business men as confirming Sir Hubert Carr's paper. The British commercial men of India, the men who were working out there and who had inherited the businesses founded by their forbears, had for a long time realized the inevitable position of the constitutional advance in India, and, while supporting it, they naturally felt that they must devote their energies to safeguarding their businesses for themselves and their successors. They were, therefore, much in favour of Federation, but Federation with the

Princes in it. They could not recognize that the Government of India at the centre could accept responsibility by means of their Legislatures unless there was real Federation with the Princes in it. However, it might be some months before that form of Federation—he might almost say some years—could be brought about successfully. Therefore they would like to see advance made immediately in the way of the introduction of provincial autonomy. They recognized that had to come first. As a previous speaker had said, they were quite prepared to help it on as much as they could, and they did not want any excuse for delay. Provincial autonomy would provide scope for Indian statesmen, many of them very able men; it would give them opportunities of using their brains and exercising their activities upon really important work, and in the meantime they would be working out and studying the intricacies and requirements of a complete federal scheme. During that first stage, as equally in the second stage, business people were very anxious that the security of business rights in India should be statutory. He fully sympathized, as they all sympathized, with Mr. Sastri's point of view, but, as had also been said by previous speakers, if all Indian politicians were Mr. Sastri, they would probably not have asked for it. But they were not. One could not ignore the veiled threats—nay, the open threats—that had been expressed lately. It was felt that not only by the money which had been expended, and the risks that had been run, but by the practical deeds of our forbears in business, we were entitled to lay down that the British business man who was engaged in business in India should be treated as an Indian national. The British exporter in this country had not, perhaps, seen eye to eye with them in Calcutta; that was the exporter to India. They did not always altogether approve of the readiness to help India on in her constitutional advance. It was scarcely fair to blame Indians for wishing to safeguard their own markets and for finding a local sale for the output of their cotton mills and their steel works. Their wish to do that was a perfectly fair, and even laudable, wish; but when violent measures were used towards boycotting British goods, then we were entitled to and always had taken steps to complain of any weak administration which permitted it. In India there was room both for British goods and Indian goods, and when the world depression had passed away it would be up to Lancashire, and other British manufacturers, to regain the markets in India which had been temporarily lost. One could not regard them as being lost solely on account of political affairs; it was probably 95 per cent. worldwide financial difficulties that had caused the loss. But obviously those markets would be more easily recovered under a clear political sky than under one which was clouded with threatening storms. With regard to finance, it was scarcely necessary for him to say any more than had been said about it that afternoon, but as business men they did ask today that the finance of India should be protected by statute, and that a reserve bank should be created, independent of all political influences, to handle the financial problems of the Government. In urging the point of view of all British business men, he thought he was also urging what was of equal importance to Indian business men. (Applause.)

Sir HUBERT CARR: Without spending the few remaining minutes in

controversy your own views, Mr. Chairman, as to the provincial outlook of some of our fellow-countrymen in India, I would only say that I hope I have not given a wrong opinion about them. Anyhow, there is a difference of opinion as to whether one is rather inclined to be blinkered by the provincial conditions or whether, without the advantages which Sir Walter Willson had of being in Simla and Delhi for some six or seven years when doing public work for his community, one is able to get the wider view of India and its requirements.

The main point that I should like to take up in my reply is that raised by Mr. Sastri, because there is so much which in my past pleasurable companionship with Mr. Sastri I have found to agree with. But in this matter I think perhaps he is not quite putting himself into our position; one does not want to dwell upon the necessity or rather the justification for lack of confidence, but I do think it is a reasonable point of view to say now that we would be, as other speakers have said, only too glad to work on a mutual trust basis if they were all Mr. Sastri in India. But look at the condition today. The Irwin-Gandhi pact has been signed. Mr. Sastri's friends are in India. They have been able to get this pact confirmed, but have they been able to protect us even during the currency of that pact and that truce from the definite persecution of which I have given you examples? I do not want to labour that, but I do honestly think it speaks for itself. It is impossible to ask us to have that childlike faith whilst we are being smacked. Could not we put it on another basis? The members of the British community in India are dependent for many of their friendships and the whole of their careers on the conditions which rule in India, and, as I said in my notes, they value the friendships. I do not know that marriage lines are any handicap upon a companionship through life. Could not Mr. Sastri look upon a friendship between England and India in the future as not handicapped in any way by having "marriage lines"? Let us have a perfectly frank, open settlement, and I am convinced that in the long run we shall all, Indians and Englishmen, be much happier. We shall have the inevitable little differences in life which are bound to spring up in India, but if we have the definitely clear-cut rights and wrongs of the case we shall have our Supreme Court to interpret our rights and our wrongs, and surely there is no handicap in that.

Then there is the handicap which we are accused of putting upon India which does not exist with the Dominions. I have been into the question of discrimination of the Dominions against Great Britain very carefully. We are only suggesting a Convention on a reciprocal basis. The Dominions discriminate against Great Britain to an extent which you could put your hat over. There is practically nothing in it, and if India likes to discriminate to that extent I am sure there is no Englishmen here in business who would object. But we do recognize that there are certain business interests which have to be recognized by us just as much as we ask India to recognize us, and that is why, in getting that resolution affirmed by the Conference, we introduced that expression, which was not done thoughtlessly, of "regulating" the application of the agreement.

There is one other point I would refer to; that is Colonel Applin's point. I did not quite follow his pleas for delay in regard to moving ahead in

India. I feel that if the deplorable conditions existing between Roman Catholics and Protestants when they were discussing the Prayer-Book . . .

Colonel APPLIN : I said that now we were able to discuss it amicably as friends, but there was a discrimination for hundreds of years. They were not even allowed to sit in Parliament.

Sir HUBERT CARR : No; but I think England had self-government for years before it was able to settle those two parties, and I do not know that it is quite fair to say to India : " We will not give you self-government until your Hindus become Muhammadans or *vice versa*. I think we must recognize that there are these big differences which have been pointed out. Let us allow for them, but do not say to India : " You cannot have self-government unless you settle these points." We got along very well even without the Roman Catholics sitting, apparently, and I think we might take the same line with India. However, the point I want to make upon the remarks of Colonel Applin is that the English business man is not against advance because of these risks; he only wants them set down and met. (Applause.)

Sir LOUIS DANE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman and to the lecturer, said that they must always remember that the opinions that had been expressed represented practically only the commercial community in the big cities. That, no doubt, was the reason why there was a difference of opinion between the chairman and the lecturer as to whether people spoke provincially or not. Over 90 per cent. of India there was no question about it that members of the Services were the only Britons who had wide knowledge and were capable of pronouncing an opinion on what the people in the villages thought or did. (Hear, hear.) He was very glad to hear Mr. Sastri again repeat his statement which he made in that hall last year, that he himself personally was no longer in favour of the secession of India from the British Empire. They could count upon Mr. Sastri's straightforwardness in that matter. But unfortunately, as other speakers had pointed out, Mr. Sastri could not speak for the whole of India. One of the things which would have to be made abundantly clear in any Constitution or in any change in the Government of India which might be made was that for a very long time to come those changes would not connote a right of secession. The right of secession was a hopeless position. In America the Federal States had a perfectly legal right to secede, but there the effort of some to secede led to one of the bloodiest wars in the history of the last century.

Very much the same thing would happen in India. There was a very modern example which no doubt would appeal to some people in India, and that was the case of the Soviet Republics. They were also supposed to be Sovereign States, and yet an attempt by the Soviet of the Caucasus to secede was countered by the Central Soviets in exactly the same way as in the American States by bloodthirsty suppression. If we could eliminate the question of secession we should get on very much better with any question regarding the future of Indian policy.

With regard to another point which had been mentioned, Sir Louis Dane said that it was obviously ridiculous to try to establish a responsible Central Government until autonomy had been fully worked out and developed in the provinces, if by a responsible Government at the centre was meant a

Government depending upon the democratic vote of the whole of India. In the first place, the country was infinitely too great to be governed by any one Assembly in that way. There would be infinite clashes between the Central Government and the Governments in the provinces. They must start with autonomy in the provinces, working under a bureaucratic Government in the centre under the Viceroy which would take over the work of the present Secretary of State and his Council in this country. If that was done, such a Government would ensure that none of these difficulties, such as communal representation, discrimination against the British and the British merchants in India, or the desire to manipulate the finances, could come about until the country was quite fit for a totally independent life.

Sir Louis added that he spoke rather feelingly on the question of discrimination. It was really rather ridiculous for Indians to talk about discriminating against British firms in India. These great firms in Calcutta and Bombay were the lineal descendants of the old interlopers who managed to free the trade of India from the clutches of the East India Company. They had as great a right in India as anybody. When did a Briton become an Indian and when was he not an Indian? His own great-great-grandfather was at Madras in Clive's time, his great-grandfather lived with Warren Hastings in Madras and Calcutta when he was carrying out his reforms, and all the rest of his family had worked or fought for India continually until the present day. Some of them had been born in India, and if they were to go to the United States of America they might not be admitted because they were Indians. It would seem that the unfortunate Briton who was trying to serve India was in imminent danger of being regarded as neither fish, fowl, nor good red herring. Fortunately, we were a stubborn and stiff-necked generation. He hoped that some Constitution could be worked out for India which, while constituting an enormous progress in the matter of self-government, would take the form of autonomy in the provinces with a just but strong non-democratic Central Government for India. (Applause.)

(The proceedings then terminated.)

THE WHITLEY REPORT

BY PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, C.B.E.

THE Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India completes the trilogy of the important investigations undertaken during the Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin. Just as Sir John Simon's Commission surveyed political conditions and made their recommendations, and as Lord Linlithgow's Commission surveyed agricultural conditions, so has the Whitley Commission investigated the great field of India's labour topics. Together, these three surveys probably comprise the most comprehensive enquiry which has ever been made within so short a period into the affairs of any given country; and their collective, as well as their individual, value can hardly be over-estimated. It is, however, much to be regretted that all three documents suffer from two disadvantages. In the first place, the occasion chosen for conducting the survey can scarcely be called ideal for the purpose, since the conditions prevailing in India have been to a large extent abnormal. In the second place, owing to the occurrence of a worldwide economic crisis, the positive recommendations of these three Commissions, all of which naturally involve in varying degree heavy expenditure, stand a more slender chance of immediate adoption than might otherwise have been the case. But whatever the future relations between this country and India may be, whether in the immediate or in the remote future, the reports of these three investigating bodies will be found to provide a mass of precise and detailed information, which cannot fail, on the one hand, to guide public opinion in both countries, and, on the other, to facilitate the task of arriving at a satisfactory solution of the problems respectively involved.

The Royal Commission on Indian Labour was appointed on July 4, 1929. Of its twelve members, six were Indians. These included Messrs. Sastri, Joshi, and Chaman Lall, representing what might be called the intellectual side of the Indian Labour movement; while Indian business interests were represented by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola and Mr. Birla. The remaining member, Mr. Ahmed, a member of the Legislative Assembly, was presumably chosen for the interest which he has always displayed in the rights and welfare of Indian seamen. British business interests in India were represented by Sir Alexander Murray and Sir Victor Sassoon; the Government of India by Mr. Clow; British Trade Unionism by Mr. Cliff; and the Ministry of Labour by Miss Beryl

Power. Considering the natural diversity of outlook of the members, and the varying experience which they brought to bear upon a common problem, it says much both for the skill of the chairman, and for the honesty of purpose of the members, that the Report is unanimous, subject only to two short supplementary minutes.

After taking measures to secure information on certain points of importance, the Commission assembled at Bombay on October 11, 1929. Until March, 1930, it was continuously on tour, visiting all the eight major provinces of British India. Early in June, 1930, the Commission met again in London, and remained in session until August. In the autumn of the year it sailed from England for Burma, and, after touring in that country, reached India in November. In Delhi it proceeded to draft its Report. In all, 128 public sittings for the examination of witnesses were held, and there were 71 private sessions. In each province the Commission was aided in its enquiries by Assistant Commissioners selected with the help of Provincial Governments as representatives of employing and labouring interests; and the Commission was able to examine orally representatives of all the leading Governments, all the leading associations of employers, nearly all the leading labour associations, and a large number of individual witnesses, both official and non-official. It also made no fewer than 180 visits to industrial undertakings and to plantations; it inspected housing conditions in working areas; it investigated the homes of the workers, and the conditions under which they lived as well as those in which they worked. The Commission had also to examine nearly 500 written memoranda representing the views of various interests.

The Commission plainly spared no pains to equip itself for the task allotted to it; and to this, as might be expected, the Report bears every testimony. Very commendably, the Commissioners have based themselves throughout upon the evidence brought before them; and where this evidence strikes them as being insufficient or inadequate to warrant definite conclusions, they have preferred to say so, rather than to take refuge in vague conjecture. Throughout this document, two ends have been kept prominently in view. The first is to describe existing conditions; the second, to make recommendations for their improvement.

The document itself falls into six main divisions. In Chapters II. to VII. the conditions of employment and work in the factory industries are discussed. Chapters VIII. to XI. deal with similar questions in relation to mines, railways, and other forms of industrial activity. Having thus reviewed working conditions in industry, the Commissioners pass to consider the standard of life of the industrial worker; a task which occupies Chapters XII.

to XV. The next group of chapters is devoted to general questions relating mainly to the industrial worker, such as workmen's compensation, trade unions, and trade disputes. This comprises Chapters XVI. to XVIII. The work and life of plantation labourers is dealt with in the next four chapters. Certain special questions relating to Burma are next discussed; and the Report closes with consideration of the question of statistics, of general administration, and of the constitution in relation to labour. This ground is covered in Chapters XXIII. to XXV.

The somewhat exceptional conditions prevailing at the time when the investigation was undertaken have not, of course, escaped the notice of the Commissioners. But while they admit that the present position is one of anxiety for industrialists, for many workers, and for the Government itself, they consider it would be wrong for them to allow their recommendations to be largely influenced by the disturbed events in the period immediately preceding their survey. "India has the right to expect from us," they state, "not a series of recommendations framed in the light of the existing crisis, but a considered programme for the development of labour policy." The attitude of the Commission towards labour questions in general is adequately summed up in the following extract: "If the execution of some of the changes we advocate is made more difficult by reason of the present position, others are thereby rendered more easy to introduce. Some recommendations involve no expense, others call for financial outlay; but as a whole they are calculated to secure increased prosperity. It is sometimes assumed that good conditions for labour involve a sacrifice for industry. But, in the experience of India, there is abundant evidence to show that a generous policy in respect of labour is a wise policy in respect of industry. It is not possible for India to secure a permanent advance for her industries at the expense of her labour, and we are confident that this is far from her desire."

Sir Victor Sassoon does not quite agree. "It will further be noticed that the whole Report is studded with aspirations to the effect that the recommendations will benefit the employer as well as labour. In my opinion only an undue feeling of optimism on the part of my colleagues can justify this view in every case: I am by no means so certain that industry generally will share it. No attempt has been made nor would it be possible to give an estimate of what would be the cost of the various recommendations which my colleagues desire to lay on industry and the community at large, but that this cost would be no small item there can be no question."

For the rest, the differences between Sir Victor Sassoon and his colleagues are mainly differences in detail rather than in

principle. But the following general comment is worthy of quotation: "... Any policy which raises the cost of the article to the consumer in order that the industrial worker may achieve a standard of living proportionately greater than that of his agricultural brother, is justifiably open to criticism, since it would involve the taxation of approximately 350 million people for the benefit of about 2 million industrial workers."

The general attitude of approach of the majority of the Commissioners to the problems which engaged their attention might perhaps be described in political terminology as "moderate labour." Although they are fully conscious of the difference in conditions between India and the Western world, they believe that those methods which in the West have proved most effective for the amelioration of the condition of the workers, may, when due allowances are made, prove worthy of consideration and in many cases of adoption, in India also. The ideal to be aimed at, it seems, is in most cases to encourage the workers to appreciate their existing rights, to inculcate into them the need of increasing these rights, and to foster the doctrine that the destiny of the workers lies in their own hands. In other words, the aim seems in most cases to make the Indian workers as class-conscious as the workers in other countries are becoming; in order, presumably, that the Indian workers may eventually assume that dominant position in the control of politics, as well as of industry, which is now so marked a feature of the organization of Western countries. It may, however, be legitimately pointed out that the parallel between India and the West is not perhaps quite as exact as the Report of the Commission seems to assume. The history of the growth of trade unionism in Europe shows that the difficulty experienced by the early organizers was to secure the right of combination among individual workmen in defence of a living wage and decent working conditions. Until the individual had been co-ordinated he was powerless. And a study of the conditions preceding early factory legislation in Great Britain shows conclusively that until the individual worker was permitted to combine he could make no effective appeal to public opinion, just as he had no means of self-protection against victimizing employers. But in India the situation is widely different; if only because the individual as such scarcely exists even today, apart from his position as a member of a group, class, or corporation. Thanks to his connection with the Indian village, a connection which, as the Report recognizes, is healthy and should be encouraged, the Indian labourer of today, even under the worst possible conditions, is far better off than his fellow in England in the days immediately following the industrial revolution. His membership or non-membership of a trade union is, from one

point of view at least, relatively unimportant, as compared with the fact that he exists as a definite member of society, belonging to a group which in the last resort has its own place in the socio-political order. It is true that the contrast between labour in the West and labour in India has not entirely escaped the notice of the Commissioners; for they definitely recognize that the building up of a permanent "labour force" is an essential preliminary to progress along the lines which they have laid down. But it may be that, in view of the caste-guild organization already so firmly established in the Indian social structure, the attempt of the Commission to induce a labour class-consciousness is not only doomed to failure, but will also prove unnecessary. The socio-religious organization of India, despite its amazing tenacity, is so adaptable to new conditions that it may be questioned whether the introduction of Western industrialism, at least in such measure as this introduction has already proceeded, will for long confront it with an unassimilable element. It has yet to be seen, indeed, whether Indian labour needs to develop a class-consciousness, similar to that which has been developed in the Western world, in order adequately to preserve its rights. Where, as is the case with India, the organization of society is not individualist, but collectivist, the introduction of a new group which in certain respects transcends traditional divisions may cause temporary embarrassment; but the problem thus presented differs *in toto* from the problem which Western labour has been compelled to face and surmount—namely, that of combining the unprotected individual member of the working class into the members of a collectivist group sufficiently strong and sufficiently united to take care of his interests. I am encouraged to lay stress upon what seems to me an essential difference between two sets of conditions, because I find in various pages of the Commission's Report such phrases as "the workers' collective rights," which, whatever confusion of thought they may conceal, have at least an intelligible meaning so far as Western conditions are concerned, but are not readily applicable to the Indian social structure, where the social synthesis is already a synthesis of groups, and not of individuals.

Whatever degree of validity there may be in this suggested criticism of the Commission's general outlook, it is difficult to challenge the inherent soundness of the great majority of their detailed recommendations. Their suggestions for a further reduction of the hours of labour; for the removal of the abuses which have sprung up in the functions of the jobber; for the gradual introduction of sound rules into unregulated factories; and for the amelioration of the evil of indebtedness—all these must commend themselves to the humanitarian temper of the

present age. The difficulties to be overcome in the rectification of these and other obvious abuses are fully realized by the Commissioners, who have made a point throughout of laying stress upon the necessity for "gradualness." Many readers of the Report who are familiar with Indian conditions may perhaps question whether, despite the self-restraint which the Commission has shown in its reliance upon legislative action, sufficient allowance has been made for the possibility of enforcing remedial measures by the agency of such typically Indian, and entirely non-Statel, forces, as the caste, the guild, and the occupational group. These are essentially the factors which have been so successfully mobilized by Mr. Gandhi, in the permanent Arbitration Board, which has been set up for regulating relations between employers and workpeople, at Ahmedabad. In this same centre, the harnessing of social forces has been employed for the formulation and enforcement of the most stringent restrictive regulations, designed to secure the rights of the workers, which are entirely independent of all legislative sanction. It seems at least worthy of consideration whether Indian trade unionism will not develop along lines more familiar to the conditions of the country than anything which Western trade unionism can show. Until this question is settled, however, little but good can result from the adoption of the very sound counsel which the Report of the Commission offers to organizers and to members of existing and future Indian trade unions—counsels couched in accordance with the dictates of the best Western precept.

Along whatever line the future direction of Indian labour may turn, the recommendations of the Commission for an improved system of statistics, for the collection of more adequate information, and for the recognition of labour problems as a separate department both of study and of administration, are worthy of the highest commendation. In surveying the field of future labour legislation under the new Constitution, the Commissioners suffer under an obvious handicap, and have wisely confined their suggestions to the most general terms. The Report rightly comments upon the delays which at the present moment attend all attempts at general labour legislation for British India, and suggests means whereby procedure, though inevitably complicated by local differences, appears susceptible of a certain simplification. Assuming that the India of the future is governed under a federal or quasi-federal system, it seems difficult to suppose that labour legislation will be entirely federal, or entirely provincial. It is much more likely to be a combination of the two. The Commissioners have, therefore, wisely concentrated upon the suggestion that an organization representative of employers, of labour, and of governments, should meet regularly in conference. The

suggested Industrial Council, whether it assumes the exact form proposed by the Commission or not, will be indispensably necessary in the near future; and its functions in examining legislative proposals, in promoting co-operation, in exercising rule-making powers, and in encouraging economic research, will be equally essential if labour legislation in the future is to be wholly federal, wholly provincial, or a combination of the one and of the other.

Mr. Whitley's Commission, like Sir John Simon's Commission, has found itself to some extent embarrassed by the fact that its sphere of activity was not coincident with the territorial limits of India. Whether it would have been possible, by judicious negotiation, to secure the consent of the Indian States for the submission of their particular problems to the Commission's investigation is beside the point; the fact remains that this was not done. For some time, certain industrialists in British India have complained that the increasing meticulousness of labour legislation has handicapped them in comparison with rival enterprises in Indian States, where labour laws are often behind those of British India. Of this complaint, the Commission takes adequate notice. "In making our proposals," they say, "we have had to recognize that it would be a poor service to labour and the country so to raise standards in one part of India as to drive industry to another part where standards are lower." But they go on to say that, so far as they have been able to judge, existing legislation has had remarkably little effect in this direction. The Indian States are to a large extent non-industrial; and even where industries exist, both in British India and in Indian States, there has been no substantial evidence of any handicap arising from differences in labour law. And, although the Report does not say so in so many words, the reader is justified in assuming that in this particular matter some industrialists of British India have been crying out before they have been hurt; or, perhaps it would not be unfair to say, have made skilful use of a red herring. The effects of competition, the Commissioners believe, are only likely to be felt in the case of certain small establishments, hitherto non-regulated, such as those which employ the labour of young children; and they confidently believe that if the considerations which they have set out commend themselves to the people of British India, corresponding response will be evoked from the Rulers of the States. That there is ample justification for this confidence can be shown from the proceedings of the Chamber of Princes two years ago, when the assembled Rulers gave an unqualified assurance to Lord Irwin that whenever the Government of India proved that an industrial enterprise was establishing itself within State territory for the specific purpose of evading salutary labour laws prevalent in British India,

the State in question would forthwith enact corresponding legislation, in order to safeguard possible abuses. In view of this spirit, it should not be difficult even now to realize the Commission's professed object—namely, adoption of recognized minimum standards in respect of leading labour laws throughout the whole of India, British India and Indian India alike.

The Commissioners' work in India was carried out at a time when great political changes have been imminent; but it is encouraging to note their opinion that political controversies have not prevented many of those who hold widely differing views in politics from co-operating in the purposes of the Commission. The permanent value of the Report undoubtedly lies in the fact that the Commissioners have succeeded in framing the great majority of their recommendations without reference to possible changes in the Constitution. They themselves explain the fact as follows: "The needs of labour are evident, and the methods we recommend for meeting those needs are largely independent of the nature of the government of the country. 'The nation in every country dwells in the cottage,' and the well-being of the people must be the primary concern of any Government, whatever its form and composition. Our experience gives us the hope that in the India of the future the welfare of the workers will receive an increasing measure of wise thought and of generous action on the part of all who can influence their lives."

A sentiment with which no reader of this admirable document will find himself at variance.

ASPECTS OF LABOUR QUESTIONS IN JAPAN

BY SHUNZO YOSHISAKA

INTRODUCTORY

DURING the period of some ten years after the Great War, in Japan the era of Taisho* closed and the new era of Showa has been ushered in. During this period the universal manhood suffrage was inaugurated and the general election has been repeated twice under this new régime. The disastrous earthquake took place in 1923 and waves of economic crisis have swept over the country. Japan has not been free from the recent worldwide economic depression. Moreover, the crisis has been aggravated in that country by the lifting in January, 1930, of the embargo on gold.

The conditions of labour in a country reflect as a rule the economic and social conditions prevailing in the land. Such political, economic, and social upheavals as mentioned above have affected the conditions of labour in Japan. In consequence one may notice some "novel aspects" in the conditions of Japanese industry and labour reflecting the effect of the critical economic and social changes.

Trade unionism in Japan is advancing at a brisk pace. Japanese trade unions are not yet as powerful as in England, Germany, and other countries where the movement has a long history. Nevertheless, if we consider the rapidity of the rate of its progress, the Japanese movement may well be said to be unparalleled by any movements in other countries which are subject to the same worldwide "slump" as Japan is at the present moment. Japanese trade unions, however, are split up into numerous hostile factions with diverse tendencies.

Present-day Japan is experiencing a hardship unknown in the past, with the rise of the unemployment problem. The problem dates from the adoption of Western industrialism in Japan, but it has never been so serious as at present, either in its extent or intensity.

Labour disputes are increasing parallel with the spread of the worldwide "slump" in Japan. Their present frequency exceeds that of the war period. The disputes are showing the tendency of increasing obstinacy on the part both of the employers and

* The reign of the Emperor Taisho lasted from 1912 to June, 1926, and the reign of the present Emperor, the era of Showa, began in July, 1926.

the workers, the tactics employed in carrying out the disputes have become more and more subtle, and not infrequently unlawful methods of violence, or of "terrorism" as they are now called in Japan, are resorted to by the workers.

The sphere of activity for female labour has been greatly extended since the war period. While this has complicated the labour problem on the one hand, the influx of Korean labour in Japan proper seems to have aggravated the problem on the other hand. Meanwhile, serious efforts have been made by the Government to cope with the increasing gravity of the labour problem by instituting more systematic social legislation. Working hours have been reduced, night work of women and young persons has been prohibited. The standard of protection of the juvenile workers has been raised considerably. The national system of social insurance has been set up. On these and other lines of social legislation Japan has made considerable headway in the last decade.

In the domain of industry the movement for rationalization has made considerable progress, but, on the other hand, there is a growing resistance to the progress of trade unionism and of social legislation.

How will the industrialists of Japan manage to carry on the industries which have progressed so far? How will the working class hold their line of resistance? How will the statesmen of that country steer through these difficulties and maintain the prestige and the prosperity of the nation? The question, in short, as to how Japan, the rising Industrial Power of the world, will succeed in emerging from the present economic crisis is a question which not only concerns the Japanese nation, but one which may interest other countries as well.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNIONS

Whereas in 1911 the total number of trade unions in Japan was only about 40, it rose after the war, in 1919, to 187, under the influence of the expanding industries during the war and the stimulus of the labour movement in foreign countries. Thereafter a series of social events which happened in this country have even spurred further the advancement of Japanese trade unionism. For instance, an article of the Police Act, which had been regarded as the chief obstacle to the progress of trade unions, was repealed, and also the Government began to recognize the trade unions in selecting the workers' delegate to attend the International Labour Conference. Thus, the number of trade unions, which was 300 in 1921 with the aggregate membership of 103,412, rose in ten years to 650 with the total membership of 342,379, in June, 1930.

It is interesting to note that the waves of the business depression which have swept over the world have helped the development of Japanese trade unionism instead of retarding it. The membership of the Japanese trade unions has been growing at the rate of from 20,000 to 30,000 per year. In 1924 the increase in membership was phenomenal, with the addition of 100,000 new members. In the first six months of 1930 the number of trade unions increased by 20 and the membership by 11,000.

While the rapid growth in number has been so remarkable, the general tendency of the ideas dominating Japanese trade unions has been rather disruptive than solidifying. For the trend of thought of Japanese trade unions has been towards diversity instead of unity, and the trade unions have been divided among themselves in much the same way as the so-called "proletarian political parties."

The political parties of Japanese workers are divided into three camps. On the Right Wing is the Social Democratic Party, and on the Left the Workers' and Peasants' Party, while the central field is occupied by the National Masses Party. These parties have secured among them only five seats in Parliament.*

For a number of years the need for a "united front" of these parties has been preached about, and vain efforts have been made to bring this about on several occasions, but the question of unity, or "united front," has largely been on theoretical grounds. As a matter of fact, a few of the attempts for unification have resulted in the deepening of the gap instead of bridging it.

Outstanding among the trade unions of the Right Wing are the following five:

General Federation of Labour of Japan (*Nihon Rodo Sodomei*), membership 30,000.

Japan Seamen's Union (*Nihon Kaiin Kumiai*), membership 88,000.

Federation of Workers in Naval Arsenal (*Kaigun Rodo Kumiai Renmei*), membership 40,000.

Federation of Workers in State Enterprises (*Kangyo Rodo Sodomei*), membership 16,000.

Mercantile Marine Officers' Association (*Kaiin Kyokai*), membership 11,000.

In 1928, on the occasion of the visit to Japan of M. Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labour Office, these five organizations formed a joint committee, called "Committee for the Promotion of Labour Legislation." In a sense, the com-

* At the first General Election under the new universal manhood suffrage system in 1927 the workers' parties won eight seats, but in the second General Election in 1929 they succeeded in securing only five seats.

mittee is a loose federation of the five organizations of the Right Wing, a body which may be regarded as the nucleus of a future Trade Union Congress of Japan, at least so far as the unions of the Right Wing are concerned. As the total membership of these organizations constitutes the majority of the organized workers in Japan, the persons recommended by the said joint committee have every year been sent to Geneva as the workers' delegate and advisers at the International Labour Conference.

On the Left Wing of the Japanese trade unions were the unions belonging to the Japanese Council of Trade Unions (*Nihon Rodo Kumiai Hyogikai*), but in 1928 the Council was dissolved by order of the Government after the arrest of the leading members of the Japan Communist Party. An attempt to resuscitate the Council has been made by the "Committee for the Organization of a National Council of Japanese Trade Unions," but this attempt was fraught with difficulties, owing, firstly, to the loss of its most powerful and prominent leaders, and, secondly, to the lack of unity of opinions among the members. The general social conditions are also unfavourable to the rebirth of a national federation of communistic unions at present. Among the remnants of the dissolved Council there were a number of members who preferred to reorganize the movement in conformity with the law so as to avoid the suppression of the authorities, and these conformists formed a national union called "The National Congress of All Industrial Unions" (*Zen Sangyo Kumiai Domei Kaigi*). This body has not as yet gained much strength.

The centre of the trade union movement in Japan is occupied by the Alliance of Japanese Trade Unions (*Nihon Rodo Kumiai Domei*) and the Confederation of Trade Unions (*Nihon Rodo Kumiai Sorengo*). These unions have joined their forces in the so-called Confederation of Peasants' and Workers' Unions (*Rono Sorengo*); this centre body has gained more strength recently, as a few unions which had left the General Federation of Labour in 1929 and formed the National Alliance of Trade Unions (*Zenkokū Domei*) came to join forces with the centre body.

Generally speaking, it may be said that the unions at the centre uphold the National Masses Party in their political action, while the unions of the Right Wing are supporting the Social Democratic Party, and those of the Left the Peasants' and Workers' Party.

Apart from the above classification according to their political tendencies, Japanese trade unions may also be classified into two groups, on the one hand those which favour the International Labour Organization and on the other those which either belong to, or are in sympathy with, the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress.

A fact which must not be overlooked in this connection is that the trade unions of the centre field are not necessarily opposed to the International Labour Organization, although their attitude in the selection of the Japanese workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference has been one of vacillation. They have participated in the vote of the workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference in 1927 and in 1929, though on other occasions they have refrained from participation in the vote in the same way as the Left Wing unions.

A recent event of considerable importance in the history of Japanese trade unions is that the Japan Seamen's Union, which commands the biggest membership in that country, was affiliated in 1930 to the International Transport Workers' Federation. It was the first time that so important a body of Japanese workers as this decided to join hands with a worldwide movement of the proletariat.

Throughout the trade unions of all shades in that country, a struggle is going on at present against the spread of unemployment, lowering of wages, and the general breakdown of the standards of labour protection under the prevailing economic crisis. On the whole, the unions of the Right Wing seem to be trying to avoid a strike, settling as far as possible all disputes by pacific means, while the unions of the Left Wing and some of those of the Centre seem inclined to incite disputes, taking advantage of the unrest which has resulted from the "slump."

LABOUR DISPUTES

After the Great War, in Europe and America labour disputes have tended to decrease, whereas in Japan the number in recent years has been markedly on the increase, though for a short time after 1920 the number seemed to fall. The effect of the catastrophic earthquake of 1923, and more particularly of the historic event called *Hoko Tenkan** in 1924, was to turn the Japanese trade unions into a more realistic or conservative movement. It is from about 1926 that the disputes have increased, with an acute rise in the number in 1929 and 1930. Never in history has Japan had so many strikes as in these years, and the strikes of recent years are characterized at once by the obstinacy of the participants in the dispute and the bitterness of feeling on either side.

The explanation of this outlook in industrial relations seems to be that in the economic depression, which is deepening as time

* *Hoko Tenkan*, which literally means "shifting of direction," is a term applied to the discarding of the former theoretical radicalism in favour of a realistic and more practical policy.

goes on, Japanese employers have been led to effect economy either by reducing the enterprises by the realignment of the factory units, or by curtailing production, cutting wages, reducing the amount of, or even abolishing altogether, the various allowances, and by other similar measures of financial retrenchment.

Large masses of workers have been discharged wholesale, and at times even the failure to pay wages to the workers has been reported. The livelihood of the working class has thus been menaced directly or indirectly, and the workers have been obliged often to engage in a protracted conflict for the defence of their own interests. In the last two years the following figures of labour disputes, unprecedented in Japanese history, have been reported:

Year.	No. of Cases.		No. of Workers. Involved.
1929 	1,408		171,688
1930 	1,823		160,957

Hitherto, it used to be said that the number of labour disputes fluctuates parallel with the economic situation, increasing in times of prosperity and decreasing when depression sets in. The figures in 1929 and 1930 have in a way exposed the fallacy of the facile generalization of the past. They have demonstrated that, in a serious economic crisis, the disputes are apt to break out as frequently as in periods of prosperity.

More changes are noticeable in the recent statistics of the causes of labour disputes in Japan. The workers' dislike of a certain foreman or superintendent and other sentimental causes were once sufficient to lead to a strike, but of late these causes have gradually decreased in importance, while the questions of wages, hours, and other more substantial causes have begun to figure prominently among the causes of recent strikes and lockouts. In a period of "boom" the workers' attitude is apt to be *positive*, their demands being for the wage increase, shorter working day, etc., but once the depression creeps in, the workers' attitude turns *negative*, based on the need of self-defence. And thus, in a period of depression, their demands are "not to lower the wages," "not to discharge the workers," etc. Sometimes, however, their demands are formulated in a positive sense, such, for example, as to establish a system of "discharge allowance" to be paid to the workers as indemnity when they are dismissed, or to increase the amount of the allowance, or else to re-employ the workers already discharged. Occasionally there are demands for the increase of wages, but they occur for the most part in trades where the piece rate is in force and where the amount of work has been reduced as a result of slack business. The workers demand also a

wage increase in order to offset in advance the employers' attempt to lower the wages. Of late, Japanese workers have begun to engage less in disputes on questions relating to welfare provisions than in previous years.

If we take the results of disputes, we find that, in periods of prosperity, there used to be a high proportion of disputes which resulted either in the workers' victory—that is, with a majority of their demands satisfied—or in a compromise more or less in favour of the workers. In the years 1918–1919 most labour disputes ended in favour of the workers, but in the period of continuous depression after 1920 the number of disputes which resulted in the workers' victory has gradually diminished. Meanwhile the number of cases of compromise and that of the workers' defeat began to be about equal.

On the other hand, however, attention has to be drawn to the important fact that when the depression grows more intense, as has been witnessed in recent years, the proportion of the disputes which end in the workers' victory rises again. The explanation of this singular fact is that the workers' demands in a period of severe depression are likely to be more reasonable ones, because they would refrain as far as possible from engaging in reckless disputes which would be disastrous not only to the employer but to themselves, and if they organized a strike at all they would carry it through to the "bitter end." In a strike organized under such circumstances the workers are more liable to have the sympathetic support of the community, which enables them to win the case.

The period of duration of labour disputes tends to be longer year by year. As many as 98 per cent. of the labour disputes in the period of prosperity in 1918–1919 were settled within a period of ten days. In point of fact, the majority of the disputes then were settled in two or three days, but if we take the statistics for 1930, we find that the proportion of the disputes which ended within a ten days' period has fallen to 65 per cent. There were no less than fifty-six disputes which lasted for at least a month, including the historic strike at the Kanegafuchi cotton spinning company, which lasted over two months. There was a dispute at the Noda Shoyu manufacturing company which lasted for two hundred and eighteen days from the latter half of 1927 to 1928. This was the strike of the longest duration on record in Japan.

The reason for the protracted disputes in recent years is not difficult to seek. The employer, under the present depression, does not mind either the curtailing of production or even the cessation of work, and thus he can afford to be involved in a prolonged dispute by ignoring or rejecting the workers' demands. The worker, on the other hand, is now disputing points

which are of vital concern to him. Moreover, the worker now has the backing of trade unionism which has more experience as well as more ample means than hitherto. The dispute no longer "happens" in a haphazard way: it is "organized" systematically and deliberately with militant "tactics." More employers are resorting now to the aggressive means of lockout, while the workers retaliate by desperate acts which are not always within the orbits of law and order. Surely, violence has been influenced by revolutionary ideology of the Left Wing to a certain extent, but no doubt it is also due to the fact that, in a period of "slump" like the present, the worker finds that an ordinary strike is no longer as effective a weapon to bring pressure on the employer as it used to be.

A fact of peculiar interest in this connection is that Japanese workers seem to abstain from engaging in a labour dispute at times of national crisis or of events of national importance. During the wars that Japan fought with China (1894-1895), and with Russia (1904-1905), there was a sudden decline in the number of labour disputes. The same was true of the early years of the World War and also of the months of the illness and death of the last Emperor (December, 1926 to January, 1927), and the enthronement of the present Emperor (November, 1928).

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

A measure of the development of trade unionism is the extent to which collective agreements have been concluded.

In Japan a collective agreement is not recognized as yet by law. The insertion in the Trade Union Bill of the provisions to regulate the collective bargaining has been advocated vigorously in certain quarters, but the Bill presented by the Government to the last session of the Imperial Diet contained no clause to this effect.

It is in the sphere of maritime work that the collective agreement is applied to the widest extent in this country. The agreement concluded between the Japanese Shipowners' Association on the one hand and the Japan Seamen's Union and the Mercantile Marine Officers' Association on the other is applied to a body of approximately 100,000 maritime workers, including both ordinary seamen and officers. The terms of the agreement are observed by both the seamen and shipowners, who are strongly organized on either side. The minimum wage and other important questions affecting the interests of seamen are dealt with by the collective agreement, and this has proved most effective in preventing the outbreak of a disastrous strike. Many a local dispute of minor proportions has been settled by this means. Recently, in view of the depression in the shipping trade, a whole-

sale reduction of the wages of seamen was found to be necessary. Had it not been for the high discipline and training in collective bargaining through peaceful means, the seamen might have rejected the proposal for the reduction, and this might have led to a disastrous strike.

As regards the workers on land, the system of collective agreements has made but little progress as compared with the maritime workers. Though the number of agreements has been increasing every year, the total number of workers benefiting by this system at present is only about 10,000. They are mostly in smaller industrial undertakings. Some of the agreements deal with the conditions of dismissal of workers, discharge allowance, works regulations, etc., besides regulating the hours of work and wages, as is usually done by a collective agreement.

The result of the collective agreements has been satisfactory on the whole. Most firms where such an agreement is in force have managed to settle difficulties peacefully even in the period of acute economic depression, though instances of failure among firms where the collective agreement has been tried are not unknown.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Sixty-three years ago, when feudalism under the Shogun was abolished and the Imperial régime was restored, Japan entered upon a new epoch of modern civilization. At this time there were nearly half a million of Samurai, who had hitherto carried two swords and enjoyed various privileges. The abolition of the feudal system meant that these half a million Samurai lost their jobs, with immediate hardships to them and their families, numbering over two millions in all. It meant further a considerable social disturbance.

Their unemployment, however, was only of short duration. A number of them found posts under the Imperial Government either as civil servants or as military officers, while others who were enterprising, endowed with commercial gifts, took advantage of the loans advanced by the Government and became eventually powerful captains of industry under the new economic system of the changed world.

Unemployment in the modern sense of the word was practically unknown in the past in Japan. It is true that the problem not only did exist but recurred after certain intervals. But it had never assumed such serious aspects as in recent years. It was only after the panic of 1920 that the problem began to loom as a serious social malady. Thereafter, the volume of unemployment began to swell. The earthquake of 1923 reduced thousands

of factories and workshops to ashes, and for the first time an army of unemployed workers came to roam about the streets in a vain search for employment. As a result of the observance of the Washington Naval Agreement, over 7,300 workers in naval arsenals were thrown out of employment. In the reduction of armaments which followed, some 3,600 workers in the military arsenals were also discharged. Although the reconstruction of the areas devastated by the earthquake furnished opportunities for employment, it was hardly sufficient to absorb all the workless men. In fact, no work of a temporary character was adequate to cope with the increase of unemployment which was the outcome of the general economic situation.

From about 1927 the economic depression became more and more acute. The returns of the first so-called unemployment census, which the Government carried out in October, 1925, along with the National Census, showed that there were 105,000 unemployed workers in Japan, but thereafter the number of the unemployed kept increasing year by year. Thus, according to the second unemployment census of October, 1930, the number of the unemployed had already multiplied to 322,500, being three times as many as five years ago. Osaka, which is the industrial centre of paramount importance for Japan, had 30,190 unemployed workers; Tokyo came next with 22,900, followed by Yokohama with 13,000, Kobe with 10,000, etc.

The cry for the relief of the unemployed had been raised both by the working class and the intelligentsia since about 1920, and the Government has not been slow to take measures to meet the situation.

In accordance with the Convention concerning unemployment adopted by the International Labour Conference at its First Session in 1919, the Employment Exchanges Act was promulgated in Japan in 1921. In virtue of this law, free and public employment exchanges have been established in increasing numbers year after year, and the number rose in January, 1931, to no less than 321, thereby covering the whole of Japan with a complete network of the employment exchange system. The great utility of these employment exchanges is clear from the following figures for the past two years.

Placing of General Workers by the Public Employment Exchanges

Year.	No. of Workers Demanded.	No. of Workers Applying for Work.	No. of Workers Placed.	Percentage Placed.
1929 ...	720,521	882,491	263,669	30
1930 ...	904,730	1,168,114	336,197	29

Placing of Casual Workers (Day Labourers)

Year.	No. of Workers Demanded.	No. of Workers Applying for Work.	No. of Workers Placed.	Percentage Placed.
1929	3,015,195	3,473,237	3,010,280	87
1930	5,128,345	6,174,973	5,121,110	83

In order to provide relief to the unemployed workers, public works have been undertaken since 1925 during the winter months by the six largest cities* of Japan, with the subvention from the State Treasury, which covers half of the labour cost (wages). During the three-year period 1925-1928, the total expenditure for the public works undertaken with the express purpose of the relief of the unemployed workers amounted to 15,500,000 yen, while the wages paid to the workers amounted to 5,800,000 yen, and the aggregate number of workers employed in the public works was approximately three million. Thus, work was given by this scheme to a body of workers varying from 5,000 to 7,000 per day on an average.

From 1929, the scope of the relief work has been more widely extended. Public works with a State subsidy have been authorized, not only in the winter months, but at any time when unemployment breaks out. Moreover, the undertaking of public works may now be authorized, not only to the six largest cities as was formerly the case, but to other municipal or public bodies as well. The scope of the work has also been widened, so that the opportunity for employment may be extended not only to casual or day labourers, but also to skilled workers and salaried workers with modest incomes. The budgetary appropriation for unemployment relief was raised in the same year (1929) as follows:

	Yen.
Total expenditure of the public works ...	14,586,000
Labour cost (wages)	5,270,000
Aggregate number of workers to be employed	1,344,000
Number of workers employed per day ...	11,073

At present the budget provides relief work for as far ahead as 1933. The amounts on the budget for 1930-1933 are:

	Yen.
Total expenditure of the public works ...	92,614,000
Labour cost (wages)	22,463,000
Aggregate number of workers to be employed	12,848,000

As a means of mitigating the unemployment problem, emigra-

* Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe, Yokohama, and Nagoya.

tion has also been greatly encouraged by the authorities. In 1923, in order to give relief to the victims of the earthquake, the Government began the practice of subsidizing emigration to Brazil. From the following year the scope of the subvention has been extended further, so that any emigrant not being the victim of the earthquake may now benefit by the State subvention.

In the past, Japanese emigrants were largely poor people without any resources. In order to encourage the emigration of persons with some means, so that they may one day become small peasant proprietors, the Overseas Emigration Societies Act was promulgated in 1927. Every year the national budget contains an item for advancing funds to the overseas emigration societies for purchasing land abroad and for facilitating business. The money is loaned through these societies to the emigrants, who are members of the societies and need encouragement of this sort. Overseas emigration has appreciably increased in recent years, as the following figures show. However, the bulk of the emigration is confined to South America and the South Seas. In the face of the small number emigrating every year, it may be said that as yet emigration is hardly a solution of the unemployment problem.

Japanese Emigration in 1923-1929

1923	...	...	...	8,825
1924	...	...	...	13,098
1925	...	...	...	10,696
1926	...	...	...	16,184
1927	...	...	...	19,041
1928	...	...	...	19,850
1929	...	...	...	25,704

Despite the various measures taken by the Government to deal with unemployment, it is still the most serious social problem confronting Japan at present.

Besides the unemployment of industrial workers, Japan is faced with the problem of unemployment of intellectual workers. In taking the statistics of unemployment, the young graduates from universities, colleges, and technical or other institutions of higher learning who have failed to find employment are not counted as "unemployed." Nevertheless, these young graduates offer a serious problem, because for years there has been a large proportion of them failing to find employment. The following figures of the rate of employment of the graduates of universities, colleges, and other institutions of higher learning show that the tendency in recent years is for a steady decrease in the opportunity for employment.

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Percentage of the Graduates who found Employment.</i>			
1923	78	per	cent.
1924	75	"	"
1925	66	"	"
1926	59	"	"
1927	64	"	"
1928	53	"	"
1929	50	"	"

Ever since the Restoration of Meiji (1868), Japan has been making efforts to spread education and to raise the intellectual standard of the nation. Schools have been established in large numbers. There are at present forty-five universities and over one hundred technical colleges, and the number of the youths matriculating in these institutions has been growing at a tremendous rate. The result has been that the society is no longer able to absorb all the students graduating from these schools. Discontent is inevitable among those who have received higher education but to whom the opportunity to earn their livelihood is denied. Failing to find employment and experiencing the hardships of life, they are more apt to curse the present social order and to constitute a real menace to the community than the common and less educated workers. How to assist them, therefore, must engage the serious attention of the Government and people.

No less grave than the above problem is the outlook of the agricultural villages.

For a number of years already the problem which has baffled the statesmanship of this country has been how to provide for the population which is multiplying, seemingly without limit, while the land space is extremely limited. This problem has been aggravated within the past decade by the outbreak of the so-called agricultural tenancy disputes all over the country.

The widespread unrest in the rural districts which resulted from these disputes was due at an early stage to the tenancy rates. Recently, however, the disputes have no longer centred round the mere question of tenancy rates. The dispute is often on more fundamental grounds. One may observe there a gradual growth of class consciousness on the sides both of the landowner and the tenant.

On the other hand, the diffusion of mechanical processes in agriculture is tending to deprive the farm labourer of his opportunity for work in much the same way as the mechanization of industry.

Still another factor contributing to the gravity of the rural

problem is the industrial depression, which has thrown out of employment a large number of young women who had been sent to the factories in former years. As many factories have been closed down, a considerable number of operatives have been dismissed and, as they return to their homes in agricultural villages, they add to the burden of the farmers' homes.

Between the town and the farming village, and between industry and agriculture, there is a very close and inseparable relationship of cause and effect, interacting upon each other. The condition of agricultural villages was once the cause of the exodus of the rural population to the towns, but after the continued economic depression in the wave of unemployment the people who have overcrowded the industrial centres are flowing back to the agricultural villages. The rice crop of last year was so abundant that the price of this most important commodity for Japanese people suddenly dropped. This has had a disastrous effect on the farmer, as is aptly described by the phrase *hosaku kikin*, which means "heavy crop famine," and added to this disaster is the slack trade in silk, with a heavy decline in the export of this important material, and this, again, has hit the agricultural households in a ruthless way.

With a view to relieving the distress of the farming and fishing villages, the Japanese Government has set aside on its Budget a sum of 70,000,000 yen.

No doubt the privation and hardship of workers resulting from unemployment may be alleviated somewhat when these important sums are liberally expended for their relief. But it will surely be a blunder to presume that the problem is solved by any of these measures, which are only palliative. The unemployment problem in Japan is now nation-wide, and has come to stay as a chronic problem, instead of being a seasonal phenomenon, as in the past.

A factor which contributed in the past towards mitigating the misery of unemployment in Japan was the so-called "family system." The custom of mutual relief under this time-honoured system has greatly facilitated the means of livelihood of the unemployed worker. Still another factor which relieved any hardship of a worker in distress was the "mobility" of labour in the past years, the workers having been able to return from the factory to agricultural employment in times of industrial depression.

However, times have changed. While neither the family system nor the spirit of mutual relief and aid can be said to have died out, it is a pertinent question how long these institutions can be relied upon in times of a continued and nation-wide crisis. The recent crisis has adversely affected not only Japanese industry, but also the commerce and agriculture of the country.

Japan has been hit by the depression, while she has for years been harassed by the question of the population, which is registering an annual net increase ranging from 850,000 to 1,000,000. The questions of surplus population, the increasing progress of mechanization in industry and agriculture, the obstacles against emigration—all these questions are casting dark shadows on the future outlook of Japan's unemployment problem.

INFLUX OF KOREAN LABOUR

A disquieting factor in the present situation is the influx of Korean labour. While Japan is suffering from over-population within her own territory, a large number of Korean labourers have been streaming into Japan within the past decade.

The stream of Korean immigration into Japan began after the annexation of Korea to Japan two decades ago. Though at first there was an official restriction of Korean emigration to Japan, the restriction could not be enforced indefinitely. In the years of the Great War, when Japanese industry was suddenly faced with the need of more labour than the native supply could satisfy, it was Korean labour which supplemented the deficiency, and thereafter, with a gradual removal of restrictions, the number of Koreans in Japan increased by leaps and bounds. In 1919 the total number of Koreans residing in Japan was only about 30,000, but in 1930—that is, only after about a decade—the number already exceeded 270,000.

Korean workers accept wages which are lower than those of the Japanese worker by some 10 to 20 per cent. They show no aversion to taking up painful or disagreeable labour. Thus over 80 per cent. of them are manual workers, engaged in civil engineering or underground work in mines. The majority of them are "casual labourers" in the real sense of the word.

Naturally, it is the casual labourer who is constantly exposed to the risks of unemployment, and for this obvious reason the competition of the Korean with the native Japanese worker is an embarrassing question for the Japanese, which cannot be overlooked. Their number in Japan is increasing steadily year after year by about 40,000 or 50,000, and what may seem strange at first sight is that the great part of the public works organized with a State subsidy for the relief of unemployment benefit Korean workers rather than native Japanese workers. Of course, the principle of social justice which underlies modern labour legislation will not admit any discrimination whatever. Thus relief is being offered without stint to the Koreans, even at the expense of native Japanese labour. And, moreover, quite recently public

works were undertaken also in Korea on a large scale in order to relieve the unemployment there.

WORKERS' CONTROL OF WORKSHOPS

A novel experiment, which industrial depression has stimulated, is the workers' control of workshops. In 1930 over twenty workshops were under the management of the workers. As the employers were faced with the difficulty of management in the imminent economic crisis, they were obliged to close down their mills after having curtailed production, and tried everything to escape failure. The only alternative to closing down the mills in this predicament was to hand the factory to the workers to manage it either jointly with the employer or quite independently among themselves.

As the method of management varies from one place to another, no generalization can be made, but it appears that the workers' management of workshops has been attempted for the most part with the sole desire to save the workers from unemployment, and not with the pretension of carrying out the Socialist doctrine.

With the striking exception of the Hoshi Co-operative Society, which has taken over the work of the Hoshi Drug Manufacturing Company, and is run with a personnel of 443 workers, most of the mills under workers' control are enterprises on a small scale. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to pass any judgment upon the result of the workers' control, but a saw-mill managed by the workers during the last few years reported that a remarkable rise in the degree of workers' efficiency has been shown since the management was transferred to them, owing, apparently, to the interest they take in their own labour. On the other hand, however, there is a bottle manufactory which had to close down within a few months after it went into the workers' hands, because of the lack of discipline among the workers and shortage of funds for operating the factory.

WOMEN WORKERS

The number of women workers employed in Japanese factories at present is a little over 1,000,000.

A great blessing bestowed on Japanese female workers recently is that night-work of women, which had for a long time been condemned as a curse, has been abolished totally as from July, 1929. This measure, which the Government took deliberately, at a considerable economic risk, set free from this unhealthy labour over 180,000 female and juvenile workers, to whom the

law applies, as well as 60,000 adult male workers who were employed along with the workers, who benefit directly by the legal abolition of night-work.

Since the abolition of night-work, a new schedule of work has been adopted in the factories: to work henceforth in two shifts during the day, except the hours defined as "night." As a result, their working hours have been reduced suddenly from the former eleven hours to eight hours and a half per day. Fear was expressed at first that such a radical reduction of working hours might entail a proportionate diminution of wages, which would be disastrous to the workers, but experience has shown that the fear entertained was so far not justified, since the former wage scale has been maintained in most cases. Only in a few instances have cases of disputes been reported as having arisen in protest against reduction in wages consequent upon the shortening of working hours.

The number of female workers employed in mines is over 55,000 at present, and of this number 33,000 are working underground. Night-work will be abolished legally as from 1933, and at the same time the underground employment of women will be prohibited. There is, however, a gradual diminution in the number of women in underground work in mines, the monthly diminution reported being over 50 persons.

Japanese women are undergoing at the present moment an important transition from the former feudal system, where they were living a sedentary life at home, engaged mostly in domestic labour, into a new stage of national economy, where female labour is much in demand in every field of economic activity. It may even be said that the demand for female labour is of a more stable character than the demand for male labour, and, in the course of social development, new fields are constantly being opened up for the employment of women. Already there are a large number of women teachers, doctors, typists, and other occupations which are more or less common. More recently a considerable number of women are being employed as screen actresses, dancers, waitresses at bars and cafés; and even a few labour disputes involving young girls employed in these new fields of occupation have been reported. In such large cities as Tokyo and Osaka there are as many as 2,500 women conductors of motor-buses, who are organized into trade unions; there are even women porters at the main stations of large cities, and thus female labour is aggressively encroaching upon the domain of male labour.

As regards wages, it is not unusual, in the case of factory labour, to find instances of women being paid wages which amount to only half of the average wages paid to men. Of

course, there are many reasons which may be advanced to justify the difference in their wage rates, yet it will not be long before the justification for such differential treatment may be questioned. According to the annual Statistical Year-Book of the Japanese Empire for 1930, the wages paid to male and female workers in the past six years have been as follows:

Year.			Male Workers.	Female Workers.
			Yen.	Yen.
1924	...	...	1'973	0'959
1925	...	...	1'964	0'969
1926	...	...	2'346	0'961
1927	...	...	2'538	0'990
1928	...	...	2'596	1'003
1929	...	...	2'645	0'974

Despite the large number of female workers, trade unionism among women has made but little progress. At the end of 1929 the total number of women organized in trade unions was only 11,916, representing 0·7 per cent. of the entire female workers in the country, and only 3 per cent. of the total number of workers organized in trade unions. The majority of the women belonging to the trade unions were in the textile industry, numbering approximately 5,000. The chief reason for the tardy development of trade unionism among women is that the majority of the female workers are young girls, recruited in agricultural villages, who are employed in the factories only for a short period pending their marriage. For this reason there is a high turnover of female labour in Japanese factories, and, apart from the lack of class consciousness among these young girls, the special circumstances in which these girls are employed make them the most difficult to organize. An interesting discovery made in the course of several labour disputes in recent years is that female workers are no less militant or tenacious than male workers when they are drawn into a labour dispute.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Labour legislation in Japan began with the Factory Act promulgated in 1911. Since this first experiment in labour legislation the progress made in this line of legislation has been remarkable during the period of the World War, and more particularly after the first session of the International Labour Conference held at Washington in 1919.

The scope of application of the Factory Act was greatly extended by an amendment in 1923. Under the amended Factory Act, the provisions of the Act apply to all factories employing normally ten workers or more, and also to factories where the

process of work is either dangerous or injurious to health, regardless of the number of workers employed. By another important amendment effected in 1929, various important provisions contained in the Act have become operative in all factories where motive power is used, regardless of the number of workers engaged. At present there are as many as 71,215 factories under the Factory Act, and the number of workers engaged is 955,405 male and 1,043,711 female workers, making a total of 1,999,116 workers. There are 1,061 mines, employing 231,859 male and 55,104 female workers, with a total of 286,963 mining workers. In order to protect these workers, there is a complete system of inspection of labour, with a staff of 358 factory inspectors and 33 mining inspectors.

Working hours, according to Japanese factory and mining laws, are ten (effective) per day.* By an amendment made in the Factory Act of 1930, the exception of one hour's extension of working hours in silk spinning factories, allowed previously by law, was abolished. Working hours for underground work in mines have been reduced to ten per day, both for male and female workers, and the law entered into effect as from September of that year. This was the first time that Japanese legislation regarding working hours was applied to male workers.

The factory and mining laws above mentioned are supplemented by further laws for the protection of industrial workers, such as the Prohibition of White Phosphorus Act (1921), the Minimum Age Act (1923), the Ordinance for the Control of Recruitment of Workers (1924), the Regulations for the Control of Dormitories attached to Factories (1927), and the Regulations for Accident Prevention and Hygiene in Factories (1929), etc.

The minimum age for employment in factories and mines is fourteen years. No child under fourteen years of age may be engaged in a wage-earning occupation in factories or mines, except that the child may be allowed to take up employment if he or she is over twelve years of age and has already completed a course of compulsory school education. The employment of boys under eighteen years of age as either trimmers or stokers on Japanese vessels is also forbidden by law.

A glance at the steps taken by Japan within the past decade in the sphere of labour legislation indicates clearly that the policy of the Government is to adopt the most advanced legislation, in conformity with world standards of labour protection, as far as the conditions of the country permit it. The most recent and

* To be more precise: the legal maximum of working hours is eleven hours per day, applying only to juvenile workers under the age of sixteen and to female workers. This maximum, however, includes the obligatory rest of at least thirty minutes if the work lasts more than six hours, and one hour if it lasts more than ten hours.

striking instances of Japan's readiness to advance in harmony with the world's progress is that the Japanese Government ratified the Convention concerning the Marking of Weight of Heavy Packages, adopted at the International Labour Conference in 1929, far ahead of other industrial powers.* The national law to carry into effect the ratified Convention was promulgated before the expiry of a period of a year after the closing of the Conference, and it has been applied to all forms of transport, including railways, automobiles, and other means of conveyance, in addition to ships, as laid down by the Convention.

In the sphere of safety, most conscientious efforts are being made by a semi-official organization, called the Industrial Welfare Association, in close collaboration with the Government. A great deal of publicity is carried on through this organization for the diffusion of knowledge concerning accident prevention, industrial hygiene, and workers' welfare. Ever since 1927, under the auspices of the Industrial Welfare Association, the so-called "safety week" has been carried out every year throughout the country, in order to impress upon the nation the need of paying special attention to the question of safety, and, after the intensive campaign for safety carried out by the national movement, the results have shown that accidents have been reduced at a remarkable rate. Beside the above-mentioned laws for the protection of labour, outstanding among the recent laws enacted in the field of labour legislation are the Employment Exchanges Act (1921), the Seamen's Employment Exchanges Act (1922), the Health Insurance Act (1923), the Agricultural Tenancy Disputes Conciliation Act (1924), the Regulations for the Control of Profit Making Employment Agencies (1926), the Labour Disputes Conciliation Act (1926), etc.

Among the laws enacted early in this year are the Workmen's Compensation Act, and Workmen's Compensation Liability Insurance Act, etc.

Of outstanding importance among the various Bills presented by the Government to the last Session of the Imperial Diet was the Trade Union Bill. There was considerable opposition to it raised both by the employers and the workers. In spite of certain amendments inserted in the original Bill with a view to meeting the demands of the employers, the latter still contended that the Bill as it stood in its final form when it was submitted to Parliament was too radical and liable to incite the class struggle, instead of promoting conciliation between the employers and the workers. The Bill was not adopted.

* The Irish Free State was the only country among the States members of the International Labour Organization which had ratified this Convention when Japanese ratification was registered.

CONCLUSION

Times have changed. In the course of the last centuries, and more particularly in the last few decades, the political and economic aspects of the world have radically altered. With the revolution in the methods of communication and transit, man has overcome the elements, nullified distances, and turned the world ultimately into a closely woven, interdependent unit. And that change is more apparent in Japan than in any other country.

Until Commodore Perry knocked at her doors compelling her to enter into relationship with foreign countries, Japan had been isolated from all other countries, pursuing her self-sufficient national economy. Rapidly forsaking this old policy of isolation, sixty-three years ago, she deliberately entered the ring of international competition and rivalry, and has since traversed the stages of industrial revolution in a relatively short space of time, leaving behind the vestiges of the old agricultural economy to replace it by the modern industrial economy. What emerged from the turmoil of the perilous conflicts with China and Russia, in which the nation staked her very existence, was a new and growing industrial power. Then the World War came. Although the phenomenal industrial expansion of the war period in Japan was abnormal, transient, and even disastrous—as it has intensified the social evils which are bound to have far-reaching, calamitous consequences—no one can doubt that Japan's status in the world has been enhanced.

As a faithful member of the League of Nations, and of the International Labour Organization, Japan has been offering an enthusiastic and loyal collaboration with the world organs in Geneva. Japan is no longer a mysterious land in the Far East; she is a real existence as a World Power with a rôle to play on the world's stage. At present she is going through a period of trial, with problems unprecedented in their acuteness and appalling in their dimension. Even if the worldwide crisis passes in due course, we must expect that Japan's problems will still remain, even more acute than at present. However, we need not despair of the future of this young and vigorous nation now severely tried. A forecast is always hazardous, but, in the light of past experience, when Japan, confronted with great changes, has overcome all difficulties, we are confident that she knows and understands the circumstances and that she can adjust herself to them. More than two thousand years ago a great philosopher of the Orient said that "The wise goes with the times." Nowadays the happiness of the world is the happiness of the Japanese nation. Her statesmen are well aware of Japan's position today, and of the importance of international co-operation. Surely the

ways out of the present crisis lie along the lines of international activity. The slogans of the two great political parties of Japan (Minseito and Seiyukai) are respectively for condensing policy and for positive policy. The combination of these two aims may bring about the international expansion of that country with its internal condensed force. The Government, employers, and workers join forces and continue to readjust themselves with an enlightened international spirit.

Thus, combining national and international efforts, Japan will, finally, emerge triumphantly from the present crisis.

LABOUR IN BRITISH MALAYA

BY HUBERT S. BANNER, B.A., F.R.G.S.

THE Malays being essentially a race of "children of the sun," who have for countless generations been well content so long as their country's generous climate provided a roof over their heads and food sufficient for their simple wants, and having little or no liking for hard and sustained toil, the development of Malaya's resources is carried out mainly by imported labour. Moreover, since the greater part of the country's industrial activities are concerned either with agriculture or with mining, it follows also that the bulk of the labour in demand is of the unskilled variety. What little skilled labour is required comes, for the most part, from China. Unskilled labour, on the other hand, is recruited from India, China, and various islands of the Malay Archipelago, though a certain amount is provided by Malays in the Unfederated States, where the indigenous population is denser than elsewhere.

It is interesting to note the different classes of work to which the various immigrants, according to their nationality, apply themselves. Thus agricultural estates are worked chiefly by Tamils, mines by Chinese, and public works by either, the Chinese being most valuable as regards construction and the Tamils as regards maintenance.

There is a great deal of very inaccurate information on the subject of Indian labour in Malaya. The plain facts are as follows: The emigration of Indian labour to the Malay Peninsula is entirely voluntary, and may be said to date from the establishment of British power on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal at the beginning of the last century. Originally such emigration was, it is true, subjected to a certain amount of control by the Indian Government; in fact, this was the case until some thirty years after the separation of the Straits Settlements from British India, and it was not till 1897, when all restrictions were finally removed, that this control ceased to cause a good deal of annoyance on both sides.

By the provisions of the Emigration Act of 1922 the emigration of Indian labour to Malaya was again brought under the Indian Government's control, but there was nothing in the Act which could not be adapted quite easily to a new system that had in the meantime been introduced in Malaya. This was what is known as the Immigration Fund System, worked by an Immigration Committee with the Superintendent of Immigrants as Chairman,

and one of its firstfruits was the passing of a piece of legislation which empowered the Committee to levy upon employers an assessment on the amount of work performed by all labourers from the Madras Presidency. It was from the proceeds of this assessment that the fund was formed, and this was set apart as a distinct entity, constituting no part of general revenue and administered by the Superintendent of Immigrants purely and simply in the interests of the labourers. The legislation by which this system was introduced is now incorporated in the Labour Code, and the officer administering it is known as the Controller of Labour.

There is no ambiguity about the purposes of the fund, which are most carefully defined. They include the maintenance of homes for broken-down and unemployed Indian labourers and the children and orphans of these workers, also the repatriation of those in need of relief and such financial assistance as they may require. Two such homes exist, one in Penang and one in Kuala Lumpur. Admissions to the former during 1930 totalled 5,503 adults, 731 minors, and a large number of infants, of whom 4,067 adults, 637 minors, and 225 infants were repatriated, while work was found for most of the others. At the Kuala Lumpur home there were 5,161 admissions.

Until a comparatively recent date the cost of administering the fund was defrayed by the Government, which paid the salaries of officials, the expenses of maintaining emigration camps in India, and even the subsidy to the British India Steam Navigation Company, which is under contract to carry the emigrants. Now, however, these expenses have been transferred to the fund. Labourers are often engaged by employers through the agency of a *kangany*—that is to say, an ex-labourer of the estate, licensed by Government, who proceeds to his native village in India and there enlists recruits, drawing a commission from the employer's financial agents in Madras. It should be added that, before they are permitted to embark, all emigrants are examined by officials of the Indian Government—the Protector of Emigrants and the Medical Inspector.

Out of the negotiations with the Indian Government in connection with the 1922 Emigration Act emerged a complete revision of the labour laws of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States. Among the leading innovations were the placing of the contract between employer and employed on a purely civil basis, compulsory provision of schools for labourers' children, the payment of maternity allowances to female labourers, and the introduction of the standard wage principle in the case of all Indian labourers. Indian immigrants, moreover, are landed free of debt and are at liberty to leave their employment at any time

on giving a month's notice; no immigrant is permitted to enter into any written contract to serve as a labourer, and there are stringent provisions dealing with the health of estate workers and the responsibility of employers in this respect.

In addition to the labour recruited by *kanganies* for individual employers, there has been in more normal times a very considerable number of voluntary emigrants, who, provided they were physically fit, could obtain a free passage to Malaya at the expense of the fund on application to the Emigration Commissioner. And it is noteworthy that, although there was no obligation whatever upon a voluntary emigrant to work for any particular employer, a high proportion of these volunteers were returned labourers proceeding to their old places of employment. These non-recruited labourers and their dependants amounted in 1930 to 15,121.

Finally, it is interesting to note a few figures in connection with Indian labour in Malaya. The Indian population of the Federated Malay States at the end of 1930 was put at approximately 400,000 persons. Out of 258,000 Indians enumerated on 1,350 estates in Malaya in the 1921 census, 208,000 were Tamils. The remainder were mostly Telegus and Malayalees, with a few Urujas from the north of the Madras Presidency. The average stay of an estate labourer in normal times has been estimated at from two to three years, the recruitment annually necessitated to maintain the labour-force at its standard level being 35 per cent. At the close of 1930 there were on estates in the Federated Malay States 289 Government and aided Indian vernacular schools and 196 unaided establishments.

The Labour Department, however, exists for the protection of all classes of labourers, and is administered by an officer of the Malayan Civil Service, known as the Controller of Labour. As regards Chinese labourers, officers of the Chinese Protectorate, in dealing with matters concerned with labour, exercise their powers under the Labour Code, and are required to keep in touch with the Controller.

The first measure taken for the control of Chinese labour was the Chinese Immigrants' Ordinance of 1873, which, however, does not appear ever to have been actually operative. But a further Ordinance was passed in 1877, and from this originated the Chinese Protectorate, which was established in 1880. Under the indentured system, which was abolished in the case of Chinese in 1914, Chinese labour was recruited by an agent in China, who recovered his outlay, together with a profit, from a broker in Singapore, the latter functionary passing the labourer on to the employer on the best terms he could make.

The officers of the Chinese Protectorate occupied with questions

of labour are appointed deputy or assistant controllers of labour for that purpose. In Pahang the interests of the Chinese labour community are looked after by the district officers, who furnish reports on the conditions obtaining in their districts. Except in this particular State, there was a serious increase of unemployment among Chinese during 1930 on account of the continued fall in the prices of tin and rubber. Chinese Unemployment Relief Committees were formed both in Perak and in Selangor. In the former State relief works were provided, and in Selangor a camp for unemployed labourers was opened at Kuala Lumpur, supported entirely by public subscription, \$26,188 being spent on its maintenance. According to published statistics, 66,710 Chinese were employed on estates, mines, and factories in the Federated Malay States at the close of 1930, and the number of men admitted to the camp during the year was 3,240.

The only indentured labour which survives in Malaya exists in respect of immigrants from the Netherlands Indies, and is governed by the Netherlands Indian Labourers' Protection Enactment. Development of this form of labour immigration has been effectively prevented by the high cost of recruitment and the success of the Immigration Fund System in the case of Indian labourers. There has, however, been a steady influx of voluntary Netherlands Indian settlers to the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and in Lower Perak and other parts large areas have been given out in small holdings to Javanese. The actual number of Netherlands Indian labourers on estates, mines, and factories in the Federated Malay States on December 31, 1930, was 4,234, employed chiefly in the Kuala Lipis and Kuantan districts of Pahang. They consisted of three classes—namely, labourers working under contractors, labourers on verbal monthly agreement, and indentured labourers under the Enactment cited at the beginning of this paragraph, signed in Java and binding for 900 days' work.

To revert to the subject of local Malay labour, what has already been written must have made it plain that this is of very little importance. No large estates depend to any extent upon Malays, and the total number engaged at any one time on estates in the Federated Malay States is only approximately 4,000. Malays are accustomed to use the estates merely as a convenience to supplement whatever livelihood can be made out of their own holdings, and cannot be relied upon to remain on the estates, often just when their services are most required.

Attempts have, of course, been made by subversive elements to tamper with the labourers in Malaya, as elsewhere. In this connection the following extract from the 1930 Report of the Secretary for Chinese Affairs is worth quoting at some length :

"There was a marked increase in activity on the part of the Communist party, chiefly in the production and distribution of handbills and pamphlets in Chinese, Tamil, Malay, and English. . . . There is, however, no evidence that the results obtained were commensurate with the effort expended, and it is true to say that at present this organization exists almost entirely on paper. . . .

"The slump in the prices of the main products of these States, rubber and tin, has meant that prosperity has vanished, trade has been greatly reduced, and conditions of serious financial stringency have resulted. The number of failures among Chinese shopkeepers has been surprisingly low, and the labouring class has adapted itself to the new conditions with stoical philosophy and with a patient fortitude that has been the envy of other races. Wages have tumbled, short time has had to be worked, and large numbers have had to accept dismissal, but there have been no instances in these States of rowdiness or violence through the unwillingness of coolies to accept the inevitable, and there has not been the increase of crime that was expected from such economic conditions. One can only hope that the labourer will reap his full reward, when things improve, for his behaviour in these times of stress."

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

BY DR. D. J. JONGENEEL

[The author resided in the Netherlands East Indies for nearly twenty-five years as a member of the Civil Service. From 1921 to 1927 he was Government Representative in the Volksraad for the local government and legal regulations connected therewith. He then left the Government service, and was for three years the chief representative of the Netherlands Colonial Petroleum Company at Batavia.]

(Continued from July issue.)

THE next subject to claim our attention is that of private enterprise and agriculture on a larger scale than practised hitherto.

The advantage, or rather the indispensability, of large Western enterprise for the development of the Netherlands Indies is almost universally recognized. The single exceptions to this rule need not be taken into consideration; they have a mere theoretical importance. The Government very rightly holds the opinion that private enterprise should be encouraged as much as possible, whilst it ought to be clear to all that in laying open the Outer Provinces, with their enormous possibilities, we cannot do without private Western enterprise. And the laying open of these territories will furnish the means for a wider cultural development of the indigenous population. The more the Netherlands Indies are brought into contact with the outside world, and the more they participate in international commerce, the more their isolation will be broken, the higher the people's standard of livelihood will be raised, and the striving to supply arising and increasing new demands will render the indigenous more economically capable.

Countries and nations isolated from the rest of the world fall into stagnation and decay; a wide economical contact with other nations has the opposite effect.

Western industries bring money to the people; in their neighbourhood numberless small native industries, such as stores, carpenters' shops, smithies, etc., all find employment. They demand good roads; they promote traffic by road, by river, and by rail; they encourage trade and overseas communication. But above all do they teach the indigenous population the value of productive labour: they educate him.

As mentioned above, export of native agricultural produce amounted in 1929 to 395 million guilders.* This shows how much

* 1 guilder = 1s. 8d.

the native has learnt from the Westerner. The figures do not even include the value of his produce as used for home consumption nor of the collected forest produce.

If it should be objected that of all these millions but a small part finds its way into the pocket of the indigenous population, we need not take this too seriously. Whatever part of the profits on products cultivated by the native may still wrongfully escape him, he will gradually learn to wrestle from second-hand traders and other persons. But that millions do fall into native hands may be amply proved by the following example: The number of natives that in normal times take part in the pilgrimage to Mecca may be estimated at 32,000 a year. Supposing that every hadji spends an average of 1,200 guilders, this means a total expenditure of roughly 38 millions.

It is clear that the assertion sometimes made that Western contact brings no money to the indigenous population, nor any chance of saving, is altogether opposed to the facts. If the native does not save, it is his own fault and not that of circumstances.

If a flourishing Western industry be an indispensable factor in the prosperity of the Netherlands Indies, then no insuperable obstacle should hamper its development. Here we might discuss the penal sanction, the pressure of taxation, the ground-rent system, and various other matters, which would, however, exceed the limits of this article.

The Government has generally declared as their point of view that foreign capital cannot be dispensed with in the economical development of the Netherlands Indies, and that everything should be avoided that might lead to a flight of capital or a holding off of foreign enterprise.

Here the difficulty is that it cannot be clearly proven, nor expressed in figures, to what extent the Netherlands Indies are suffering damage from the withholding of enterprise and in how far their development is consequently being retarded. For complaints from settled industrialists may be said to arise from interested motives and therefore to be exaggerated, whereas complaints from would-be new investors are as a rule not heard at all. These simply pass on and seek new objects for investment.

Still, it should be pointed out that Governmental measures, such as taxation, etc., constitute but one of the facts to be taken into account when judging the question whether or not an industry is to be started in a certain country. The fertility of the soil, price and quality of the product to be gained, the geographical situation of the land in view of export possibilities, present conditions and resources—viz., labour supply and test laboratories—all these are factors which in general will have more weight.

The first of the following tables may serve to give an impres-

sion of the enormous increase in significance of native agriculture in particular by comparing the 1894 results with those of 1929, whilst the second gives a survey of the importance to the world market in particular of Netherlands Indies cinchona, kapok, pepper, and rubber.

EXPORT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS FROM ESTATES AND FROM NATIVE AGRICULTURE IN MILLIONS OF GUILDERS.

<i>Java and Madura.</i>				<i>Outer Provinces.</i>			
	<i>Estates.</i>	<i>Natives.</i>			<i>Estates.</i>	<i>Natives.</i>	
1894 ...	116	7		1894 ...	21	10	
1929 ...	484	104		1929 ...	204	291	

EXPORT SURPLUS OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIES IN 1928.

<i>Produce.</i>	<i>In Metric Tons.</i>	<i>In Per Cent. of the World Export.</i>
Cinchona	9,920	93
Kapok	19,298	79
Pepper	24,229	70
Rubber	225,228	35
Copra	495,964	30
Agava	50,306	19
Tea	69,700	17
Sugar	2,937,376	11
Coffee	114,500	8
Palm oil	34,602	4
Cocoa	1,117	0.2

And now let us turn our attention to the mining industry of the Netherlands East Indies.

The Netherlands Indies Mining Act begins by stating that the landowner may not dispose of the most valuable minerals, as mentioned by name. These include gold, silver, tin, coal, oil, etc.

Since 1919 the further yielding of concessions for fossil fuel (*i.e.*, coal and oil) and also for iodine has been stopped by law. The discovery of these minerals merely gives the right to a reward, to be determined by the Governor-General in each separate case. The winning of these minerals by private enterprise can now only take place by means of a contract with the Government, to be legally sanctioned in each separate instance. Thus each separate contract requires the sanction of the Parliament at The Hague, while in the Indies the People's Council must be previously consulted on the subject.

Here, indeed, is a great difference between the Dutch East Indies and America, where the landowner also has the right to appropriate the mineral wealth underground. In America it is only necessary to come to an understanding with the landowner in order to prospect for oil or other minerals.

This legal difference has exercised great influence, especially

on the oil business, which in America could expand to a phenomenal growth in a very short time, whereas in the Netherlands East Indies it has made but very slow progress. Undesirable conditions, such as have arisen in the exploitation of oil-fields in America, are, however, altogether absent in the Netherlands East Indies. There never was any question there of uneconomical oil farming or waste of the oil wealth. The difference in the legislation is certainly largely responsible, but it should not be overlooked that, leaving out the possible oil wealth of the Netherlands East Indies as compared to the enormous oil supplies of America, circumstances in America differ widely from those in a distant and vast tropical country, where the necessary materials have to be fetched from the other end of the world, where soil and climate take heavy toll from the explorer, where the aboriginal native has never taken up mining, being without the means to dispose of the minerals. Again, in the Netherlands East Indies the Government is the landowner for far the greater part, seeing that all virgin soil has been declared State Domain, so that the Government could also have disposed of the minerals in the capacity of landowner.

It cannot, indeed, be said of the Netherlands East Indies that a wild and precipitous exploitation of oil-fields has ever taken place there; rather has there been an inclination to go to the opposite extreme. As yet but a small part of the vast archipelago has been practically explored for oil.

For minerals other than oil, coal, and iodine, prospecting permits are given out, which, on the discovery of the mineral in commercial quantities, give a right to a concession.

The last subject to be discussed may be the industrialization of the Netherlands East Indies.

It has often been represented that a flourishing industry can be forced upon the Netherlands Indies. As if it were merely a matter of assistance and financial support from the Government. The fact seems to be lost sight of that the position of the world market of the article manufactured must be such as to be able to compete with foreign articles as to price and quality. The demand is that the product of the native industry should be in every way as good and as cheap as that of the industries that supply the world markets, for it is most unlikely that anyone would advise the idea of high protective tariffs for the Netherlands Indies.

A progressive industrialization would most surely be of the greatest possible benefit to the Netherlands Indies, both from an economic and from a social point of view; but we should beware of representing it as an indispensable necessity, arguing from theories and dogmas concerning a certain desired formation of the social community.

It is evident that new as well as established industries should be furthered as much as possible by the authorities, by the proffering of advice, the providing of facilities, the placing of orders, if necessary even by temporary financial support. But incidentally it shall always have to be decided upon purely opportunist and materialistic grounds whether or not a certain industry at a certain time in a certain place deserves the financial support of the authorities. Otherwise it will only be flinging away good money after bad, a useless waste of large sums from the Exchequer.

Here the Government should proceed all the more warily, as general conditions in the Netherlands Indies are not particularly favourable for the creation of a large industry. The geographical situation of the country is not in the least suited for export industries, and so far the supply of material, fuel, and water-power cannot be compared to that of the wealthy centres of world industry. The labour supply also will cause great difficulties, especially as regards the carrying out of the technical work, for which personnel will have to be imported from abroad.

And it is for this reason that we have drawn the conclusion that in the industrialization of the Netherlands Indies the pace cannot be forced. When we reflect that the industrialization of Europe has taken centuries, and how very gradual has been its progress, then, though we may argue that the Netherlands Indies, by making use of Western experience and capital, will need less time, the fact remains that, all the same, time, and much time, will be needed for the creation of a large industry on a scale of any importance, however optimistically we may view the industrial possibilities.

For the present the Government would be wise to leave industrialization to private enterprise that will not hesitate to seize favourable opportunities, as experience has already shown. For we must not think of the Netherlands Indies as a country wholly devoid of industry save for a few small local and home industries.

Quite the contrary. It is, in fact, already rising industrially: take, for instance, the existing sugar and oil industries; the cinchona, rubber, Portland cement, and triplex wood factories; the oil mills; the shipping yards with their dry docks; the engineering works; printing and publishers' offices, etc. Besides these, there are the large workshops and yards of the State Railway, the naval dockyards, railways and tramways, the opium plant, mining industries, postal, telegraph, and telephone services, etc.

It will therefore occasion no surprise and be no cause for anxiety that the portion of the indigenous population which is still bound to landed property hardly amounts to 50 per cent.

It is represented in certain quarters that the industrialization of the Netherlands Indies is unavoidable on account of the increasing

population. Experience, however, shows that the numerous industries in the Netherlands Indies came gradually into existence as the result of circumstances and of demand, and it will be well to continue this gradual process. There is in no way *periculum in mora* here, and the hasty construction of industrial card-houses will bring naught but disappointment and financial loss.

There is still another side to the question. If a really considerable industry could be established in the Netherlands Indies, the result would be the withdrawal of labour from agriculture and also a rise in prices all over the country, in consequence of the high wages paid by industry.

It seems superfluous to speculate upon the consequences which the realization of large industry would bring to agriculture, to rice cultivation in Java, and to the standard of living of the population in general. The period of transition towards a new form of profession is not likely to take place without causing serious difficulties on all sides. But this need not lead to the conclusion that the industrialization of the Netherlands Indies is to be considered an undesirable principle, but it should be realized that, apart from a big risk of failure, there are still dangers of another kind which may lurk in a forced and hurried progress.

PROTECTION OF COLONIAL PRODUCE IN FRANCE

BY H. COHEN DE BOER, L.L.D.

(Secretary to the Board of Planters for the Netherlands East Indies)

UNLIKE the crises which hitherto periodically visited industry, the crisis from which world trade has been suffering since the end of 1929 has doubly affected the colonial empires. Apart from the mother country, the overseas possessions have suffered severely from the depression. The position in the various colonies is such that at the present moment both natural and artificial means are sought everywhere calculated to act as palliatives until the worst is over.

Although, as far as the colonies are concerned, the various Governments have adhered as long as possible to the standpoint that the economic laws themselves should gradually indicate the path towards recovery, they seem of late to have become more and more inclined also to apply to the colonies the policy of protection which they have in various spheres already brought into practice in the mother-country. Whilst in this way a helping hand has been extended to the sugar industry in its efforts to arrive at a stabilization of the market prices by means of restriction of production, whilst by a convention between the four interested countries a scheme for the restriction of the production of tin has been accepted, etc., the French Government has now introduced a system of protection for certain kinds of colonial produce which deserves attention as a new and interesting experiment.

A few months before plans for the protection of three products in need of assistance had already been under consideration at the French Colonial Office. This protection had the form of a duty on all imports of those products into France, the proceeds to be used in extending financial assistance to the overseas producers. The measure was intended, in the first place, for rubber, on which a duty of 0.60 franc per kilo (roughly $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb.) was to be levied.

If one reflects that the annual import of this article into France amounts to about 73,000 tons, whilst a total quantity of 11,000 tons is produced in the French colonies, it follows that the French industry would, on behalf of this 15 per cent. of French production, have to pay import duties of over 43 million francs annually. It was, indeed, owing to the opposition offered by French industrial circles that this plan was rejected by the committees of the Chamber. As during that period the Tardieu Cabinet had to

make place for the Laval Cabinet, it was at first considered probable that those plans would provisionally be shelved.

But those who took the initiative did not remain inactive. After elaborate discussions with all parties interested, they succeeded in drafting a compromise proposal, which this time met with the approval of all Colonial Customs—and Parliamentary—Commissions concerned. Towards the end of March it was rapidly passed by the *Chambre des Députés* (by 304 votes to 265), immediately afterwards by the Senate, and published.

* * * * *

The Act of March 31, 1931 (*Journal Officiel* of April 4), here referred to, covers the products rubber, coffee, sisal, manioc, and tapioca.

As regards rubber, this compromise measure reduces the originally proposed import duty of 60 centimes per kilo *by 50 per cent.* The Act provides further for the creation of compensation funds (*caisses de compensation*), to which the colonies interested contribute in proportion to their exports.

These compensation funds were instituted by Decree of May 31, 1931 (*Journal Officiel* of June 4). The Governors-General and Governors of the various colonial territories interested in the said products were given the required power to accord the advances necessary for the institution of those funds. The maximum total amount of each fund is fixed at 50 million francs, which for rubber has been distributed as follows: Indochina, 40 million francs; French West Africa, 2 million francs; French Equatorial Africa, 4.5 million francs; and Cameroon, 3.5 million francs.

An interest of 5 per cent. on these funds as well as their redemption will be guaranteed by the proceeds from the import duties. Out of these funds premiums will be paid to the planters *to the amount representing the margin between the market price and the cost of production.* The difficulty of determining the cost of production, which is so widely divergent for the different enterprises, is overcome by having it fixed by a decree of the Governor of each colony, subject to approval by the Minister, at an average calculated on the cost prices of all enterprises concerned. It goes without saying that the position of enterprises producing under unfavourable circumstances becomes even worse, compared with their more favoured competitors, than it would have been without this uniform premium. The market price is fixed according to the average rate of the last three months, whilst the difference between cost of production and market price—*i.e.*, the amount of the premium—is accordingly revised every three months. The maximum premium has been fixed at 3 francs per kilo.

The premiums will be stopped as soon as the selling price equals the cost of production. If at that juncture the available funds exceed a certain minimum, they may be applied to scientific experiments aiming at the improvement of the product.

On the other hand, the planters are under the obligation in more prosperous years to contribute from their profits to the fund. The intention is to form in this way a permanent guarantee fund from which, in future periods of such disastrous prices, relief may be extended to the cultures affected. The contribution by the planters will begin as soon as the market price exceeds the cost of production by 3 francs.

When, owing to the said payments, the assets of the fund amount to three-fifths of the aforesaid maximum of 50 million francs, the import duty will automatically be reduced to 15 centimes per kilo. On the other hand, it will again be doubled as soon as the said assets fall below 60 per cent. The duty will be reduced to 10 centimes as soon as the assets of the fund have reached the maximum fixed.

This sounds very well, but nevertheless it is of little more than theoretical importance. It is, indeed, only too well known that the cost of production of French colonial rubber, compared for example with that of the Dutch East Indian estate rubber, is high. It is, in fact, scarcely possible that in the French colonies the proceeds from rubber will in the near future, if ever, exceed the cost of production by 3 francs. If this fact is borne in mind, it is clear that the system adopted by France is tantamount to a Government subsidy, which affords French rubber planters a guarantee against losses, and enables them to go on producing without regard to economic conditions. As a matter of fact, both the Governments of Indochina and of Madagascar have already extended relief to rubber and coffee planters respectively, thanks to fairly considerable advances from their own Exchequers, advances which may, for the not yet productive rubber estates, amount to a maximum of 1 million piastres (1 piastre=about 1s. 7d.). The tariff of the duty now to be levied will alone render possible—by its proceeds of 22 million francs on 11,000 tons of production—a subsidy of 2 francs per kilo rubber, which is tantamount to 75 per cent. of the present value f.o.b. on the world market.

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Nearly the same percentage of the market value is covered by the relief payments provided for on behalf of the producers of another two protected articles—viz., *coffee* and *sisal*. Those products, indeed, will for a period of ten years be subjected to an import duty of 0.10 franc per kilo (ground or roasted coffee of 0.15 franc).

In the last two years the annual imports into France of coffee

of all origins totalled 170 million kilos, so that the revenues from this duty may be assumed to amount to 17 million francs. Of this total amount the French overseas possessions produce 5,370 tons, which means that coffee growing in those regions will receive support to an amount of somewhat over 3 francs per kilo, a subsidy which may be assumed to be about 65 per cent. of the market value of the article.

With reference to this, the fact should be borne in mind that the Netherlands East Indies have considerable interest in coffee-importation into France. In 1929 Netherlands India, with 20,000 tons, or 12 per cent. of the total imports, was, after Brazil, the most important country of origin of the coffee consumed in France. Of the whole Netherlands Indian coffee export of 83,000 tons, about 25 per cent. was shipped to that country. Netherlands Indian coffee, which, as far as competitive possibilities are concerned, is already at a disadvantage compared with the product of the French colonies, owing to the existing duty of 2.31 francs per kilo, from which the latter is exempted, will thus, as is to be foreseen, be still further pushed to the wall on the French market by the considerable premium now allowed to French producers.

For Netherlands Indian *sisal*, the French market is not of such great importance. Of the total imports of Agave fibre into France, amounting to 30,000 tons per annum, Netherlands India in 1929 only supplied 500 tons. Now that this product, which hitherto entered France free from duty, will likewise be subject to an import duty, which the trade in that article estimates at half the market value, the prospect that Netherlands India, whose total production of Agave fibre amounts to about 55,000 tons, might find a more extensive market for this article in France, is not bright.

The duty on manioca and tapioca is 15 centimes (30 centimes for manioca-meal) and 35 centimes per kilo respectively.

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This protectionist Bill, of a doubtless exceptional character, forms only the keystone to a *series of measures* devised by the French Government with the object of lifting the colonies out of the depression into which they have been plunged owing to the present extraordinary circumstances. Thus *loans* concluded by the mother-country will supply the necessary economic equipment to the colonies. The institution of a "Credit national" will support the colonial industries by means of medium-term *credits*. Another Government measure renders possible *advances* to the overseas agrarian enterprise from the "Caisse Nationale de Crédit agricole." And now, in addition, this Act has been promulgated,

with the object of *protecting* those Colonial *products* which are most in need of it.

Among the measures referred to, the granting of credits, such as that, for example, organized by a recent Decree for French West African agriculture, is also a novelty in the sphere of colonial legislation, and one which, with a view to the subject with which we are dealing, is quite worthy of a brief exposition. As early as 1926 a tentative step was made in that direction by the issue of an ordinance whereby—following the example of an Act of 1920 for the mother-country—the agrarian credit-system of French West Africa was organized on a co-operative basis. This ordinance, however, was never carried out, because the authorities realized that the group of colonies of which French West Africa was composed was not yet ripe for this form of support by private mutual credits.

Contrary to this system of 1926, with its local funds formed by the contribution of private participants, the new Decree stipulates for one central fund for each colony, which does not bear a private character, but is subject to public law. Whilst the first system provided exclusively for the smaller farmers, the advantages of the new regulation will also extend to the large agrarian companies, whose risks are so much greater.

The credits to be extended will be long-term credits, to a maximum of 250,000 francs per individual or company. A not too numerous commission will give advice concerning the applications. The Governor-General—who in this respect will have some liberty of action—will, according to necessity and the means available, fix the amounts to be advanced and the rate of interest. To a certain extent, to be determined by the Decree, the fund may also carry on banking business of another kind. The Decree furthermore stipulates how far existing Western and native agrarian organizations may also benefit by the advantages of the credit to be instituted. So much for this new form of governmental credit to agricultural enterprises who were dependent until now for their advances upon the private banks, which naturally entailed a lien on the crops.

What can only arouse surprise in other countries, however, is the fact that the policy of the French Government, that more especially comes to expression in the protection of the products described above, is scarcely compatible with the standpoint adopted by the same Government at the Economic Conference held at Geneva last spring, and which failed to yield any results. Of all the States which took part in that Conference it was France which—when measures were proposed of an indirectly protectionist nature, such as various veterinary measures, the granting of export premiums, etc.—raised the loudest objections.

The Act outlined above is clearly in opposition to such an attitude. In fact, when this import duty is paid to the French colonial industries interested, it will naturally have no other effect than that of an export duty, a measure which at the Conference the French so utterly condemned.

Besides, for the amount proposed as a temporary support to the colonies, both industry and consumers in the mother-country will alike be taxed. Here we have a vicious circle. This is, for example, very clearly demonstrated by the results of a similar example of British protection in the beginning of this year, according to the supplement of April 4, to the *Bulletin de l'Association des Intérêts Coloniaux Belges*.

The Government of Kenya had granted a subsidy of £108,000 to maize producers, who out of this amount received a premium of 2 shillings per bag exported. This subsidy was to be rendered possible by the levy of a duty on the maize consumed in the Protectorate. This, however, placed the producers of other crops, especially coffee and *sisal*, at a disadvantage. As the natives working on those estates receive daily rations of maize, the cost of production of coffee and *sisal* was so considerably increased that now the position of *those* planters had become critical, for which reason they in their turn had to be assisted with a credit of £155,000 to be distributed monthly in proportion to the areas planted.

It is, indeed, no matter for surprise that the French industries which work or trade colonial products, such as rubber and *sisal*, have raised a violent protest against these new duties. As mentioned above, the Government has so far reckoned with those protests in that it has considerably lowered the tariff—which in the very first draft was even proposed at 3 to 4 francs per kilo of raw rubber.

The time which has elapsed since the coming into force of this Act is too short to draw any conclusion with respect to the consequences which it is likely to have for the market for French colonial produce. Some time must elapse before it will be possible for a judgment to be formed on the subject. At all events, this form of protection is worthy of the attention of all who are interested in the pros and cons of Government support of colonial produce.

THE INNER EAST SECTION

(Conducted by W. E. D. ALLEN, M.P.)

SOVIET PRESS COMMENTS ON THE CAPTURE OF IBRAHIM BEY

THE Basmatchi movement in Turkestan, which has been going on intermittently for nearly fourteen years, has recently suffered a serious check in the capture of the famous leader, Ibrahim bey, by the Soviets. Does this event signify the definitive end of the movement, as Soviet opinion asserts, or is it only an episode in the struggle between the national elements of Turkestan and the Soviet Power? That is a question that only the future can answer. For the moment we must content ourselves with saying that, deprived of one of its best-known and ablest leaders, the movement must, of necessity, mark time, so far as extensive military operations are concerned.

Readers of the *Asiatic Review* are certainly acquainted with the broad lines of this movement. Far from being a "Pan-Islamic movement," as certain organs in the Soviet and European Press (and an article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*) appear to suggest, nor yet a simple affair of brigandage, pillage, or *razzia*—as the Soviet Press, employing the direct signification of this local word, attempts to show—the origins of the Basmatchi movement must be sought in far deeper causes, into which we do not intend to enter in the present article, but which can be summed up succinctly as follows: Ever since the advent of the Soviets it has borne the character of national force protesting under arms against the Soviet régime and aiming at the establishment of a local national Government.

The "Islamic" tendency with which, at a certain period, more especially at the time of Enver Pasha's *épopée*, the movement was apparently marked was nothing more than a utilitarian device for rallying the Muhammadan elements of Central Asia belonging to the various ethnical and national subdivisions; elements which, as it happened, had very different views as to the eventual political organization of this vast country when once it was freed from the Soviet yoke.

The assassination of Enver, who, owing to his capacities as a military administrator and to his influence over the masses, very

nearly succeeded in wresting this important strategical region from the Soviets, was the first blow that befell the movement. After this set-back the insurrection, deprived of its strategical bases in the interior of the country, was obliged to transfer its activities to the mountains and, above all, to abroad, from where Basmatchi detachments made raids from time to time into Soviet territory, and, in conjunction with insurrectionary bodies which had stayed behind in the country, carried on the struggle against the local authorities and the Red army.

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From 1929 onwards the movement received a certain impetus in the interior of the country, thanks, more especially, to the Soviet's cotton policy and to the forced collectivization of rural holdings. In the spring of 1929 it threatened to become once more a serious menace, and the Basmatchi incursion from over the frontier caused considerable trouble to the Soviet authorities. The Basmatchi movement developed in Turkestan in spite of the Draconian measures adopted by the Soviets by way of reprisals. From this moment onwards, with the exception of short periods of calm, the movement took on here, as well as in the Caucasus, the character of a true guerilla warfare with its sanguinary conflicts, its "militarized zones," and its villages, suspected of sympathizing with the insurgents, reduced to ruin by artillery fire and air raids.

But all these incidents, which were little in harmony with the "touching eagerness" of Uzbek, Turkmen, and Tajik peasants to participate in the order of "socialist emulation" for the "cotton freedom" of the Soviet Union; all this tragedy, in a word, which marks the repression by the Soviets of the insurrectionary movements in the "oppressed countries of the East," has passed, for the most part, unnoticed in the outside world.

Even the appearance of Ibrahim bey in Soviet territory at the head of Basmatchi detachments has been ignored. This event took place, according to reliable information in our possession, at the very moment when the Communist leaders from each of the Soviet "republics" of Central Asia were boasting, at the Congress of the respective Soviets, of the successes obtained on the various Bolshevik fronts—that is to say, about the beginning of spring. It is only on May 5 that one finds in the local Press, in the course of five columns devoted to a speech by Comrade Baouman—general secretary of the Central Committee of the party's bureau for Central Asia—on an entirely different subject (the "Press Day"), these few lines: "You have doubtless heard that the well-known Basmatchi leader, Ibrahim bey, made an incursion recently with his band into Tajikistan for the purpose of pillaging

the peasants and *kolkhoz*. Now Ibrahim bey's bands are wandering in isolated groups among the mountains of Tajikstan, where the only support they meet with is from class enemies—koulaks and beys. This former official of the Emir of Bukhara is isolated and subjected to constant attacks by the Red army, actively supported by the poor and moderately poor peasants of the Soviet republic of Tajikstan."

This statement, destined no doubt to reassure public opinion with regard to the extent of the movement, which was probably having a repercussion upon the masses, was the only one that appeared in the local Press until Ibrahim bey was captured.

It was only on July 2 that *Pravda Vostoka* of Tashkent, in a note on its first page, published the following official information, which was circulated by the Tass agency: "On June 22 the remaining bands which had crossed the frontier under the leadership of Ibrahim bey were annihilated by detachments of the Red army, actively supported by masses of Tajikstan peasants. Ibrahim bey's chief lieutenants, Ali Mardan Datko, Ishan Isakhan, etc., were captured. On June 23 the volunteer detachment of Mukum-Sultanof and the peasants of village Haji-Boul-Boulan, acting in concert with the members of the G.P.O.U., took Ibrahim bey prisoner, together with the two Basmatchis remaining with him, as they were in flight towards the frontier. Ibrahim bey has been sent to Tashkent."

The following day the local Press published under various headlines and flaming sub-headings an appeal from the Bureau of the Central Committee of Party. It is in this appeal, which alludes to the events once they belong to past history, that it is stated that the problems placed before the party, such as the struggle for the realization of the party's general lines of policy, for the Bolshevik seed-time, for the watchword of the "cotton liberation" of U.R.S.S., for the socialist reconstruction of rural economy, for the liquidation of the koulaks as a class on the basis of the completest collectivization, were solved in Tajikstan in particularly difficult circumstances."

"It was not the beys alone, the koulaks, or the landed proprietors who offered a determined resistance to socialist attacks, but the counter-revolutionary bands under Ibrahim bey which came from the other side of the frontier to lend their support in the struggle against the Soviet power." But by reason of the state of mind of the peasants and local workers—and this assertion is repeated in subsequent statements—"neither Ibrahim bey's bands nor the bey's counter-revolutionary organizations have received the slightest assistance from the peasants." "On the contrary," the appeal adds, "the kolkhozniks and the poor and moderately poor peasants of the villages of Tajikstan rose against

them in a body. . . .” “Under the party’s direction,” continues the appeal, “and with the active co-operation of the komsomols, thousands of Red detachments, composed of kolkhozniks and peasants, were formed, and valiantly fought against the Basmatchis. This mobilization of the peasant masses and the joint action of sections of the valiant army of workers and peasants, as well as that of the faithful guardian of the proletarian revolution’s conquests—the members of the G.P.O.U.—have brought about in a short space of time the complete defeat of Ibrahim bey’s counter-revolutionary bands. Even the capture of Ibrahim bey and the other chiefs of the Basmatchi movement was accomplished, thanks to the active co-operation of kolkhozniks and peasants from the villages of Soviet Tajikistan.”

It is easy to understand Soviet insistence on this point, for it is, above all, necessary to demonstrate the existence of a spirit of solidarity between the authorities and the population.

The appeal recommends, among other things, the elimination of all deviations toward the left in the party’s line of policy and the abstention from “any administrative pressure on the poor and moderately poor peasants.”

The appeal terminates with the following phrase, the sense of which is familiar to everyone: “The socialist state of Soviet Tajikistan has been, is, and will always be, an impregnable fortress of the Soviet East in the struggle against imperialism and for the final victory of socialism.”

In much the same sense M. Baouman spoke on July 4 and 5 at a conference attended by “active” members of the party at Tashkent, an account of which appeared in the local Press of July 12. “The class struggle in the spring of this year was marked by considerable activity. We have isolated in the most efficacious manner the class enemy, obtained new successes in the socialist offensive along the whole of the front, and achieved the union of the masses of the kolkhoz and of the poor and moderately poor peasants around the party’s directive lines of policy, around the watchword of cotton liberation. . . . We have been able to parry the attacks of koulaks, beys, and feudalists, and develop our offensive against them. Socialism in Central Asia joins battle; it is destroying not only the roots of capitalism, but the last vestiges of feudalism. It is worthy of note that during the course of this spring we have carried on a remorseless struggle against the Basmatchis; this struggle was waged with particular obstinacy in Tajikistan. Ibrahim bey, that notorious Basmatchi, that arrant enemy of our Soviet Union, the declared friend of the Emir of Bukhara, and aspirant to the despotic régime of Nicolas II., crossed our frontiers, and began to kill our kolkhoz peasants, our “actives,” our batraks, our poor peasants, and pillage the villages

and kolkhoz of Tajikistan. Our party and komsomol organizations realized that in war surroundings one must act as if war actually existed, and, after a brief hesitation and wavering in certain sections, mobilized rapidly and roused the laborious masses against the Basmatchis. They organized in the districts detachments of *Red wand-bearers*, who struggled actively (*sic*) against the bands of beys and Basmatchis. On the one side, the workers, the kolkhozniks, the poor and moderately poor peasants; on the other—Ibrahim bey, band leader, koulaks, and beys. It was our glorious army of workers and peasants which went to the aid of our young republic of Tajikistan and fought in a truly heroic manner. I employ the word 'heroic' not in the sense that the enemy was powerful, but in the sense that the local conditions of the struggle were extremely difficult—mountain ridges, precipices, valleys—and called for enormous efforts. A similar activity was displayed by the organ of the proletarian dictatorship, the faithful guardian of the conquests of the October revolution—the G.P.O.U. Thanks to the infallibility of the party's directive lines of policy, the masses of the kolkhoz and the peasants organized themselves against the Basmatchis and dealt them a fatal blow. At present, as you know, June 23 saw the capture of the leader of the Basmatchis—Ibrahim bey in person. His capture was the finishing touch to the Basmatchi stampede in Tajikistan."

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The principal Moscow newspapers, such as *Izvestia* and *Pravda*, made no comment on the event. Among the chief regional journals, it was *Zaria Vostoka*, of Tiflis, which accompanied the news of Ibrahim bey's capture with the following comments, which we give by way of documentation, and also with fresh shades of opinion which one gathers from the reflections of this important organ of the Soviet East.

The article begins with some information about the person of Ibrahim bey. "Leader of the Basmatchi movement, his name is well known to the peasantry of the Soviet republics of Central Asia. Before the revolution he was an officer in the Emir of Bukhara's army, but, being condemned to death for some crime or other, he fled, and since then at the head of Basmatchi bands has taken to brigandage."

The journal then goes on to explain after its fashion what the movement is. "The word 'Basmatchi' signifies brigand. But the movement has deeper social roots. It had its origin in the decrepitude of the system of primitive economy and in the ruin of the peasantry. In consequence it assumed the form of a sort of protest on the part of the peasantry against the exploiting classes (*sic*). When, however, it became a redoubtable force, the feudal

elements in Bukhara endeavoured to subjugate it. They won over the chiefs of the Basmatchi bands by bribery and incited them to rob the traders, with the object of transforming the Basmatchis into a social support in their struggle against commercial capital. The relations between Ibrahim bey and the lords of Lakai were at one time particularly close. After the 1920 revolution the Basmatchi movement was transformed into one of the most sinister counter-revolutionary forces. It was with its aid that the landed proprietors under the Emir of Bukhara, who was on exile in Afghanistan, attempted to oppose the Soviet power."

Returning to the Soviet leitmotiv, which is repeated so often at the slightest excuse, the Tiflis journal continues: "On its side British imperialism transformed the Basmatchi movement into an instrument of struggle against U.R.S.S. Profiting by the difficulties encountered by the Soviet power, and turning to their own advantage errors committed by the local Soviet authorities, as well as the obscurantism of the peasantry of Central Asia, British imperialism and Bukharan feudalists strove more than once to prevent the Soviets from installing themselves in the country. In 1923, when the Basmatchi movement, having definitely lost the co-operation of the peasants, was liquidated as a movement of the masses, the Basmatchi leaders transferred their base to the north of Afghanistan. It was from here that from time to time, acting under orders of the Imperialist Intelligence Service, they made raids upon Soviet territory. During the period which followed the revolution, Ibrahim bey took an active part in the struggle against the Soviet power, succeeding occasionally in rallying around him some Basmatchi detachments several thousands strong. Despite his former difficulties with the Emir of Bukhara, Ibrahim bey became one of his most faithful servitors. After Enver's adventure in 1922, when the Basmatchi movement spread so rapidly, Ibrahim bey was 'appointed' by the Emir 'Commander-in-Chief of all the armed forces of Islam (1923).' But this speculation on the peasantry's religious prejudices came to nothing, and Ibrahim bey's pan-Islamic aims were doomed to end in complete bankruptcy. . . . Ibrahim bey did not, however, disarm, but continued the struggle."

The Soviet journal, which regards all anti-Soviet movements among the oppressed population as the work of so-called "imperialists," ascribes great political importance to the capture of Ibrahim bey. "It is a serious blow to imperialist aims directed against the frontiers of the Central Asian Soviet republics. Only a few days ago French and English imperialist newspapers were following with evident emotion the doings of Ibrahim bey's bands on Soviet territory. They wrote that it would not be easy now for the Soviets to get the better of them. The *Dépêche*

Coloniale went so far as to say that he was a 'hero worthy that his name should remain glorified.' But Ibrahim bey's imperialist patrons counted without the peasantry of Central Asia; these same masses amongst which he formerly found adherents have now taken him prisoner."

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Thus Soviet comments tend, on the one hand, to show that the Basmatchi movement was supported and even inspired by "imperialists," and, on the other, that the local population itself took an active part in its suppression.

It is not beyond the range of probability—and the near future will show—whether the Soviet authorities will not extract the maximum political profit from the capture. Already the *Islah*, of Kaboul, publishes, in connection with Ibrahim bey's capture, the Tass agency's news, terminating with the following sentence:

"Thus the Basmatchi bands which had been making incursions from Afghanistan into the territories of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan were completely decimated and liquidated."

OBSERVER.

TARTAR PROLETARIAN WRITERS

BY JEYHOUN BEY HAJIBEYLI

I

IN the formidable upheaval which Bolshevism brought about in the life of the Russian people it is not without interest to follow the reaction of this change upon the ideas and conceptions of the Muhammadan peoples of the former Russian Empire, who, by their attachment to their traditions and to their religion, ought to constitute the most difficult barrier against all those extremist experiments, introduced, moreover, by foreign elements and in which they themselves took no initiative; at any rate, at the beginning of the Bolshevik movement.

Once the religious foundation, upon which the ethical life of the average Muhammadan is based, was shaken, the ulterior metamorphosis in the social and conscious existence of the Muhammadan peoples should have inevitably followed its course in a reality such as Bolshevism. In their intensive propaganda the Bolshevik leaders laid great stress on the importance of the theatre and of the national literature of the subjugated peoples as the best means of reaching the masses. Thus we see their efforts on behalf of the theatre, to develop, encourage, and even give it an expansion, though at the same time to control its tendency, place it under the strict supervision of the competent organs of the Communist party, introduce radical changes, and endow it with technical inventions, as well as subjects, reflecting the Marxist and Leninist point of view.

Similarly, the Bolsheviks exerted themselves to form a cadre of proletarian writers capable of devoting their talents to the vindication of Soviet efforts in "constructive socialism." But the art of writing is not a thing that anyone can acquire to order, and it is difficult to manufacture literary men in series, especially in the case of peoples amongst whom writers were not numerous. Thus the Communists had to content themselves, at first, with those whom they found to hand, endeavouring to influence them by various means, especially by the control they exercised over the fate of their works; the Press and publishing enterprises having become a State monopoly, the most celebrated writer was at the mercy of the Government. And as daily food is indispensable even for poets, all who persisted in their efforts to live by their pen were forced to take into account their new surroundings and the new tendencies which Bolshevik reality exacted.

Thus were formed the cadres of writers known as *popoutchikis* in the Bolshevik lexicon—that is to say, *road companions*—the association of persons who follow one and the same road *occasionally*. But the Bolsheviks, naturally, did not stop there. They began to form cadres of writers belonging to the party, to which the Soviet Government entrusted the task of writing on subjects reflecting the "new rhythms of constructive socialist life."

The old conceptions of art and literature began to be eliminated, and even poetry had to reject the old sentimental subjects of love and beauty in favour of the fashionable watchword—"Bolshevik rhythms." Poets were required to describe the new life, that of workshops and factories, of *kolkhozs* (collectivized estates), *sovkhos* (estates under common exploitation), etc. This form of literature began to inspire the new literary men, who, in order to make themselves the better acquainted with these "rhythms," set about studying them on the spot, mingling with the elements of which they were to become the enthusiastic apologists according to their prescribed tasks. . . .

Among the Muhammadan peoples, who, by reason of their geographical position and historic destiny, are obliged to follow closely these transformations from top to bottom, are the Tartars of Kazan and Edil (Volga), who are at the head of their confrères and co-religionists under Russo-Soviet domination. Living intermingled with Russians for more than five centuries and forced more than any other people to submit to the policy of Russification, the Tartars have, nevertheless, succeeded in preserving intact their nationality, their religion, and their language (although there are a number of Russian words in the Tartar popular vocabulary, it is true that the inverse is equally to be noted), thanks to this religious basis and the conservative spirit and love of tradition which characterize Muhammadan people generally. The Bolshevik onslaught is beginning to weaken this mass, divided, as it is, by the new masters of Russia for the purposes of domination, into two parts: the autonomous republics of Tataristan and of Bashkiristan, surrounded, however, by important Russian elements which constitute 43 per cent. in the former and 40 per cent. in the latter. Thus the aspect of their contemporary life resembles that of the Russian population, which is itself subjected to Bolshevik experiments.

The literary domain constitutes one of the most curious specimens of the overthrow of the old régime. Proletarian ideology, according to the Soviet Press, is gaining, not only ground, but even the hegemony of Tartar literature. Workers, *oudarniki* (shock-workers—the best, the most advanced, and the most zealous), literary circles connected with workshops and factories, *kolkhoz* youth pursuing their studies in the high schools—all these elements form the new cadres of Tartar proletarian writers.

As a matter of fact, there are in existence at Kazan four groups of Tartar writers and poets. The first is the group of the older writers, the *popoutchikis*, whose ranks are diminishing rapidly (there are not more than eighteen in all today)—more or less suspect in the eyes of the new Soviet society.

The second is the "Tartar Association of Proletarian Writers" (TAPP, in abbreviation). This is the most important group formed of young writers and numbering some sixty members, to whom must be added nearly four hundred apprentices recruited among the working-class youth. It is this group which constitutes the "quintessence" of the new Bolshevik literature, which is subjected to different rules, forms, and methods from those in use in "bourgeois and capitalist" countries. It is, above all, a group of the urban proletariat, whereas the third embraces the Association of Proletarian Writers belonging to the *kolkhoz* of Tataristan. Finally, the fourth group consists of military writers known as the LOKAF ("Literary Union of the Red Army and Fleet").

At the present moment another association is in process of formation under the title of FOST ("Federative Association of Soviet Writers of Tataristan").

Contemporary Tartar literature is concentrated, for the most part, on periodical publications, such as the bi-monthly review *Ataka*, intended for working-class readers, and the newspaper *Proletarian Literature*, published by the Tartar Association of Proletarian Writers (group 2). The third group has no organ of its own, but contributes to two reviews—the *Kolkhoz* and the *Kolkhoz Youth*.

Lastly, the LOKAF publishes a page every day in the *Red Soldier* and issues from time to time almanacks devoted to *belles-lettres*.

The first group has a monthly organ called *Yanalif* ("The New Alphabet").

Such is the environment of these new writers. We will endeavour, with the help of information provided by the local Press, to give some idea of the persons of these writers, the nature of their work, and the manner in which they envisage their task as proletarian writers.

(To be continued.)

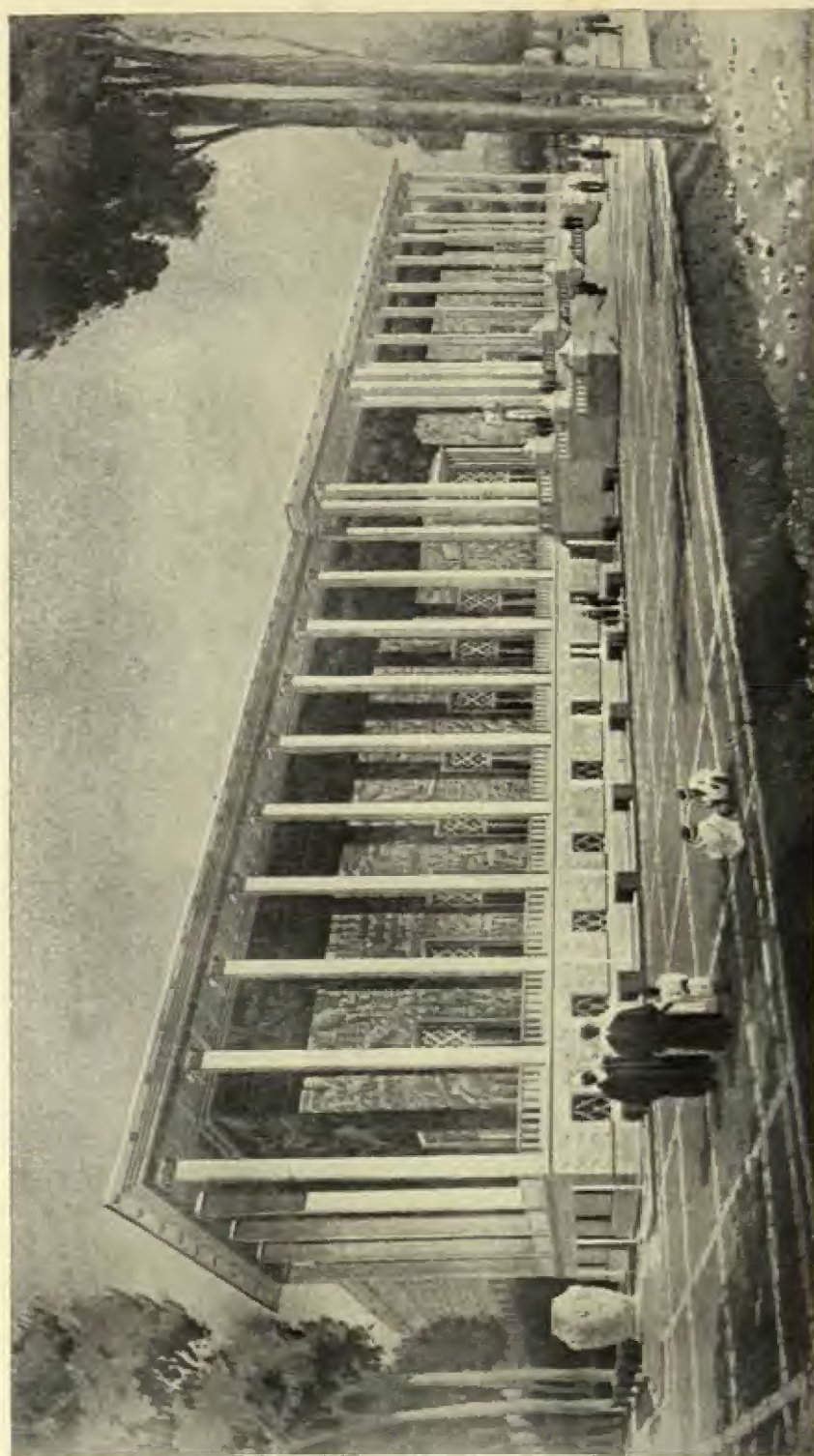


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INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL EXHIBITION (PARIS, 1931)
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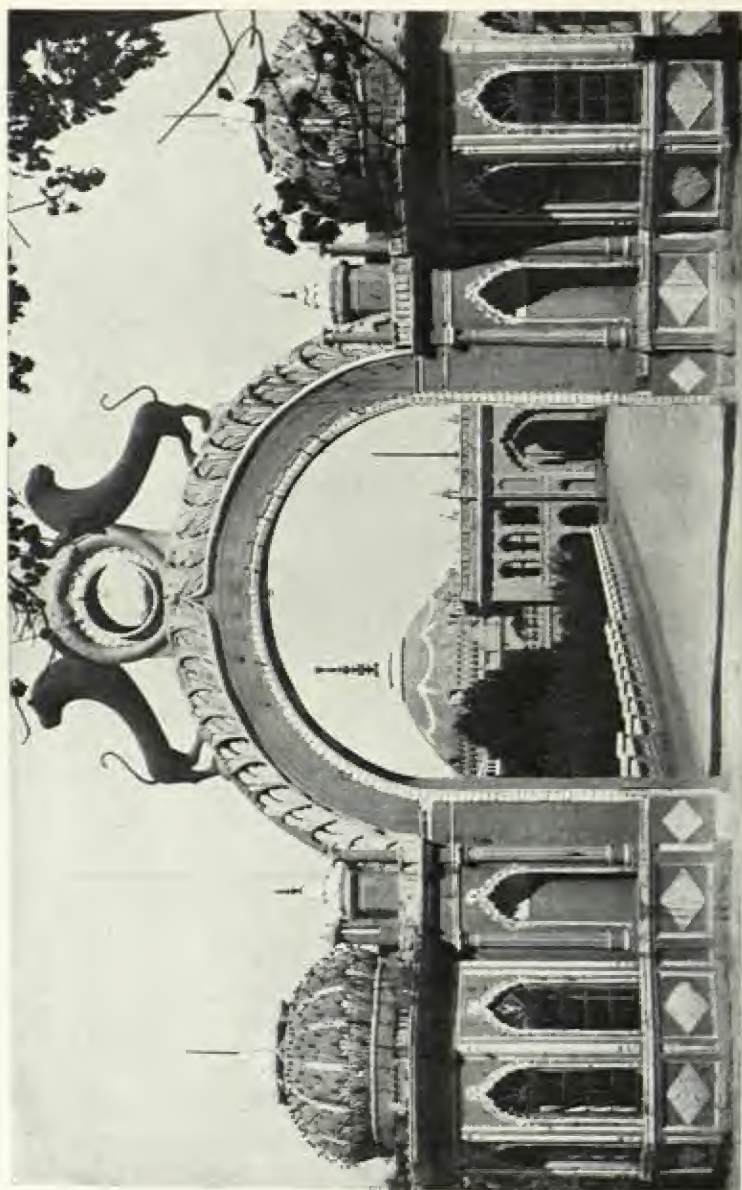
KALIMPONG: A GLIMPSE OF KICHINJUNGA

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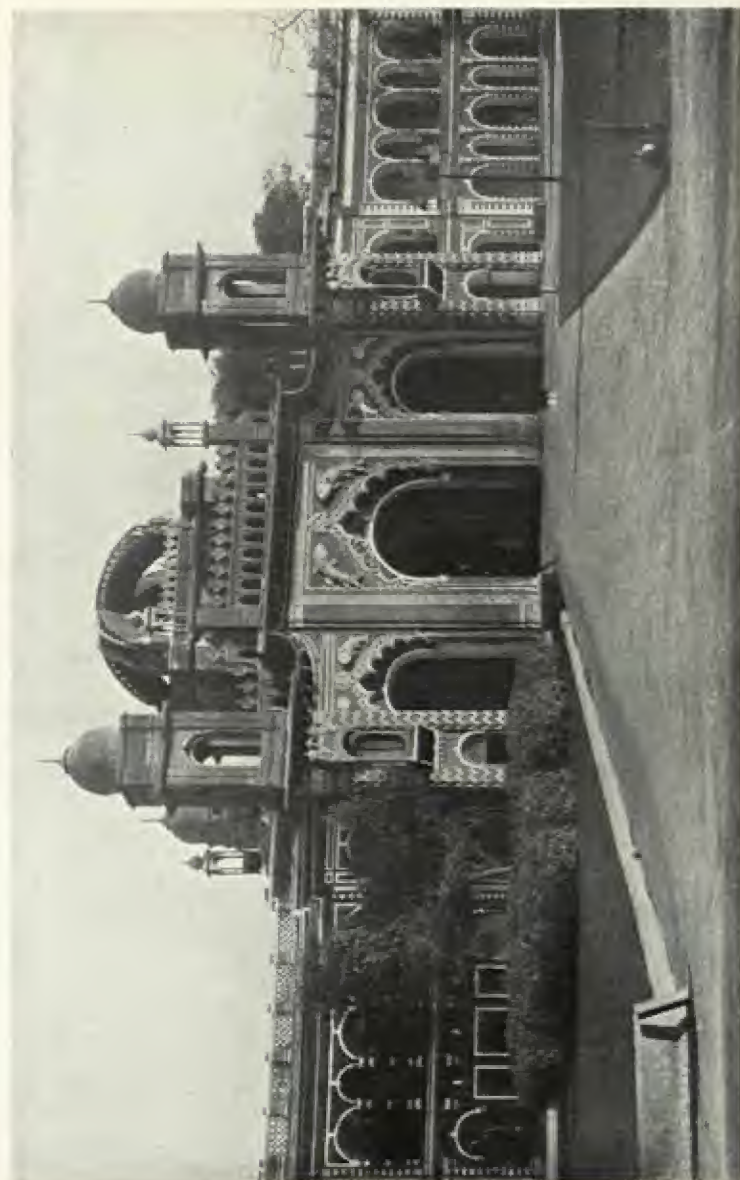
TINAKARIA LOOP, DARJEELING-HIMALAYAN RAILWAY

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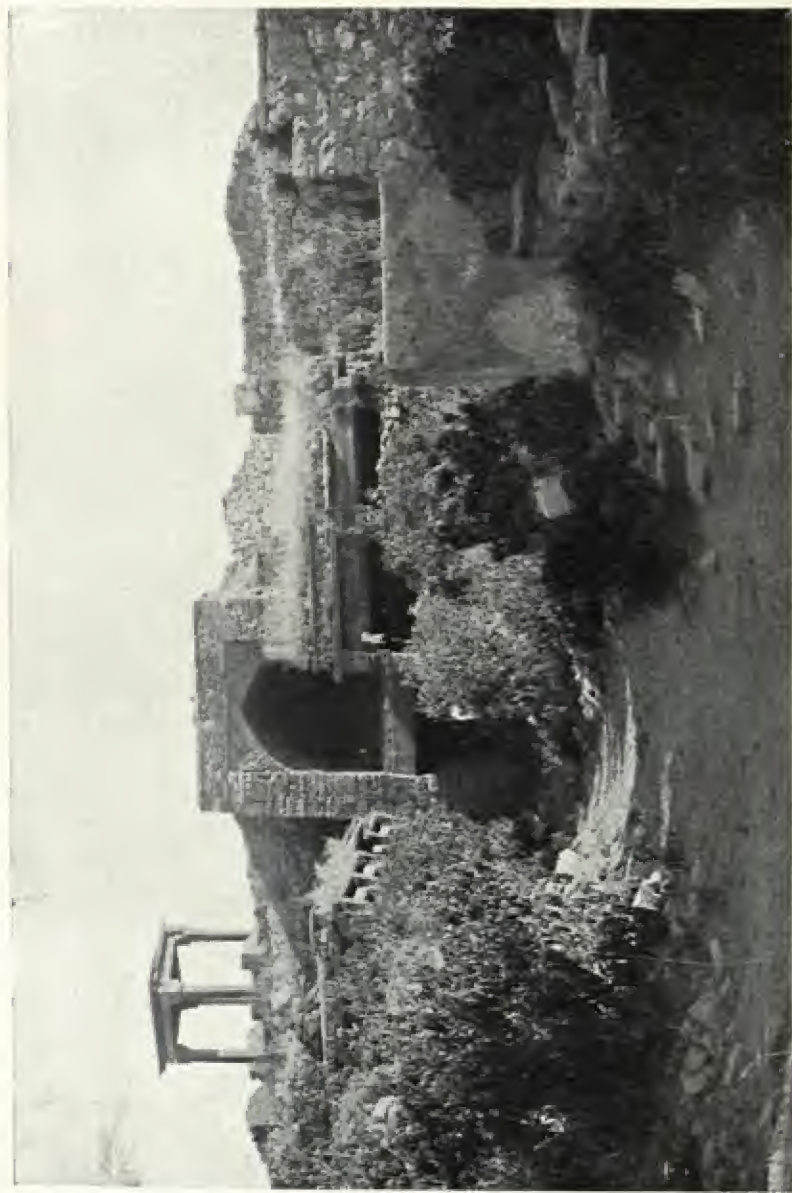
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MAIN GATE OF HAVANA FORT (RAJPUTANA) : A PRE-MUSLIM BUILDING

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OLD FORT, BAYANA, WITH LAT IN BACKGROUND

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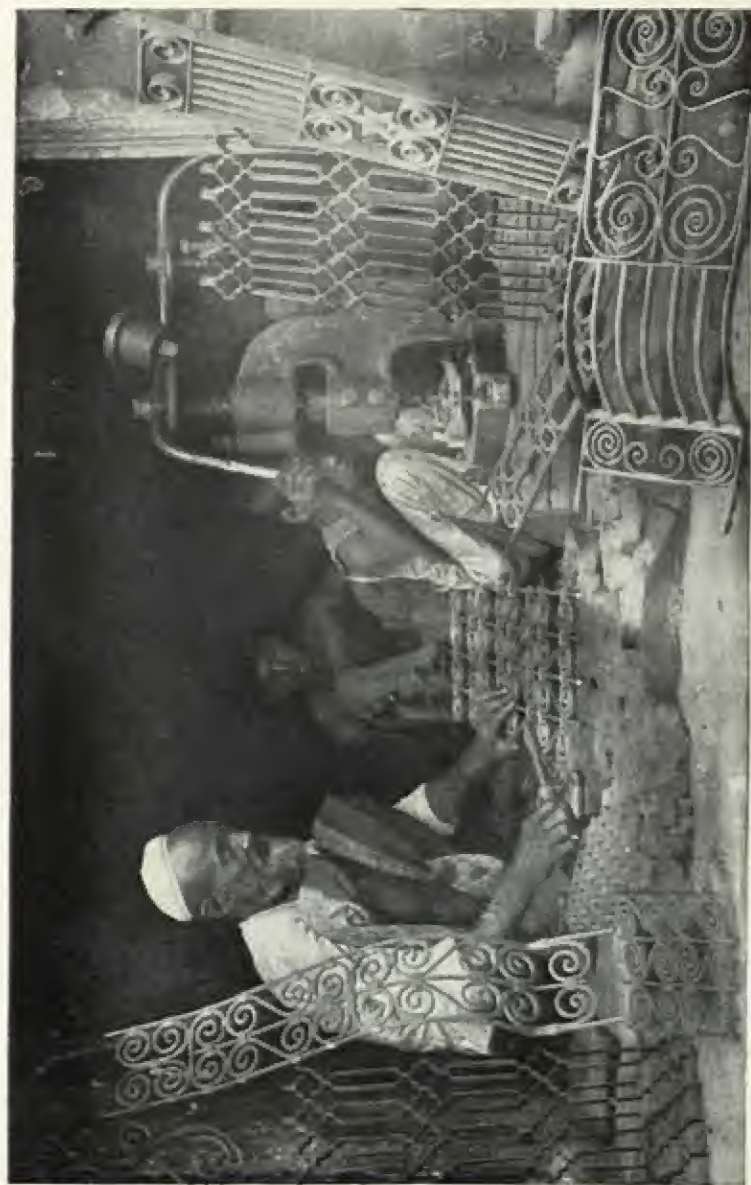


RAJPUTANA SHRINE : IMAGE OF 54-HANDED GODDESS



IMAGE OF ADIPALA IN KUNDA

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MOULDING AND MAKING IRON RAILINGS

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INDIAN MACHINE-MADE COTTON THREAD



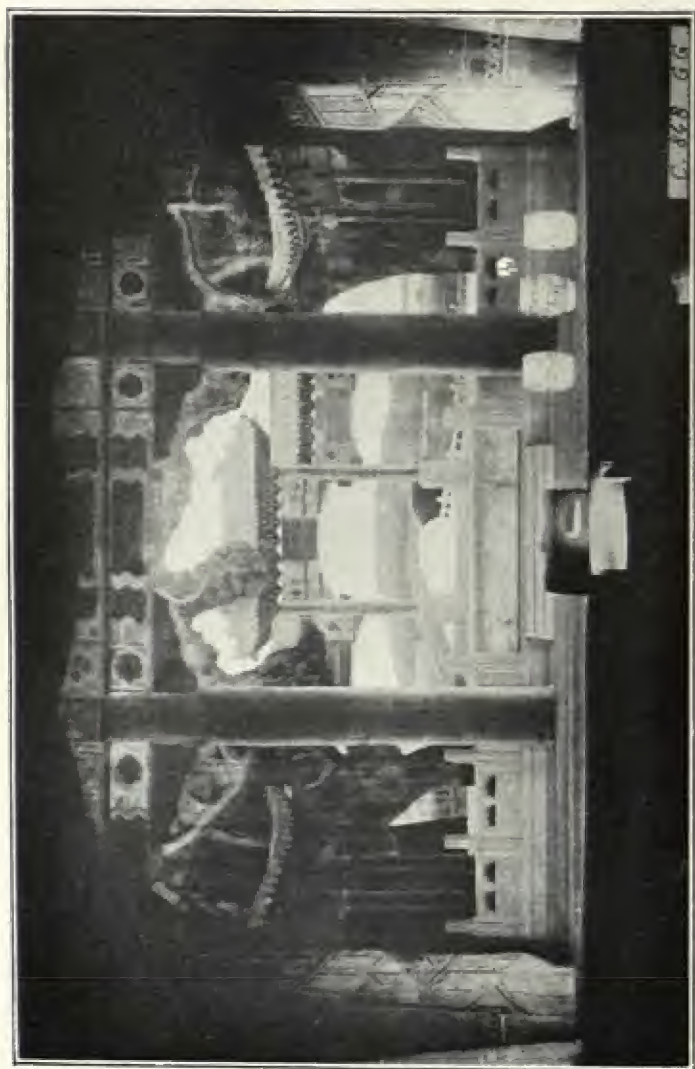
CLAY POTTERY WORKS

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PLOUGHING IN INDOCHINA

By courtesy of the Agence Économique de l'Indochine.



ÉCOLE DES BEAUX ARTS, HANOI, INDOCHINA

Scene painted by students for the 9th act of "Princess Thurandot."

By courtesy of the Agence Économique de l'Indochine.



SCHOOL OF MECHANICS, SAIGON, INDOCHINA

By courtesy of the Agence Economique de l'Indochine.



SCHOOL AT BIEN HOA, INDOCHINA

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HANDICRAFT SCHOOL OF VIENTIANE, INDOCHINA

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TORU DUTT

æet. 13

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THE CLASSICAL TRADITION IN TORU DUTT'S POETRY

BY HARIHAR DAS

THE literary achievements of Toru Dutt have already received adequate recognition from the world of letters, for, as Sir Edmund Gosse truly remarked, "her name at least is no longer unfamiliar in the ear of any well-read man or woman." She was one of the greatest intellectual treasures of India, and her life and work have won an abiding place in the affections of her countrymen. We do not propose to give in this paper either a biographical sketch of Toru Dutt or a detailed critical analysis of all her contributions to literature, for which the reader may be referred to her *Life and Letters*.^{*} There is room, however, for a further appreciation of her passionate love for Indian classical literature and its themes as depicted in *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan*.[†] It is impossible to read that volume without visualizing the affinity, discovered and established long ago, between the two great classical languages of Europe, the parents of many of its modern languages, and the great classical language of India, to which many of her modern vernaculars owe their origin. With the passage of time proceeded the gradual unfolding of the affinity between the classical literatures of ancient Europe and those of ancient India. Both the ancient Epics of Hindustan, like the ancient Epics of Europe, contained many episodes in Song and Legend that gave birth to the lyrical literatures of those two continents. In both, these episodes preserved in writing what had, before the epic ages, been handed down orally by successive generations of bards and minstrels. It is from these writings that lyrical poets, in both East and West, have found the sources of their inspiration, and have given it expression in language of delicate sentiment and fervid emotion. One of these later poets was Toru Dutt in India.

Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan, in the judgment of competent critics, is her best work in English. It shows how

^{*} Published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. net.

[†] The book was first published by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., in 1882, and printed at the Chiswick Press. Owing to its popularity, it passed through several reprints, the latest in 1927. Another edition of *Ancient Ballads*, etc., was published three years ago by Kalidas and Co., and printed at the Huxley Press, 27, Linga Chetty Street, Madras. This edition bears no date, and the publisher has omitted Sir Edmund Gosse's "Introductory Memoir." A "Publisher's Note" appended to this volume has no literary value.

Toru's intellect, while thoroughly assimilating the spirit of French and English literature, found eventually its truest expression in Sanskrit literature: and this was the final phase in the evolution of the mind of this sensitive, intensely Indian poetess. This work was the result of a year's study of Sanskrit with her father after the return of the family from Europe, but unfortunately this study was interrupted and finally abandoned owing to her failing health. Toru's intellectual studies were therefore confined to the latter years of her brief span of life on earth—she died before the age of twenty-two—and, considering this, her literary output was remarkable. If only her Sanskrit studies had been perfected, she would have bequeathed a greater heritage to Indian thought and literature. The stories in the *Ballads and Legends* are derived from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, the two great Indian epics, and from the *Vishnu Purana*, which also contains many legends of kings and sages. These classics embody the highest ideals of culture and civilization in ancient India. The works of Sir Edwin Arnold and Sir Alfred Lyall created interest in and enthusiasm for the mysterious East in the minds of Western readers, through the medium of English verse; but it seems prophetic that Toru Dutt should have been the first of her sex to interpret the Soul of India to the West, and, as Mr. T. O. D. Dunn has pointed out, she has "struck a genuinely Indian note that reveals the sincerity of a mind proud of the intellectual traditions of its native land."^{*}

As a distinguished Indian educationist, Principal Seshadri, remarks:† "In her *Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* she has successfully striven to interpret the spirit of the East to the West. . . . The lays are steeped in Hindu sentiments, and breathe throughout the spirit of Hindu tradition, and Hindu thought. Her poetry is essentially of her race and her country." Possibly such a verdict, coming, as it does, from one of her own race, may be held to counterbalance the opinion of the English critic,‡ who says: "The poems, often faultless as they are in technical execution, sometimes the verse, as Mr. Gosse truly says, being exquisite to a hypercritical ear, can never take an abiding place in the history of English or Indian literature. The old ballads

* See p. xxv of *The Bengali Book of English Verse*, Longmans, Green and Co., 1918.

† In his brochure on Toru Dutt (published by G. A. Nateson and Co., Madras) Principal Seshadri was in error in stating that Dr. Richard Garnett had included "some of her *Ballads and Legends* in the volume of *Hindu Poetry in the World's Classics*." There is no such volume. It is true, however, that Dr. Garnett selected two poems from *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields*; these were published in a volume of *The International Library of Famous Literature*.

‡ R. W. Frazer in *Literary History of India*, see p. 432; published by T. Fisher Unwin, 1898.

and legends have lost all their plaintive cadence, all the natural charm they bore when wrapped round with the full sounding music of the Sanskrit, or, in what lay ready to the hands of the poetess, her own classical Bengali.

"The imagery, the scenery has even lost its own Oriental colour and profusion of ornamentation. The warmth of expression and sentiment has of necessity been toned down by the very use of a language which, even had it been plastic in the hands of Toru Dutt, could never have afforded her the delicate touch and colour which she found in the French."

Doctors, we see, disagree, and we leave the reader to form his own opinion as to the justice of their verdicts, when he has followed the detailed examination of each poem. In the meantime, we quote another critic, whose name is well known in India for his sympathetic attitude towards all that is best in Indian life and thought, Mr. C. F. Andrews, who wrote: "Just as Greek and Roman poetry have become the classics of Christian Europe, and have not been put under a ban because pagan mythology is mingled with them, so the ancient Sanskrit literature of India will always remain the classics of the land, and its stories will be cherished in future ages by Christians. To Toru Dutt such an assimilation of the best life of India to Christianity came as a natural instinct. Her passionate love for the traditions of her country, inherited from her mother, in no way militated against her Christian faith. . . .

"At a time when the name of Bengal was held in low esteem in Europe, Toru Dutt raised it high among the nations of the West. In days when Bengalis were losing heart and despairing of themselves and their country, she turned deliberately from the paths of foreign song to write of the glories of her own dear motherland."*

We will now consider the two earliest poems in the book, entitled "The Legend of Dhruva" and "The Royal Ascetic and the Hind," as they were published during her lifetime in the *Bengal Magazine* and in the *Calcutta Review* respectively. They have a certain unity and continuity with the rest because of their religious note. The book contains also various other English poems which were found among the poetess's papers after her death.

"The Legend of Dhruva" relates the story of how a boy, a prince, the son of a less favoured queen, scorned the position of worldly power and glory for the sake of acquiring spiritual greatness. As the poem stands, it is a picture of Dhruva—an ambitious, indignant child, anxious to win his father's love. Suruchee, the favourite Queen, is jealous of anybody interfering with the

* See pp. 221-222 of *The Renaissance in India*, London, 1912.

King's fondness for her own son, Uttama, and sweeping one day into the hall

"With stately step—aye, every inch a queen,"

seeing Dhruva sharing the King's attention with her son, bursts into fierce invective. She had already divined the boy's purpose from his attitude, and bids him relinquish his proud ambition. What right had he, the son of another woman, to aspire to a place beside the son of proud Suruchee? Trembling with rage and indignation, poor Dhruva ran to his mother's rooms where,

"With a swelling heart
Repeated to his mother every word
That proud Suruchee spake, from first to last,
Even in the very presence of the King."

Suneetee, as she listened, sighed deeply, and endeavoured to console her son, explaining the Hindu doctrine of *Karma*:

"The deeds that thou hast done,
The evil, haply, in some former life,
Long, long ago, who may, alas! annul,
Or who the good works not done, supplement!
The sins of previous lives must bear their fruit.
The ivory throne, the umbrella of gold,
The best steed, and the royal elephant
Rich caparisoned, must be his by right
Who has deserved them by his virtuous acts
In times long past. Oh, think on this, my son,
And be content."

She again tried to comfort her son by holding out to him the prospect of future rewards if he lived his present life well, exhorting him to amass a harvest of good deeds, and spend his life in doing good to man and beast alike. Finally she urged,

"And oh, be humble, for on modest worth
Descends prosperity."

Dhruva, however, still smarting from the repulse of his love, "that timidly approached to worship," found no consolation in her words. Far from choosing humility as his goal, he declared to her his unalterable resolve:

"The highest good, the loftiest place to win,
Which the whole world deems priceless and desires."

By his own unaided efforts, utterly independent of such things as high birth or wealth, he meant to win himself a place

"Far, far above the highest of this earth."

So saying, Dhruva left his father's house, never to return, and went to dwell among the hermits of the wood, setting himself to work out the destiny he had outlined for himself:

"Well kept the boy his promise made that day!
By prayer and penance Dhruva gained at last
The highest heavens, and there he shines a star!
Nightly men see him in the firmament."

Whilst "The Legend of Dhruva" is a record of complete success in the life of asceticism, "The Royal Ascetic and the Hind" is the story of a failure. It described a typical instance of piety on the part of King Bharat, who without a pang of regret laid aside all his royal pomp to embrace the life of an ascetic. He prepared himself by devoting more and more time to the practices of religion and "stern devotions," until one day he quietly left his palace, and

"Changed his sceptre for a hermit's staff,
And with ascetic rites, privations rude,
And constant prayers, endeavoured to attain
Perfect dominion on his soul."

Then a change gradually came over his soul, because love for a little fawn he had rescued from death so weaned him from his devotions that he could think of nothing else, and even years after, when his end was approaching, Bharat's mind was filled with anguish at leaving his little favourite, rather than on the problem of Death and the Unknown which was even then confronting him:

"To it devoted was his last, last thought,
Reckless of present and of future both!"

The poem ends with a spirited, if mistaken, defence of the hermit-King's conduct on the part of the authoress, and a condemnation of the ideal of asceticism.

Both these earlier poems are written in blank verse, and it is unfortunate that Toru Dutt should have chosen this as her medium for her first translations into English verse. It was a natural choice, however, and one not without precedents in English. Blank verse in the hands of a master such as Shakespeare, or Milton, is at once the most splendid and flexible of instruments. Novices are tempted to handle it because of its apparent freedom from restraint, in that it dispenses with rhyme. Nevertheless, in the hands of the unskilled, blank verse can develop a monotony and colourlessness beyond that of almost any other metre. Considering how little practice Toru Dutt had had in English versifying, her handling of blank verse in these two poems is remarkable. The verse runs as a rule fluently and gracefully, though the reader is sometimes pulled up before a line rebellious as the following, which refuses absolutely to come under the discipline of scansion:

"My resolve unchangeable. I shall try."

It is, however, not merely in the form, but in the spirit of

these early poems that Toru Dutt fails. "The Legend of Dhruva" fails because of the way in which it is represented to us. The impression left on our minds should be one of admiration for a boy, who, wise beyond his years, saw that the only thing that really counted was not place or power, but holiness of life. Instead, we are left in a state of moral perplexity, because the child's determination to avenge the slight from which he suffered by gaining a higher place in the world's esteem than was occupied by either his father or his brother, is to be carried out "by prayer and penance." Strange means these for so worldly an ambition as revenge! The poem, in fact, is a failure because the authoress has failed to keep in line with both the present and the past, but, apparently, has isolated the past, and thereby induced a wrong impression in the minds of her readers.

Strange to say, the fault in "The Royal Ascetic and the Hind" arises from the very opposite attitude. In this the authoress is altogether modern, and out of line with the past. So far is she carried away by her own views that she forgets altogether that she is ostensibly relating an old legend, and that is her main purpose, and, instead, she uses it (and, we cannot help feeling, she does it with great relish) as the text for her sermon. The old pandit's story, meant, as it was, to instil into a disciple's mind the pathos and the tragedy of failure in the narrow, difficult road to self-conquest, is disapproved of and reinterpreted out of all recognition.

The dialogue form of the original has been maintained to very little purpose, and adds still further confusion, artistically, to the poem.

We pass on now to a consideration of the story of Savitri, which never fails in its appeal to the heart of India. The constancy of the heroine, her purity, and her extraordinary devotion to her husband Satyavan are still considered as the highest standard of conjugal love today. It is one of the most beautiful legends in the Mahabharata, for it describes in moving and impassioned language the persistence with which Savitri pleads with Death to restore her husband's life, and her unfailing love is sufficient to overcome all obstacles. Throughout the poem one is conscious of the deep enthusiasm for the subject in the mind of Toru Dutt, and it is with breathless anxiety that the reader anticipates the final victory of Savitri.

Savitri was the only child of the King of Madra, who lived in "those far-off primeval days" of Indian history when women were not "pent in closed zenanas." Beautiful of face and form, sunny and sweet of nature, like the maid of Browning's "Pippa Passes," her presence rested like a benediction wherever she passed. The child of many prayers,

"Made morning, night, and noon
With many a vigil, many a fast."

To her parents she seemed, indeed, a perfect gift with "a nature pure as snow," and a face wherein

"The good
God's purity there loved to trace,
Mirrored in dawning womanhood."

As Savitri grew up towards womanhood, her father anxiously pondered the question of her marriage, but could think of no "fitting mate for one so pure." He yielded at last to his wife's advice to let the matter rest. God would perhaps guide Savitri to make the right choice for herself.

Months later, as Savitri went through the cornfields on her way to the hermitage, she saw some youths at their games:

"And one among them tall and lithe,
Royal in port—on whom the years
Consenting, shed a grace so blithe,
So frank and noble, that the eye
Was loth to quit that sun-browned face."

Savitri's choice was made.

"Their eyes just met—Savitri past
Into the friendly Muni's hut,
Her heart-rose opened had at last."

The youth's name was Satyavan, son of Dyoumatsen, the former King of Salva, who had been deposed by his enemies, and now, old and blind, lived with his queen and only son, as a hermit.

As Savitri went home, the joy of her new-born love seemed to shed a radiance hitherto unnoticed on all familiar objects. Her new feelings were quickly confided to her mother, and not long after this, there came to the palace the famous Muni, Narad:

"The sun's, the moon's, the planets' birth
Was not to him a mystery."

Savitri's father explained to the Muni his own perplexity concerning the wisdom of his daughter's choice. To his dismay the Muni became strangely troubled, and after repeated urgings he declared that Satyavan was doomed to die within a year's time. He tried to persuade Savitri to choose another husband, which she steadfastly refused to do, and with grave dignity declared:

"Once, and once only, have I given
My heart and faith—'tis past recall."

If Fate had allotted to her "the miseries of a widow's life," nothing would alter the decree. Her duty was plain:

"The Right must be our guiding star;
Duty our watchword, come what may."

Narad gave way and consented to the marriage, which was celebrated with great rejoicings and pomp. The wedded pair set out on their journey to their future home, where Savitri was graciously received by the blind King Dyoumatsen and his queen at the hermitage. Months of quiet happiness now followed in the fulfilment of all her homely duties; but locked away in Savitri's heart, like some grim skeleton in the cupboard, was the remembrance of Narad's prophecy. She could not share the dreadful secret with another, but took refuge in a more earnest faith in the gods who answer prayer.

The fateful day at last arrived, the day that had been predicted for Satyavan's death. As the hours passed by a faint hope rose in Savitri's breast that, after all, her prayers might be answered. Suddenly, however, her husband announced his intention of going into the woods to gather fruit and fuel, and a strange foreboding impelled her to follow him. In cutting the branches of a tree, the axe suddenly fell from his hand, and he cried out in pain. With wonderful calmness Savitri supported her dying husband, and hour after hour they remained there looking "like statues, magic-bound." Meanwhile, there was consternation in the court of Death, for Prince Satyavan had not yet arrived. The emissaries of Death could not accomplish their mission, for Satyavan was protected by one whose loveliness prevented the approach of any "soul of evil." Death therefore declared that the decrees of Fate must be carried out, and he himself departed to fulfil the mission. When Savitri saw the dread form of Death appear she rose and enquired his errand. Death then revealed himself and departed with Satyavan's soul. Savitri also followed, heedless of Death's warning to carry out the funeral rites and sacrifices enjoined by the sacred writings. Then followed the marvellous dialogue between Death and Savitri, who, with touching Faith, reiterated her belief in his power to release her husband from the bonds of Fate. Death was so moved by her words that he bade her ask for other favours which were freely granted. As a final favour, Savitri begged to be allowed to travel in the company of Death, and, as a proof of her goodness and purity, he promised to grant her one more boon, without any exception. Savitri joyfully recognized that this might be the supreme answer to her prayer, and boldly requested

"Let my Satyavan live again
And children unto us be born,
Wise, brave and valiant."

Death then unloosed the soul of Satyavan and, with a final blessing, "vanished in a flame," while Savitri sped quickly back to where Satyavan's body lay, knelt down, and restored his soul. She watched him coming back to life

"As one awaking from a sleep,
Wholly bewildered and amazed."

They then made their way slowly to the hermitage, where they received a joyful welcome from their parents. All that Death had promised came to pass. As for Savitri herself, she lives on in the hearts of the people of India, for

"To this day
Her name is named, when couples wed,
And to the bride the parents say,
Be thou like her, in heart and head."

Poetically, the poem is a great advance on its predecessors. Savitri's speeches abound in fine, dignified passages which seem to augur great future possibilities in the development of Toru Dutt's genius. Quotation is difficult where the average is so high, and we must content ourselves with one such specimen. This is Savitri's reply to her father, when he tried to dissuade her from persisting in her choice of Satyavan:

"Once, and once only, so 'tis writ,
Shall woman pledge her faith and hand;
Once, and once only, can a sire
Unto his well-loved daughter say,
In presence of the witness fire,
I give thee to this man away.
Once, and once only, have I given
My heart and faith—'tis past recall;
With conscience none have ever striven,
And none may strive, without a fall.
Not the less solemn was my vow
Because unheard, and oh! the sin
Will not be less, if I should now
Deny the feeling felt within."

Toru Dutt's phrase that Satyavan's soul was "no bigger than the human thumb," though a common one in Sanskrit, is a crude expression in English. The tendencies of English literature are all towards vagueness in description of what is greater than the mere human. Milton's description of the size of Satan in *Paradise Lost*, and the famous

"What seem'd his head
The likeness of a Kingly Crown had on,"

are classical instances of this. To the English reader, then, these minute descriptions of the size of the soul, and the idea, too, of Death's drawing it out with a noose of string, convey an impression of incongruity if not actually of the ludicrous.

The nature descriptions are often beautiful, although maybe a little artificial. The most ambitious description perhaps, and one which is typical of Toru Dutt's delicate touch, is the following:

"Oh, lovely are the woods at dawn,
 And lovely in the sultry noon,
 But loveliest, when the sun withdrawn,
 The twilight and a crescent moon
 Change all asperities of shape,
 And tone all colours softly down,
 With a blue veil of silvered crape."

The poem is not without its faults, beautiful as is the general effect. Some of these arise from the authoress's youth and inexperience. Although perfectly correct in the original, it is a mistake in English, for instance, to institute so close a connection between Brahmins and birds as is done in the following lines:

"Savitri, who with fervid zeal
 Had said her orisons sublime,
 And fed the *Bramins and the birds*."

Toru Dutt is occasionally guilty of mannerisms, in the repetition of a word to fill up the requisite number of syllables in a line. The following are instances:

"It was that *fatal, fatal* speech."
 "A gleam of *faint, faint* hope is born."
 "*Pale, pale* the stars above them burned."
 "The day *long, long* will not appear."

On the whole, however, it must be confessed that Toru Dutt has chosen her metre (the octo-syllabic rhyming quatrain) well, and has managed it with great ability. "Savitri" is a long poem, but it is free from monotony, which is a remarkable achievement.

Dr. Washburn Hopkins, of Yale University, in his book, *Legends of India*, has included the story of Savitri as the "Sunmaid." The themes are partly taken from the *Mahabharata*, chiefly from ancient tales told by ethical or religious teachers. The book is a continuation of a similar work which Toru Dutt herself originally conceived. A review in *The Times Literary Supplement* for September 26, 1929, compared the poetical skill of Toru Dutt not unfavourably with that of Dr. Hopkins' rendering of these legends. It is evident that Dr. Hopkins' version of the "Sunmaid" is a succinct and effective presentation of the Indian ideals embodied in the poem. He has introduced an epic grandeur and sublimity into the narrative, but evinces the lack of those creative qualities which are so conspicuous in Toru Dutt's version of "Savitri." While Dr. Hopkins is a truer interpreter of the characters in the story, and has balanced them with discrimination, Toru Dutt, despite her lapses, has produced a more enjoyable narrative.

From "Savitri," we turn to "Lakshman," which is in the form of a conversation between Sita, the wife of Rama, and Lakshman, Rama's brother. Rama had incurred the wrath of

the strange monsters of the forest, the Rakshasas, by refusing the advances of the sister of one of their chiefs. To avenge her wrong, (for she had also been mutilated by Lakshman) one of their number, Maricha by name, assumed the guise of a beautiful golden deer, which came roaming about the hermitage where Sita, Rama, and Lakshman dwelt. Struck by the beauty of the deer, Sita begged Rama to get it for her, and in spite of Lakshman's forebodings—for he suspected it to be Maricha in disguise—Rama went off in pursuit, leaving his wife in Lakshman's charge, with strict injunctions not to leave her. Lakshman's suspicions proved correct. Rama, after a long pursuit of the elusive deer, at last let fly an arrow which pierced it to the heart. With one terrific bound, the creature sprang into the air, then fell to the ground roaring terribly, and assumed its natural form as Maricha, as it lay dying. In death, however, revenge was not forgotten, and, remembering the injunctions of Ravana, the demon King of Ceylon, who desired to carry off Sita, Maricha began to imitate Rama's voice, crying out as if in mortal anguish: "Oh, Sita! Oh, Lakshman!" It is at this point that the poem which we are considering opens. Sita has heard the cry, and is urging Lakshman to go to her husband's aid.

In an agony of apprehension, she imagines him overpowered by his foes, perhaps even now struggling in the last throes of death. She upbraids Lakshman for standing as if deep in thought, when he should be girding on his sword and speeding to the rescue. At his continued silence and inaction, she cries:

"Swift in decision, prompt in deed,
Brave unto rashness, can this be
The man to whom all looked at need?
Is it my brother, that I see!"

Her wild words are met at last by stern reproof of her doubts of her husband's might, and the exhortation:

"Wipe off for shame that dastard tear!"

The lion and bear, says Lakshman, shrink away in fear from Rama, the deadly cobra glides away shamed, even the fierce

"Rakshases, Danavs, demons, ghosts,
Acknowledge in their hearts his might,
And slink to their remotest coasts,
In terror at his very sight."

He bids her, therefore, overcome her unworthy fears, and be once more her true self, "bold, great, and wise." Her husband would never demean himself to shrieking for help like a child. The cry they had heard must be due to "some trick of magic by the foe." As for leaving her, had he not pledged his word not to leave Sita till Rama's return? At this, Sita breaks into

a perfect torrent of scorn and abuse. Accuse Lakshman of cowardice she cannot, for his courage is too well attested. She, therefore, attributes his reluctance to go to a baser motive, accusing him of desiring Rama's death so that he may win for himself his brother's wife and kingdom. She insults him with the final declaration:

"Learn this—whatever comes may come,
But I shall not survive my Love!"

With flashing eyes and haughty mien, she turns away from him, and Lakshman, unable any longer to bear her taunts, bids her hear him once before he goes. She has wronged him cruelly by her accusations, he says, in spite of his proved "lifelong loyalty and truth." In going, he commits the worst crime possible to a soldier—disobedience to his chief's command—but he will himself shoulder all the responsibility for his crime. Before he goes, he traces a magic circle on the ground with his arrow, bidding her on no account to go beyond its border lest she should come to harm. Then, though wounded to the quick by her wild accusations, he acquits her of all blame, and invokes a blessing on her ere he departs, confident of a speedy return both of himself and of his brother.

Such is the gist of the poem, which is not properly a ballad, but, rather, a dramatic dialogue. There are prosaic lapses in "Lakshman," as when Sita spoils the effect of fine opening lines by continuing:

"Oh, hasten, to his succour fly,
No more hast thou, dear friend, a choice."

Lakshman, too, in what are usually dignified speeches, occasionally descends to such as this:

"I blame thee not—but thou mightst be
Less rash in judgment."

Or this:

"What thou hast said,
Though it has broken quite my heart,
So that I wish that I were dead."

Such passages as these would undoubtedly be better written as plain prose. On the whole, however, the tone of the poem is dignified.

"Jogodhya Uma," the third poem of the series, is based on a folk story. It opens with a description of a pedlar tramping along the road to Khirogram in the early morning, when the dew still lay heavy on meadow and trees, as he awoke the echoes with his cry:

"Shell-bracelets ho! shell-bracelets ho!
Fair maids and matrons, come and buy!"

There were few to hear his call. Presently a turn in the road

brought him to a lonely spot where lay a beautiful tank shadowed by fruit trees. On one side, a wide flight of marble steps ran from an entrance arch down to the water's edge, where, facing the morning light, there sat a beautiful maiden with lovely eyes and long, dark hair. The pedlar stopped to display his wares. His bracelets, he declared, were charms to "keep a lover ever true, and widowhood avert." As the maiden stretched out her hand, the pedlar slipped a bracelet on the slender wrist, marveling at her beauty. As he watched her hold the bracelet up against the light, an indefinable air of imperial dignity about her filled him with awe. She tossed aside the straying curls from face and brow, as she asked the price of the bracelet, then bade him seek payment at her home. He enquired where that was, remarking that from her ring he judged her "a spouse"

"Happy, and rich, and fair, and young."

The maiden replied that her lord was poor, and that her father would pay for it. He was the old priest who lived in the temple, whose "lofty gilded spire" appeared in the distance. If he said that there was no money, the pedlar was to ask him to open the vermilion-streaked box near the shrine, where the money would be found. With the music of her voice still lingering in his ears, the pedlar went to do her bidding, and the maiden prepared "to plunge into the waters pure."

Following the directions given, the pedlar found himself before the temple door, and in a scene where cattle, flowers, and tinkling bells,

"Spoke in a language sweet and plain,
Here smiling Peace and plenty dwell."

Involuntarily his cheery cry rang out, "Shell-bracelets ho!" and in response a hospitable old priest came out and invited him to share in the temple feast. The pedlar gratefully accepted the proffered hospitality, and then explained the errand on which he had come. The story won from the priest the amused retort:

"No daughter in the world have I,
An only son is all my stay;
Some minx has played a trick, no doubt,
But cheer up, let thy heart be gay.
Be sure that I shall find her out."

Incredulous, the pedlar averred that he judged the maiden incapable of deceit. As further proof of his story, he repeated the directions concerning the vermilion-streaked box. The priest wonderingly fetched the box, opened it, and beheld in it the exact sum needed to pay for the bracelet. In a flash the old man realized that the vision of the goddess which he had sought for, for years by "vigils and fasts and secret tears," had come unsought to this simple pedlar.

As light dawned suddenly on the pedlar with the remembrance of the awe-inspiring beauty of the maiden, he hastily dropped his basket, and set out at full speed for the tank, followed by the old priest. There disappointment awaited them, for nothing but a solitary heron stood sentinel in the hush which seemed to have fallen over the face of Nature. As pedlar and priest turned sadly away, the silver chime of the temple bells pealed out, and the priest, turning towards the tank once more, pleaded with the goddess for some sign of her presence :

"A word, a breath, or passing gleam."

As they waited expectantly, suddenly there was a stir among the lotus buds that covered the surface of the water, and a beautiful arm appeared above, for an instant, wearing the shell bracelet, and then as suddenly withdrew. Ere the two men went thoughtfully homewards, each picked a lotus bud to be treasured "in memory of the day and spot." Ever since that day, many centuries ago, descendants of the pedlar have annually paid as tribute to the temple :

"Shell-bracelets of the old design."

In this way they acknowledge still the gratitude they feel towards the goddess who had from that eventful day crowned all their labours with success.

Toru Dutt's originality has fullest play in this poem. Her own comment upon the story is found among its closing lines :

"Absurd may be the tale I tell,
Ill-suited to the marching times."

And there is, indeed, an antique flavour about it. Yet we think no other among the stories is so admirably suited as this to Toru Dutt's translucent simplicity of touch. From first to last, in spite of rare lapses into classical allusion to "the goddess of the chase on Latmos hill," and to Echo "sleeping within her cell," there is a delicate, old-world, essentially Indian flavour about the poem.

"Buttoo," or "Ekalavya," again, is a poem essentially Indian in its appeal. It is a popular version of one of the stories of the *Mahabharata*, and has for hero a low-caste hunter's son. As the great Dronachariya, master of magic and archery in ages long past, sat one day in the forest, surrounded by his royal pupils, a youth of "kindling eyes" chanced to pass by, and suddenly accosted the master, asking him to give him also lessons in archery.

Questions from the master elicited the fact of his low parentage from the boy, and also the proud boast, "I know not fear." This was met by the quiet retort : "Then know him from this

time, my dear," as Dronacharjya let fly a magic arrow, which felled Buttoo to the ground amid the laughter and scorn of the princes. Then, red with shame, he left them, realizing he had been guilty of presumption for one of lowly birth, but all the more determined to prove that real worth was independent of caste or rank, but came of "gifts well used." He wandered, musing, deeper and deeper into the forest, resting at length against a tree. The young fawns came and rubbed themselves against him, licking his feet, and their caresses came like balm to his wounded spirit. He resolved to live in this beautiful retreat and learn Nature's secrets.

No sooner was this purpose formed than he began to build himself a hut of reeds and leaves, storing it with forest corn, fruit, and nuts. He then fashioned from memory a lifelike clay statue of the great Dronacharjya, and placed a bow and steel-tipped arrows, wreathed with flowers, at its feet. His courage and steadfastness in his self-appointed quest of knowledge were at last rewarded, and he had gained all the skill he coveted.

One evening, as he practised archery, his bow proved false and sent the arrow astray twice running. At the same time he became conscious of the barking of a wild dog, which seemed to forebode evil. He tried again and again, and failed each time. Buttoo tried to silence the animal by shouting, but in vain, and at last, in desperation, he let fly a magic shaft, which caused cessation of the sound, but proved his undoing. For, as it happened, Dronacharjya's pupils, the Pandava and Kuru princes, were hunting in the woods that day, and Arjuna, the favourite pupil, chanced upon the wild dog. In great indignation Arjuna sought out Dronacharjya, who had promised that no other pupil besides himself should know of such magic shafts, and accused him of treachery.

A search revealed the hut in the forest, the statue of Dronacharjya, and Buttoo himself. On being questioned, Buttoo related the story of his repulse, of his solitary struggle for the knowledge then denied him, and of his subsequent success, modestly avowing still that he was a pupil of Dronacharjya, and looked to him as the source of all his inspiration. On hearing this, Dronacharjya enquired if Buttoo were willing to yield him, as master, a pupil's due—obedience. Thereupon Buttoo eagerly avowed:

"All that I have, oh master mine,
All I shall conquer by my skill,
Gladly shall I to thee resign,
Let me but know thy gracious will."

He was taken at his word, though with evident reluctance on Dronacharjya's part. Still, the promise had been made to Arjuna,

and the master's honour must be upheld. Hence the terrible command:

"Give me, O youth, thy right hand thumb."

Buttoo's loyalty did not waver even at this, and he stood unflinching as the sharp knife severed the thumb and struck the death-blow to all his life work. Yet was he content with the prophecy with which the master left him:

"For this"—said Dronachariya—"fame
Shall sound thy praise from sea to sea,
And men shall ever link thy name
With Self-help, Truth, and Modesty."

From the point of view of technique, "Buttoo" is an advance on any other of the poems considered up to now. Weak lines are few and far between, and when they *do* occur are guilty of mannerism, not of jingle, as, for instance, in the familiar repetition of a word:

"And lo—a *single, single* tear."

The comparatively long and not too truthful description of the forest scenes through which Buttoo passed is rather unnecessary, if not altogether out of place. Its object is to drive home to the reader, the beauty and strength of inspiration which come to a man from contact with Nature. The necessary impression, however, is given far more forcibly later on in the poem, by the description of the fawn's unconscious sympathy, and the renewal of courage which came to Buttoo as a result.

All through the poem we have been carefully prepared for Buttoo's reverent devotion to Dronachariya, who had aroused in the boy an instinct almost of worship. Under the circumstances, the reader is a little jarred by the unexpectedness of the description of Buttoo's attitude at the crucial moment of his test for obedience:

"There was no tear in Buttoo's eye,
He left the matter with his God."

From the ideal disciple, we pass in "Sindhu" to the story of an ideal son. Sindhu, the only child, lived with his parents, an old "Muni" and his wife, in the depths of a forest. They were entirely dependent on their son, who devoted his whole life to ministering to their needs on account of their blindness. All the peevishness and querulousness of old age was met by patience and sweetness on his part, for

"He loved to be their slave."

One day Dasarath, the great King of Oude, organized a hunt in the forest, which rang with the blare of the trumpets. The King

had lost his way, and stood at a bend of the river, watching the sunset hues fade away upon the water, and the gleam of silver scales, as a fish leapt up in the twilight. As the darkness fell, he heard the sound as of a roebuck drinking. Immediately he let fly a shaft and was startled to hear "a feeble human wail," and in alarm made his way in the direction of the sound. There, with his pitcher at his side, he found Sindhu dying. The King, filled with remorse, tried to resuscitate Sindhu, fearing lest a "Bramin's dying curse" should greet his ear. Opening his eyes, Sindhu read the King's fear on his face, and comforted him with the assurance that he knew the deed was done unwittingly. Sindhu told him that he accepted his fate as just punishment for a sin once committed, when he had killed one of a pair of doves that rested in a peepul tree.

"Blood calls for red blood still."

For his own part, he continued, he was not loth to die, but was deeply troubled for his helpless parents. As a last favour, he asked the King to carry the pitcher down the steep lane to the hut among the trees.

"He pointed—ceased—then sudden died."

Meanwhile the old parents were growing anxious at Sindhu's long-continued absence, and a premonition of evil overcame the mother just as the King drew near, bearing Sindhu's body. At the rustling of the leaves underfoot, the old Muni joyfully exclaimed:

"Lo, here he is—oh, wherefore grieves
Thy soul, my partner dear?"

Hearing the words, the King stopped dead in deep distress, while questions rained on him from the old pair. His stifled sob reached their ears, and with it came the conviction that this was not Sindhu.

On hearing his story, after he had laid the dead boy in their arms, the old people, heartbroken, bade him guide them to their bed of moss, for life now held nothing to help them. The King guided them where they desired, and then watched beside them till the feeble flame of life flickered out. Afterwards he had all three bodies brought to the river's edge, and, with great pomp and solemn sacrifices, the funeral rites were performed. Nothing availed, however, to avert the fate prophesied by the old Muni, who had said Dasarath, too, should one day

"Die—for a son's untimely loss!
Die—with a broken heart!"

There are no data to go upon to show when this poem was composed. It seems unfortunate that doggerel intrudes at those

crises in the poem where it is most intolerable. As Sindhu is struck down, we read:

" Ah me! what means this?—Hark a cry,
A feeble human wail,
" Oh God!"—it said—" I die—I die,
Who'll carry home the pail?"

Again, when relating the story of his shooting of the dove, Sindhu describes it thus:

" And killed one bird—it was the male,
Oh, cruel deed and base!
*The female gave a plaintive wail
And looked me in the face!"*

It is true that simplicity, at times, is characteristic of good poetry, as in the classic instance of Wordsworth's "Lucy Poems," but such passages as the above turn pathos into bathos. That Toru Dutt was capable of better verse is shown in the description of the hunt, which, in spite of its classical allusions to "Echo waking from the bed," and the "Argus wings" of the peacock, is quite a good, spirited description of a royal hunt in an Indian jungle. The description of the closing in of darkness upon the river scene is also good, though marred by an inconsistency, for darkness is said to settle,

" Like a pall
The eye would pierce in vain."

Nevertheless, the King lingers, "pleased with the scene," where the lake is "spread bright below."

Occasionally a good line shines out in the waste of prosiness, as when the old parents say of Sindhu:

" Of our blind eyes he is the star."

On the whole, however, the standard of poetry in "Sindhu" sinks to a low level.

The next poem is "Prehlad," taken from the *Mahabharata*. It is the story of King Heerun Kasyapu who had won for himself a reputation as "a terror both of gods and men," unrivalled in the world for courage. His audacity reached even to sacred things, for he tore the Vedas in shreds, forbade sacrifices to the gods, slew holy men, and ordered that all men should worship him, and him alone. The small remnant of Brahmins and pundits fled to the woods and caves, and there in secret carried on their worship of the gods, who, they knew, would in due time assuage their wrongs.

The tyrant's one weakness was his love for his four beautiful boys, and he took some trouble to secure for them a suitable tutor. This tutor, Sonda Marco by name, was famed for his

worldly wisdom, for he knew how "to trim his sail" and "veer his bark to any winds that blew." The boys were sent to him to be taught all they needed to know, but Sonda Marco was sternly forbidden to teach them anything of the soul, or of things spiritual. All were quick, apt pupils, but Prehlad was the most thoughtful among them.

One day the tutor heard Prehlad discussing forbidden themes. In great perturbation of mind he summoned the boy, and bade him refrain from talking of such mere "themes of poets' lays" as the gods and things unseen. Such talk, he said, would bring dire penalty for himself and the boy. Prehlad, however, boldly affirmed his belief in the gods, and his scorn of even death itself as a punishment. Not long after this, the four boys were summoned to the palace that the King might test their progress. All went well till Prehlad's turn came. On being questioned by his father as to what was "the cream of knowledge," the boy replied:

"That is true knowledge which can show
The glory of the living gods—

* * * * *

That is true knowledge which can make
Us mortals, saintlike, holy, pure."

In great wrath at "this nonsense," the King imperiously answered Prehlad with the order:

"Bow down, thou slave,
And worship me, or thou shalt die!"

Nothing daunted, Prehlad stood before the King, and still more boldly proclaimed his views:

"The gods who made us are the life
Of living creatures, small and great;
We see them not, but space is rife
With their bright presence and their state.
They are the parents of us all,
'Tis they create, sustain, redeem,
Heaven, earth and hell, they hold in thrall,
And shall we these high gods blaspheme?"

For answer, in great anger, the King summoned the Captain of the Guard, and bade him take the boy away to a dungeon, where he was to await the executioner,

"All unmoved and calm
He went, as reckless of his fate."

Ere long, however, the report spread that the sword refused to do its work. Averring that its failure was due to some magic spell cast by Prehlad, the courtesans advised the King to deal with the boy in some other way. The order was then given

that he should be thrown down a precipice, or buried alive in the sand. These, however, and various other means employed, failed to compass the prince's death. At last he was summoned once more to appear before the King and Council. With courage unshaken he met his father's impious challenge flung to the gods with a patient attempt to pass on a new truth he had learnt during his imprisonment. It was this:

"There is one God—one only—mark!

* * * * *

I fear not fire, I fear not sword,
All dangers, father, I can dare;
Alone, I can confront a horde,
For oh! my God is everywhere!"

The King mockingly enquired if God was in the crystal pillar against which he leaned. Prehlad replied that of a surety He was. Thereupon the King felled the pillar with a blow, and from the ruins there sprang up a strange, sable warrior of immense stature, with a lion's head. With a shout the stranger smote the King dead, proclaimed Prehlad King in his place, and then disappeared in a thunder-clap.

"One King lay stiff, and stark, and dead,
Another on the peacock throne
Bowed reverently his youthful head."

As far as technique goes, "Prehlad" (which is written in eight-lined stanzas, the lines consisting of eight syllables, and rhyming alternately) is far in advance of that of the earlier poems. Very rarely do we meet a false rhyme (as in "heart" and "thwart") or a line which mars effects by its colloquialism (*e.g.*, "Or there will come a fearful crash"). The poem reveals, too, a growing skill in selection on the authoress's part. For instance, the original story dwells at great length on the various means employed to kill Prehlad, after the failure of the first attempts, and luxuriates in details of each. Toru Dutt dismisses them in one stanza, and then attributes them to "vague rumours," which is a great gain from an English reader's point of view.

The phraseology used by Prehlad in his defence has at times too distinctively Biblical a flavour, or is reminiscent of English hymns, but, on the whole, his speeches form the best work in the poem.

The remaining poem, "Sita," rounds up the series as a whole, and is in the nature of an epilogue and prologue in one. It is a description of what was a frequent occurrence in the poetess's days of childhood, when she and her brother and sister gathered at their mother's knee in the twilight and listened to the old, sad story of Sita's sufferings. Hearers and singers alike were stirred to their inmost depths by its pathos.

"Not in vain

She weeps,—for lo! at every tear she sheds
Tears from three pairs of young eyes fall amain,
And bowed in sorrow are the three young heads."

There are seven miscellaneous poems contained in the second part of the volume which are more or less autobiographical. A critical examination of their value has already appeared in *The Life and Letters of Toru Dutt*; but we are tempted to recall what has been considered one of the most successful experiments of a foreigner in the field of English poetry, the little piece written to "Our Casuarina Tree." This particular tree was one bound up with many recollections of her childhood and had been sanctified by memories of a dead brother and sister who long before had played with her beneath its shade. The poem is rich in imagery and musical cadences, and it seems reminiscent of Keats' "Ode to a Nightingale" as well as of Wordsworth's "Yew Trees." Take, for instance, the lines in which she describes how deeply the tree had wound itself into her whole existence:

"But not because of its magnificence
Dear is the Casuarina to my soul:
Beneath it we have played; though years may roll,
O sweet companions, loved with love intense,
For your sakes shall the tree be ever dear!
Blent with your images, it shall arise
In memory, till the hot tears blind mine eyes!
What is that dirge-like murmur that I hear
Like the sea breaking on a shingle-beach?
It is the tree's lament, an eerie speech,
That haply to the unknown land may reach.

"Unknown, yet well-known to the eye of faith!
Ah, I have heard that wail far, far away
In distant lands, by many a sheltered bay,
When slumbered in his cave the water-wraith
And the waves gently kissed the classic shore
Of France or Italy, beneath the moon,
When earth lay tranced in a dreamless swoon;
And every time the music rose—before
Mine inner vision rose a form sublime,
Thy form, O Tree, as in my happy prime
I saw thee, in my own loved native clime."

N.B.—The writer of this article is under obligation to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., for their kind permission to quote from their publication *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan*, 5s. net.

H. D.

INDIA IN 1929-1930*

BY L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, C.B.E.

It is now nearly thirteen years since the writer of this article, not without some natural trepidation, initiated an experiment which was regarded as both daring and fantastic. This was nothing less than an attempt to prepare a Blue Book in a form which should be readable as well as informative. To the surprise of everyone, not excluding the author, the experiment succeeded; and from the year 1918 onwards, the annual surveys of Indian affairs, which still officially bear the quaint and somewhat patronizing title of "The Moral and Material Progress Report of India," have followed broadly the same model.

The responsibility of preparing the report is entrusted to the Director of Public Information with the Government of India. This officer presides over a small organization, which discharges to the best of its ability duties too important and too multifarious to be enumerated here. The preparation of a report so elaborate, covering so wide a field, naturally engages a large proportion of the Director's time throughout the year; and the actual writing of the report is by no means the end of his responsibilities in connection with it. Every chapter, indeed every sub-section, is scrutinized with care by the Departments of the Government of India, and again by the Departments of the India Office. For although the Secretary of State for India, who has the statutory duty of presenting the report to Parliament, does not necessarily endorse every particular expression of opinion contained therein, he has to accord to it his general approval. And anyone who has even an elementary knowledge of the workings of the official machine, in England and in India, can easily imagine the trouble which, despite the courteous kindness of the Departments, must inevitably harass the unfortunate author. For while the Director of Public Information is concerned with a general picture of what has been happening in India during the period under review, the Departments are primarily concerned to see that no expression or phrase, no matter how innocent-seeming, which may contain the slightest hint or possibility of future embarrassment to themselves, shall escape their vigilant blue pencil. In consequence, there is a frequent tussle between the Director of Public Information, who desires to publish the report he has prepared with so much pains and industry, at a time when public interest is still fresh in the matters with which he deals, and

* *India in 1929-1930*. (Calcutta : Government of India, Central Publication Branch). Rs. 2.4.

the Departments at Simla and at Whitehall, who regard delay as only natural in the view of the meticulous examination upon which they insist.

The present volume has unfortunately suffered rather severely from a combination of unfortunate circumstances. Although it is published halfway through 1931, the period which it covers only extends up to the spring of 1930. Politically, therefore, the story which it tells is eighteen months behind the times. This is the more to be regretted, in that it is likely to cause the Press in general to brush the report aside as being out of date. Such a judgment, however natural from the standpoint at least of the newspapers, is unjust, for the latest of the Moral and Material Progress Reports is solid, valuable, and informative.

The general arrangement of the book follows that with which precedent has made us familiar. The first chapter contains a survey of the outstanding events of the period under review; these events include the termination of the labours of the Statutory Commission in India, Lord Irwin's famous announcement of October 31, 1929, and the succession to power of the late Labour Government. In India, the period was disturbed politically, and was punctuated in various parts of India by both drought and flood. It was essentially a time of gestation; and those who are at the present moment considering the future of the country with such anxiety, might with profit refresh their memories as to the condition of affairs in India during the months immediately preceding the publication of the Report of the Simon Commission.

The second chapter contains a survey of India's external relations; laying stress once more upon those broader aspects of India's international position, to which preceding volumes have rightly devoted so much attention. The problems of defence both by sea and by land, the international and the tribal aspects of the North-West Frontier, the general policy underlying frontier administration, the question of Indianization, and the relation between the problems of defence and Indian Nationalist aspirations—all these are treated in a fair and illuminating spirit. This general survey of the practical problems which surround the satisfaction of the very natural demand of the Indian Nationalist, that he should be made in an increasing degree responsible for the defence of the country, is of the highest value. The same chapter also contains an account of the position of Indians settled overseas, and a survey of the questions, connected with racial discrimination, which are still so far from being settled in many parts of the Empire. A generous and well-deserved tribute is paid to the achievements of Mr. Sastri in South Africa.

The next chapter is of less immediate interest, as it contains a detailed survey of the political movements which took place during the period covered by the report. As has been justly pointed out in the first few sentences of the chapter, the speed with which events have moved since this period has already tended to make the account somewhat out of date. But the same comment cannot be made in regard to the fourth chapter, which deals with agriculture and industry. In many respects this is perhaps the most valuable part of the book, for it contains a comprehensive survey of what is, when all is said and done, the essential background of Indian politics—namely, the economic situation of the Indian masses. The problems of poverty and indebtedness among the rural population are surveyed in an illuminating manner, and the reader is allowed to infer, without being definitely told, that these problems are largely beyond the scope of ordinary politics, and can only be solved by activities of an inherently non-political type. The various ameliorative measures which occupy so large a share of the energies of the present Government of India are fully described; co-operation, agricultural research and education, conservation of forests, veterinary work, and irrigation. But the chapter plainly shows that these activities, beneficent as they are, do little more than touch the fringe of the main problem, which is to induce in the masses of the population habits both of mind and of body which will increase their general productivity. The chapter closes with a very useful survey of the conditions of the industrial population, and of the peculiar difficulties which in India surround any attempt at improvement. The whole chapter is one which reflects the greatest credit upon the care, skill, and industry of the staff of the Bureau of Public Information. For it is a plain and unbiassed exposition of a series of hard facts, which, individually and collectively, have far greater influence upon the lives of the masses of the Indian people than any question of present-day politics. And when the political leaders of Indian Nationalism attain that control over the destinies of their country for which they hope, it is to these facts, rather than to any purely political activities, that they will unquestionably find themselves obliged to turn the greatest share of their attention.

The next chapter deals with the scarcely less important topic of communications, which, in view of the schemes for an All-India Federation now under discussion, is likely to be of quite crucial importance in the immediate future. The work of the railways and the roads in linking up different parts of the country, and in assisting in its economic unification, is well outlined; while the functions of the Posts and Telegraphs Department, the new developments in aviation and wireless tele-

graphy, are shown to play their own separate parts in the whole task.

The next chapter, the sixth, which deals with commerce, suffers to some extent from the disadvantages caused by the time-lag, which we have already noticed in the case of chapter three. It remains a useful survey, but a survey of a period which has now passed, and which, in its major features, no longer resembles very closely the conditions of the moment. The last few pages are of greater interest, as they deal with projects for securing for India that share of the world's commercial attention which her industrial importance now justifies. Particularly interesting is the account of the project for appointing Indian Trade Commissioners in certain countries, and for securing Indian representation in commercial fairs and exhibitions abroad.

The next chapter, which deals with finance, may be divided into two sections. The first is an admirably balanced sketch of the fundamental conditions governing finance in India, conditions which will be as applicable to the federation of the future as they are to the British India of the present. The second part deals particularly with the financial history of the year under review, and from that standpoint relates rather to the past. As a minor comment, it may be remarked that it is perhaps a pity to quote so largely from speeches delivered in the Legislative Assembly. These speeches are available elsewhere to those who are sufficiently interested to turn them up, and their incorporation in this chapter to some extent interrupts the flow of the narrative.

Chapters eight and nine deal respectively with health and education, and with the advancement of science. They may be commended with the same heartiness as that which we have shown in our remarks on chapter four; indeed, it is perhaps worth suggesting that chapters four, eight, and nine, with some appropriate additions and omissions, might well be published separately, as constituting a survey of many of the fundamental characteristics of the Indian situation. In so far as they deal with facts and conditions which lie outside the scope of politics, they deserve to be brought prominently to the notice of those whose business it is to deal with future solutions of the problem of India as a whole.

The tenth and last chapter gives a rapid survey of the work which has been accomplished by the Provincial Governments during the period covered by the report. The main topics included in this survey are Police and Law and Justice, Local Self-government and Co-operation, Rural Industries and Public Health, and Local Education. It is not perhaps unfair to say that this chapter is among the least interesting in the book; for

the task of presenting the separate activities of different Provincial Governments in a form at once comprehensive and intelligible is almost insuperable. But the author of the report has made a gallant attempt to grapple with a task which is almost impossible; and if he has not succeeded in maintaining the level of interest, he has at least given us a narrative which can be followed easily and with profit.

The practice of including in the Moral and Material Progress Report a comprehensive set of illustrations, dealing both pictorially and in diagrammatic form with certain of the topics of which the document treats, is much to be commended. The diagrams in the present volume are of particular interest, and might well at some future time form part of a comprehensive but popular statistical survey of the whole country.

In these times, when, owing to pressure of work and considerations of expense, the importance of an adequate analytical index in many public documents is imperfectly appreciated, it is pleasant to be able to commend the ease with which particular topics can be discovered and traced in *India in 1929-1930*. There is an excellent analysis of chapter contents, which gives at a glance the range covered by each main division of the book. In addition to this, there is a very workmanlike index at the end, which enables cross references to be traced without trouble.

In general, it can be said without any fear of contradiction that this volume reflects the greatest credit upon the Department which has produced it. It is much to be hoped that the next issue will be made available at a time when it can cover events more recent in public recollection. But, as has already been stated, the delays which are inevitable, in the circumstances in which this book is produced, should not be ascribed to any fault of the author.

INDIA FROM DIFFERENT ANGLES

BY STANLEY RICE

(Author of *The Challenge of Asia*)

THE book on India has still to be written. Most probably it never will be written, not because India is a "vast sub-continent," nor because she contains "one-fifth of the human race," nor because with her diversity of creeds, of languages, of customs, she "never will be a nation," and therefore cannot be treated as a homogeneous whole—not by reason of any of these clichés, which have become current coin by a manifold repetition, but chiefly and sufficiently because the subject cannot be treated objectively. Sooner or later the particular outlook of the writer is bound to peep out just as it does in ordinary conversation, and he declares himself involuntarily as an admirer of the Hindus, or of the Mussulmans or of the English, to the disadvantage of the others, or also as a believer in the past golden age or in the glory of the Moghul Empire or in the great achievements of England. The man who professes to tell you the Truth about anything—whether it be about India or about Mussolini or about China or Soviet Russia—is like those fervent religionists who believe that they and they only can open the gate of the way that leads to salvation while the rest of the world is following the path to damnation; for what he tells you is not the absolute Truth but the truth as he sees it. And so the book on India must trace for you the march of the Indian people, or, if you prefer it, peoples, from the earliest times to the present day, and must show you, without bias and without prejudice, why they are today what they are; must paint impartially in colours, neither too glowing nor too sombre, the real character of the Indian peoples, especially the masses, so as to remove the false impressions created partly by ignorance, partly by the multitudinous sidelights thrown on them by episodic, periodic, or frankly propagandist works. For such a book the usual objection that you cannot generalize for the whole of India loses much of its force. Knowledge can and should discriminate. If you say with a too zealous preacher that the bloody rites of Kali are the way of salvation for 200 and—whatever it is—millions of Hindus, or that outcastes are everywhere isolated and pollute by their very presence within a prescribed distance the majesty and person of the orthodox, you are making an unwarranted generalization, but if you say that superstition, poverty, credulity, are everywhere rampant, the statement is near enough

to the truth to be hazarded. Hence it may be repeated that the principal obstacle to the truth is that involuntary bias which it is difficult if not impossible to get away from, and hence it may be said with M. Dekobra that it is all "vains propos sur un thème que nul n'éclaircira jamais."

Herr Hartmut Piper's learned work* is no exception to the rule. He has made a valiant attempt to cut a path through what he himself calls the tropical jungle of thought and art, of social organization and custom, of political rise and fall, of religious practice and conception, and his work is a monument of industry, and of scholarship, abounding with illustration, and working towards the idea that the evolution of India has followed the laws of evolution in other countries and continents and that it has its parallels in Europe, in ancient Greece and Rome, in China and in Japan. The unfolding of history, be it the history of events or of tendencies, of political or of spiritual evolution, has the greatest possible value for the student of modern times. Fortunately we have now definitely left behind us the fashion to say, in Professor Rapson's words, "that there was no history of India before the Muhammadan conquests in the eleventh century A.D.," and our present knowledge would greatly surprise Macaulay, to whose self-sufficient ignorance Indian history meant the reigns of kings for 30,000 years, and Indian geography consisted of seas of treacle and seas of butter. It is true, as Herr Piper says, continuing his metaphors from the natural conditions of India, that the profusion of one period is succeeded by the barren wastes of the next, that there can be no question of a continuous history of India, from whatever aspect viewed; but we have learned much from the researches of scholars to be able to piece together the broken fragments and to obtain at least a working idea of the conditions in ancient India.

Nevertheless, if it be the function of history to explain the present by the past with a view to the future, it must be frankly said that no Englishman would be content with Herr Piper's estimate of the India of today, especially of England's part in it. After all, the dead, in spite of scholars, may bury their dead. This is not to contradict the assertion just made, that the work of scholars who delve in the ruins or the writings of the past is of immense value towards the understanding of the present. But if the history of the present is coloured according to the writer's fancy or preoccupation, and so coloured as to produce a quite false impression, the doubt insists on forcing itself upon the mind that possibly the rest of the work is coloured by the same fancy and the same prejudice. It is true that England has made many

* *Der gesetzmässige Lebenslauf der Völker Indiens*, by Hartmut Piper. (Leipzig: Theodor Weicher). RM. 6.

mistakes since she came into the sovereignty of India and, though this kind of general penitence is often assumed, like the mediæval sheet, for no better purpose than effect, it would be quite possible to write an essay or even a book, setting out these sins of omission and commission in detail. "Unfreiwillig," says Herr Piper, "aus mangelndem Verständnis haben die Engländer die ältere indische Kunsttradition zerstört, und die indischen Fürsten haben durch die Protektion europäischer Künstler das Ihrige gethan, die indischen Maler und Bildhauer zu ruinieren."* The criticism might be carried further. It might be said, not without justice, that the failure to understand, due to indifference and to a certain contemptuous pride of race, has been the fruitful cause of dissension, which breeds resentment on the one side and arrogance on the other. But when Herr Piper, in discussing the present condition of Indian culture, attributes its deterioration to the careless or selfish policy of the Indian Government, not the most violent prickings of a tender conscience can admit the charge. Here are his words: "In derselben Richtung wirkt der Rückgang und Verfall der Volksschulbildung unter der Fremdherrschaft, die kein drängendes Interesse und Geld für deren Pflege und Hebung übrig hat, sondern mehr Interesse, das geknechtete Volk stumpfsinnig-gefügt zu erhalten."† Educationists are never tired of advancing new theories, of examining old methods, of criticising current systems, but no one outside the Extremist Press has ever declared that England has deliberately held the people in the bondage of ignorance to further her own interests, or has withheld instruction from the selfish motive that "she has no money to spare for something in which she has no pressing interest." Such a statement—and there are others—makes one wonder whether the author has not taken his views from the Indian "Yellow" Press, or, in the alternative, whether, as so often happens, he is not ascribing to England the motives which might have inspired a German in dealing with the same conditions.

For the Princes may have done their part (*das Ihrige*) to ruin Indian art, but surely no one can accuse them of keeping the people in ignorance for the sake of "Fremdherrschaft," an alien rule. There is in Western India a leading Indian State where the educational budget takes the largest share of the limited

* "Involuntarily, for lack of understanding, the English have destroyed the older Indian artistic tradition, and the Indian Princes, by their patronage of European artists, have played their part in ruining the Indian painters and sculptors."

† "The relapse and decay of popular education is working in the same direction under an alien rule which has no pressing interest and no money to spare to foster or improve it, but rather to keep a subject people in a state of blunted intellect and of docility."

revenue, where education has been compulsory for thirty years, and where the ruler has shown a deep and abiding—some might say a disproportionate—interest in schools and allied matters. Yet the result is that so-called literacy is still below that of British India, and the people, though not hostile, are yet so indifferent to the development of the new Indian culture (*die Entwicklung der neu-indischen Kultur*) that 70 per cent. of them forget all they have ever learned. Like so many others, who write from the safe shelter of their study, Herr Piper seems to have fallen into the error of imagining that the purse of the Government of India is, like *Fortunatus*', bottomless. The chief criticism that has been directed against the Government of India, even by the "official" Opposition, which includes Moderates and Extremists, has been that something should be spared from defence for education, and defence has now practically reached rock-bottom.

Students of ancient India are well aware of the principal steps of Indian evolution. They know that the Aryan invasion pushed back the then inhabitants—Dravidian or other—into the natural refuge of the mountains and the country behind them. They have traced for themselves the establishment of nature-worship, the transition from this to the factitious value of sacrifice and sacerdotalism, the reaction towards pure metaphysics, the rise of Buddhism and Jainism and their doctrines, which modified, and perhaps still do modify, the original, or rather the precedent, Hinduism, the substitution of an enthusiastic, almost hysterical, adoration of the personal God (*Bhakti*), for the colder, more intellectual Way of Knowledge (*Vidyā*), the present-day indifference to the older cults. They are aware, too, that the common division of Indian history is into three parts, Hindu, Mussulman, and English, and that each of them has had its special effects on the culture of the people.

So much is elementary. What this book has tried to do is to fill in the gaps, to show how each movement is inevitably blended into the other, how each period started with the inexperience of youth, rose to its zenith, and fell away again into decay and death. We are shown the correlation between the thought and the art, which is the expression of it, in any given period, and the dependence of both upon the political conditions of the time. We hear again—for this is nothing new—that it was political dissensions which made possible the Mussulman invasions and final triumph, and that it was similar political dissensions that brought England to the front. All this is told with the wealth of learning and thought that we associate with Germany and which make the work really valuable for the student. And still the persistent question remains: Why is the ryot, in spite of all this evolution, in spite of the gradual transitions of religion, of art, of politics

and of custom—why is the ryot in his village still the conservative, superstitious, poverty-stricken, and suspicious—yet, withal, child-like and lovable—creature that he is? Is it not because throughout the history of India there has persisted an innate love of, and recourse to, authority, because there is still a thin trickle of Vedic ideas, which have blended with the devotional, and still more with the aboriginal or pre-Vedic, cults to produce the conservative outlook of today? And so he stands midway between realism and romanticism, untouched, as has often been said, by the successive waves of invasion, but also, if not untouched, only lightly and often transitorily affected, by the successive waves of thought and art and custom and enterprise which have been created by Kings and priests, artists and philosophers, statesmen, warriors, and prophets.

In lighter vein M. Dekobra* has attacked the same kind of problem, but from a different angle. His is frankly the book of a traveller who has gone to India with the avowed intention of writing a book and who has therefore set down, not always with accuracy, the observations he has made in his wanderings from the Khyber and Nepal to Madura and Ceylon. Some of his mistakes are trivial—indeed, all but one. Thus Bombay is not derived, as he announces dogmatically, from the Portuguese equivalent of "*bonne baie*," but is a corruption, as is well known, of the vernacular "*Mumbai*," since the place was originally dedicated to Mumba, a goddess of the Kolis. Nor is the Nizam, as he claims, the sole recipient of twenty-one guns. There are four other Indian Princes—among them Baroda and Mysore—who are entitled to this salute. Nor must you, as he suggests, tap your punka coolly with a slipper; hit him on the head with a bludgeon if you like and if you are prepared to brave the wrath of the Indian Press and the Indian Government, but do not use a slipper, if you do not want to outrage his self-respect.

These things are blemishes, worth perhaps a passing mention but no more. They are natural enough in the book of a traveller who finds something novel in the bedding which he bought for the train and in the "boy" whom he engaged for the journey. There is, however, a humanity about the book, a vision of the reality of everyday life in India which is apt to lose itself in lofty discussions on the evolution of Indian life from the Vedas onward. M. Dekobra, one is led to think, takes a view diametrically opposed to that of Herr Piper. While the latter professes to see a strangulation of all natural development in the coming of the British and the awakening of new cultural life in the present revolt against political authority, M. Dekobra ascribes whatever

* *Les Tigres Parfumés*, by Maurice Dekobra (Paris: Les Éditions de France). 15 francs.

strangulation there may be to India herself. He is struck by the poverty of the ryot and had this advantage over the average traveller, who, rushing through India with visions of the Taj Mahal, the Delhi Fort, the Ganges at Benares and Calcutta, with a distant view of the Himalayas, and perhaps, if he has time, the temple of Madura thrown in, proceeds to write about it—he had this advantage that he actually lived in an Indian village for a few days. Here are his impressions:

“Comment vit le paysan hindou? Dans une case dont les murs sont faits de boue séchée et le toit de feuilles tressés. Une entrée sans porte; deux pièces, sans fenêtres ni meubles. Une natte sur la terre battue. C’est son lit. Des briques avec un feu sous la cendre. C’est la cuisine. La charrue est un ancre de bois. La modèle fut breveté en l’an mille avant Jésus-Christ. Un mètre d’étoffe blanche roulée autour des hanches, voilà toute la garde-robe. Il ne sait ni lire ni écrire et naturellement n’a jamais vu un journal: il ne fume pas, ne boit ni alcool ni vin; il ne connaît pas le sens du mot: distractions. En somme il ne vit pas, il existe; ou plutôt il survit en attendant que les privations, le travail excessif ne le minent et qu’une famine dans la région ne le tue. . . .”

But assuming for the moment that this is all true, which in fact it is not, does M. Dekobra really mean to imply that life, or the joy of it, consists in having a front door, wearing trousers, reading the newspapers, smoking, drinking, and “distractions,” which presumably means “having a good time,” or, as Aldous Huxley says, a very bad one? Has it occurred to him that the peasant does not want more clothes, is much better off without the pile of furniture with which our homes are loaded or overloaded, that the kitchen suits his simple needs, and that, if he does not smoke or drink, though many in fact do both, that is because he does not like these pleasures? Is not the Indian peasant, after all, much better off than many of the slum-dwellers in London or Paris? That he is poor, no one denies; it is patent. But the so-called “misery” of his life is due to none of these things, not even to the inability to read and write, that infernal demon which the gods of education hope to exorcise, in the simple belief that hell will then become heaven. Nor is it due, as Herr Piper seems to imply, to the oppressive taxation by the naughty English. It is due—and M. Dekobra has, as we shall see, the wit to discern this—partly to the uncertainty of the rain and partly to the crushing weight of custom, joined to a natural unthriftiness. The Indian peasant enjoys life, quite as much as M. Dekobra, though he may know nothing of the *Comédie Française* or the pleasures of Montmartre. Passing in procession through the streets of a large city one could observe, from the

height of an elephant, the faces of the crowd, mainly of villagers, all, it may be, undemonstrative but all placidly happy.

We cannot follow M. Dekobra through all his adventures—his visit to the Khyber, where he saw the Gurkha sentries sweeping the country with spy-glasses, symbols of the defence of India, which to many, who unconsciously enjoy the fruits of it, seems a lavish waste of money, his astonishment at the exuberant hospitality of Princes, which has become, so to speak, traditional, his amusing episodes of the courtesans and the licensed bandits of Peshawar, his adventures with the Puritan American and with the lady—also, of course, from the States—of the comic tiger. These are for the most part mere traveller's tales, the sauce with which to season the dish. He strikes a more serious note when he tells of his visit to the Legislative Assembly.

"We are not going to be slaves for ever," exclaimed an honourable member, in the usual rhetorical variant of the current cliché, a slave mentality. Slaves of whom or of what? asks M. Dekobra, sermonising upon the text. Surely not of England, which has developed the country in the well-known ways and has tried to improve the lot of the whole community. Are you not, if you are or call yourselves slaves, rather the slaves of the fanaticism which has made a fetish of religious customs, a fanaticism beyond the pale of reason and good sense, impervious to the advantages of Western science? Slaves of puerile superstitions, which have barred the way to all progress and have frustrated all efforts, however well-intentioned. Here speaks the European: M. Dekobra solemnly disclaims any brief either for England or for Hindustan, but he cannot change the colour of his skin. Herr Piper has found in the English occupation a crushing out of all natural self-expression, which, after masquerading in a semi-European garb, is only now beginning to assert itself by political revolt. If in the German way Herr Piper has laid too much stress upon the spiritual (*geistig*) side, and with obvious bias has overdrawn the consequences of English rule, M. Dekobra has for his part emphasized rather too strongly the material side. It is true that by our system of education we have to some extent turned the thought of India into a Western channel, though it should not be forgotten that the two races have profited by mutual contact. It is true, also, that, while we have not actually discouraged the development of Indian art and music, we have not actively encouraged it, and if M. Dekobra is right in condemning the Victoria Memorial as "a desolation of men of taste," we have not added much, if anything, to the architectural glories both of Hindu and Mussulman. On the other hand, it is unfair to decry or to ignore the obvious advantages that British rule has conferred; the peasant, whose lot our French author so deplures, was

apt to be neglected as to his material wants by learned sophists who exhausted their energies in discussing the Unknowable, as well as by magnificent Moghuls who, when they were not destroying temples, were lapped in the luxury of their Courts. Akbar was, of course, the most illustrious exception, but there was only one Akbar.

M. Dekobra's insistence that the Hindu is the worst enemy of himself is echoed in the little book* whose author is a product not so much of that fulness of self-expression, the dawn of which Herr Piper hails in the present unrest, but rather of that Anglicisation of India which he so deplotes. Dr. Paranjpye asserts that the main cause of India's backward condition, "the crux," as he calls it, "of the Indian problem," lies, as it does elsewhere, in a too slavish acceptance of authority, in a too blind obedience to the past. Sacerdotalism, in which term is included not only the priestly claim over the hearts and minds of men, but also the exploitation of popular credulity for selfish objects, the special sanctity of certain writings and the maintenance of the priestly caste above all others, has been the bane of progress ever since and even before Henry IV. stood in the snow at Canossa to await the convenience or the insolence of Pope Gregory. Ritual, formalism, funeral and wedding ceremonies, the belief in omens and prophecies, and, above all, the position of the lower and lowest castes, have drained the wealth and shackled the spirit of India. In Europe the Renaissance went far to burst the fetters of the Church; art, music, and letters became emancipated, and the West invigorated with new life. The Reformation accomplished something in the northern countries, but imperfectly, since it transferred authority from one priestly class to another, and in spite of both Renaissance and Reformation much remains that can only be classed by the rationalist as mummerly and superstition. Tradition persists; children are still taught things which their teachers know or should know are untrue, or are invited to apply to so-called sacred history canons which would never be applied to secular. And if these things can be done in materialist Europe, what shall we say of "spiritual" India where a highly educated man will put off a journey because he is told that the day chosen is inauspicious, or will fix the hour of a wedding to the exact minute prescribed by the astrologers? It is perhaps to be regretted that the author did not develop his ideas at greater length; doubtless he had his reasons.

Yet still the doubt remains, as it remained with John Morley, whether it is wise to make so slashing an onslaught on all that men have held dear for many generations. Pure rationalism of

* *The Crux of the Indian Problem*, by Dr. Paranjpye. London, Watts and Co. 3s. 6d.

the highly intellectual type becomes the agnosticism of which Huxley was an early exponent, but in lesser minds it is apt to degenerate into a scoffing atheism which leaves the individual soul to drift like a ship without a rudder. This is exactly the charge which has been laid against the secularization of schools under a Government always nervous when religious susceptibilities are concerned. Faith, as the priests so often remind us, begins where reason ends. Error, when it is recognized as error, can never be anything else. So much may be conceded to Dr. Paranjpye that there are creepers that have grown over the tree of religion—be it Hindu, Christian, or Mussulman—that need to be firmly lopped off without injuring the tree and to the immense advantage of the fuller life. This is a counsel of perfection, and yet until it is realized we shall continue, as Dean Inge says, to progress in a circle.

Natural evolution, Herr Piper seems to say, moves in periods in which youth gives place to the prime of life, and that again to age and decay. But through the whole cycle has persisted amongst the 300 odd millions that make up the masses of India a thread of superstition, of reference to authority, of that instinct for hallowing old things because they are old. And yet when all is said and done, when we have glanced at or studied, according to fancy, the various aspects which writers like these have tried to put before us, when we have correlated and analyzed their views, are we any nearer to understanding the mind of the educated Hindu or the motives which actuate the masses in the villages? What seems to be needed most of all is a rational synthesis of life, which, without ignoring the past with its beliefs and its bequests, will realize that moral, mental, and spiritual progress must go hand-in-hand with material prosperity, that all that hinders the latter hinders also the former, and that the way of Indian salvation lies through the body to the soul.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

INDIA IN CRISIS. By Arthur Duncan. (Putnam.) 5s. net.

(Reviewed by A. L. SAUNDERS.)

An account of the Indian political situation which modestly disclaims being more than a statement of facts for the general reader with little or no knowledge of Indian affairs. It is, in fact, a clear and compendious review in brief compass of the Indian nationalist movement which may be of service even to the well informed. It comes down to date, there being a full account of the Irwin-Gandhi negotiations and agreement, and of the Butler Committee's investigation into the position of the Indian Princes. Mr. Duncan's scholarship has enabled him to compress into the opening chapter a description of Indian civilization and history which contains a wealth of knowledge in a few pages. One must demur, however, to the statement that "the Sudras include the depressed classes." A Sudra, in fact, is a perfectly good plebeian, not a serf.

THE INDIAN QUARTERLY REGISTER. (Bela Press, 108, Khetra Banerji Lane, Sibpur, Calcutta.)

(Reviewed by DR. LANKA SUNDARAM.)

The *Indian Quarterly Register* is a more convenient publication than its precursor, the *Indian Annual Register*, which was first published in 1919. Since 1924 the *Quarterly* was issued as a "digest of Indian public affairs in matters political, social, and economic." Printed as a large 8vo volume, it is neatly got up. The typescript is rather small, but the wealth of information available therein justifies this enforced economy of space. It has an exhaustive table of contents, but an index also would be a great convenience to the reader. This additional feature would be welcome, since the serious investigator, politician, and economist is always on the lookout for specialized information.

Publications in India are legion, and it is always hard to keep in touch with periodical literature. The numerous reports and *communiqués* of the Central and Provincial Governments, the proceedings of the Legislative Councils, public bodies, and conferences in India are not usually available in a convenient form. Particularly the latter category of literature can at best be culled from the daily newspapers. Several attempts were made to issue an annual collection of documents relating to Indian affairs in a convenient and easily accessible form. But until the *Indian Annual Register* came out the state of affairs was extremely unsatisfactory. I remember documenting one of my monographs from this publication ten years ago. Printed in large quarto size, it used to be rather unwieldy.

But the *Quarterly* is more handsome and comprehensive than its predecessor. Every phase of Indian national activity is carefully digested and the relevant literature printed generally *in extenso*. Thus, if you want to get access to the details of the motion for adjournment in the Bombay Legislative Council in regard to consideration of the Governor's travelling allowances, you will find it in the *Register*, since all the important proceedings of provincial Legislatures are reproduced here. Of course, the Central Legislature occupies more space than the provincial Councils. The proceedings of the numerous all-India conferences are given the merited prominence. This is a welcome feature, as the proceedings, say, of the All-India Women's Conference are not available in an official volume.

A very useful section deals with India's external affairs. With the growing interest of India in the outside world and the consequent participation of Indian delegations in international conferences, there is always a great demand for a concise and reliable digest of international activity in relation to India. Naturally, the *Register* devotes the necessary space to the League Assembly and the International Labour Conference.

Another important section deals with India in Parliament. The *Hansard* is not always available to the student of public affairs in India. But if a reference is made to the *Register*, one can trace any important speech of the Members of both the Houses of Parliament or statement of policy by the Government in relation to India. The *Register* is no partisan document, but Messrs. Churchill and Maxton occupy as much space as Mr. Benn and Earl Winterton, provided their part in the House of Commons is of definite interest—favourable or unfavourable—to India.

Since last year there is a useful introduction to the events in India issued with the *Register* annually. Written in an easy style, this introductory chapter provides an index to Indian affairs, both to the Indian public and to the external observer. Finally, there is a comprehensive chronology of Indian affairs provided in the volume.

The *Indian Quarterly Register* deserves to be well known, and libraries ought, in particular, to subscribe for it unreservedly.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE INDIAN TRADE COMMISSIONER DURING 1930-1931.

By H. A. F. Lindsay, C.I.E., C.B.E., C.I.S. (*Office of the High Commissioner for India.*)

(Reviewed by JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

The *Report of the Indian Trade Commissioner*, which has hitherto been published every two years, will, commencing with the present volume, be issued annually. With commendable promptness the survey for the year ended March 31, 1931, is made available less than five months after the close of the period. As might be expected, the total trade of India again shows a decline. The figure, which for 1928 stood at 448 millions sterling and for 1929 at 440 millions, has now dropped to 334 millions, a fall of 24 per cent. Nor had this downward trend come to an end at the close of the period under review, since the grand total of imports, exports, and re-exports for April—

June, 1931, is 35 per cent. lower than that for the corresponding period of 1930.

Of the causes of this serious falling off in trade Mr. Lindsay gives a close analysis in an interesting chapter on "Modern Trade Tendencies," with most of the statements and deductions in which one will probably be prepared to agree. But when, speaking of conditions in the United Kingdom, the Indian Trade Commissioner points out that wages generally in this country are not only high in comparison with pre-war but also with Continental levels, and observes, "and yet . . . they accompany widespread unemployment," one would be inclined to consider uncompetitively high wages rather as one of the primary causes of our unemployment, excessive taxation being another. An interesting assertion which deserves attention is that attempts on the part of governments to control prices, output or export of staple goods, "have signally failed to achieve their main objects." "In fact," the passage goes on, "it is no exaggeration to say that no scheme of price control as yet devised has accomplished the objects it set out to accomplish."

Equally noteworthy are those passages which emphasize the value to India of concentrating on the production of high-grade goods rather than the cheap, low-quality article. There can be little doubt that in measure as producers all over the world bend themselves to bringing forth goods of the highest quality, a natural process of international differentiation in production will again tend to arise, and to the extent that such differentiation becomes more accentuated, to that extent will the world cease to suffer from those ills which the universal mass production of low-grade goods has inflicted upon it. Every advice which may induce India to heed so helpful a warning should be welcomed and taken to heart.

In treating of the application of science to agriculture, it is significant that the word *sugar* is not mentioned in the Report, although India is the original home of the sugar-cane and potentially the country of its greatest production. But then, this Report is concerned with Indian exports, and sugar is an article of importation; in fact, it is the fourth in importance among these. The present time, when worldwide over-production is gravely affecting all sugar producers, may not seem appropriate to urge the development of sugar production in India, but one cannot help wondering why India should import close upon 900,000 tons of sugar a year, notwithstanding the high duty, and whether adequate improvements both in the cane and the extraction of sugar would not enable it to add substantially to the Empire sources of our sugar supply and, with suitable inter-imperial preference, secure for India an important share in the supply of this country. Such a development would have a stimulating effect upon Indian purchasing power, and both directly and indirectly increase its purchases in this country. For more reasons than one it is an aim which both India and Britain should be eager to achieve.

In addition to dealing succinctly with all the important exports of India, the Report devotes a good deal of space to marketing methods and publicity, and proves the valuable assistance which the Indian Trade Commissioner's Department, both directly and through its co-operation with various other

inter-imperial organizations, renders to producers, exporters, and traders. The recommendations as to closer co-operation between producers and sellers are to the point, and the results achieved in other countries encourage the hope that India will improve its arrangements in this respect.

This Report is a stimulating record of useful work ably performed.

THE FIRST ENGLISHMAN IN INDIA. Letters and narratives of sundry Elizabethans, written by themselves and edited with introduction and notes by J. Courtenay Locke. (*Routledge*.) 10s. 6d. net.

The text of Mr. Locke's volume is taken from Purchas and Hakluyt, issued some twenty-five years ago at Glasgow, but for the convenience of the reader the spelling is modernized, and, further, the notes, comprising almost a third of the work, explain from all points of view the difficulties which occur in the text. There are twenty-four letters in all, of which the first is a descriptive letter written in 1579 from Goa by Thomas Stevens, who worked and lived at Goa for forty years. We are informed that Stevens was the first to study Kanarese scientifically, and even published a grammar. The last of the letters is addressed by Frey Peter, of Lisbon, to his cousin, Frey, Diego, on the magnificence and traffic of the Kingdom of Pegu, dated December 28, 1589.

The volume includes some illustrations and three maps, which add to the interest and usefulness of the text. The painstaking work of the author is illustrated not merely by the explanatory notes, but also by an alphabetical list of place-names, old and new forms of spelling, and by tables of the journeys.

FOREIGN BIOGRAPHIES OF SHIVAJI. By Surendranath Sen. (*Kegan Paul*.) 16s. net.

There has been no lack of books on Shivaji, the great Maratha General and statesman. The Government of Bombay have undertaken to publish a source book of Maratha history in which extracts from Fryer and Bernier will appear. Mr. Surendranath Sen has avoided a clash with the Government's intentions and has issued a collection of biographies of various length of this hero. First of all he has translated with the help of Portuguese professors the *Life of Shivaji*, by Cosme da Guarda, a very creditable performance to which he has added a large number of notes. Hereafter follow the references which appear in Thévenot, Carré, Fr. Martin, and Valentyn. Finally are added the references made in the Dutch and in the unpublished English records to be found in the India Office. The able general introduction of fifty-seven pages deals with these old biographers, their views and opinions. The index is carefully compiled. The volume itself is printed in Calcutta in excellent type.

CO-OPERATION IN BOMBAY. *Short Studies.* Edited by Hiralal L. Kaji. (Taraporevala.) 18s. net.

Professor Kaji has collected a number of studies in which are described the growth and development of the system of co-operation. This system has undoubtedly greatly benefited the agricultural population of the Bombay Presidency, and has therefore enjoyed general approval. Co-operative societies have gone well beyond their original idea of lending at seed-time sums to be paid back at the time of the harvest; they deal in addition in all kinds of agricultural and domestic machinery, and almost anything required by the small farmer. Professor Kaji has done great service in collecting his material in volume form.

UP THE COUNTRY. Letters written to her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India. By Emily Eden. With an introduction and notes by E. Thompson. (Oxford University Press.) 8s. 6d. net.

Miss Eden's letters have long been almost a classic on Anglo-Indian life during the middle of the last century, and it was a happy thought of the Oxford University Press to add this volume, of which the original was but rarely obtainable, to the series of reprints of the older type. Miss Eden was the sister of Lord George Auckland, who became Governor-General of India in 1835, and in his company she had the best opportunity to observe, not only English society in the country, but also to follow political events. It was towards the end of 1838 that Lord Auckland undertook his journey to meet Ranjit Singh at Lahore, whom he made an ally to British arms. It was during his tenure of the high office that the first war occurred against Afghanistan. The names which are mentioned in these letters are given merely by initials, but Mr. Thompson has been able to supplement most of them by their full names in his notes, which also correct some historical errors.

ON THE FRONTIER AND BEYOND. A Record of Thirty Years' Service. By Sir Frederick O'Connor. With map and illustrations. (John Murray.) 15s. net.

The thirty years of service with the Government of India of Sir Frederick O'Connor, lonely as they often were, have been fruitful, not merely for the interests of this country alone, but also as a stimulant to other officers who have either followed him or will do so in the future. Sir Frederick O'Connor may be considered one of the pioneers of British service in India. First stationed at Darjeeling, he took part in the mission to Tibet, where subsequently he acted as Government agent; he was in Persia until 1916, where he had trouble with the Swedish officers of the gendarmerie and was made a prisoner with the British colony and met the ubiquitous German Wassmuss. In 1918, after his release, he undertook a mission to Siberia, and finally became the British Resident in Nepal, where he signed the Anglo-Nepalese treaty of friendship. Interspersed with this account is a narrative

of sport, including the hunting expedition in Nepal in company of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. This is a delightful book. The illustrations throughout are excellent and tell their own story.

WITH CYCLISTS ROUND THE WORLD. By Adi B. Hakin, Jal P. Bapasola, and Rustom J. Bhungara. (Bombay: *Adi B. Hakin*, Shera House.) Rs. 5.

(Reviewed by A. L. SAUNDERS.)

It was a pleasant experience to meet in London with such cheery, plucky, brainy adventurers as the three young Parsees whose bicycle ride round the world is here set forth. As the publisher's note expressively puts it, the book is packed with thrills and spills and giggles. They travelled 44,000 miles, completely round the earth, through heat and cold, deserts and snows and forests, lack of food and water, pirates and brigands, wild beasts and snakes and savages, and all with courage, endurance, good temper, and high spirits. The book is deserving of praise, too, for literary quality and descriptive power. It is a record greatly to be admired, and it is good to know they came through successfully and won honour and applause from their own countrymen and many others, rulers and peoples. We congratulate them.

INDIAN SCIENTISTS. Biographical sketches with an account of their researches, discoveries, and inventions. (Madras: *Natesan*.) Rs. 3.

The publishers have added to their editions on similar subjects a volume on the modern scientists of India whose activities have found approval in Europe and America. The first biography is that of Dr. Mahendralal Sircar, of Bengal, who played a great part in the introduction of modern medical science into India—a very difficult task; then comes the well-known Sir J. C. Bose, the distinguished plant physiologist; Dr. P. C. Ray, the author of *The History of Hindu Chemistry*; Dr. C. V. Raman, of Southern India, the great physicist; and Professor Ramachandra, the mathematician. All these examples show that India can produce distinguished men, if they receive Western training, and no doubt the number will steadily increase. The book itself is tastefully got up.

FAR EAST

VAN STOCKUM'S TRAVELLERS' HANDBOOK FOR THE DUTCH EAST INDIES. By S. A. Reitsma. (The Hague: *W. P. van Stockum and Son*.)

(Reviewed by JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

Messrs. van Stockum and Son, of The Hague, who, as booksellers, have placed succeeding generations of Dutchmen in the East Indies under a debt of gratitude by their constant endeavours to keep them informed of the progress of literature in the principal countries of Europe, have now laid the non-Dutch visitors to those fascinating islands under an equal obligation

by publishing a most excellent *Travellers' Handbook for the Dutch East Indies*. Hitherto these islands had only been dealt with as part of books on the Far East or as an adjunct to guides for India and Burma. The present work deals in over 600 closely but clearly printed pages with the East Indian Archipelago only. The text is accompanied by a number of good full-page illustrations as well as numerous maps and sketch maps, which will be found of great assistance in planning excursions and tours into the interior.

In addition to the usual detailed information required by the tourist, this work supplies general chapters on the history, ethnography, arts, and culture of the islands which are both concise and comprehensive. Controversial statements are, as far as possible, avoided, without thereby causing any loss of depth in treatment. The economic and administrative side is also ably and clearly dealt with. Anyone who studies these general chapters carefully will be able to acquire an excellent bird's-eye view of the life, past and present, of the many peoples which inhabit these enchanting islands.

The author, Mr. S. A. Reitsma, is to be congratulated upon the manner in which this first effort at producing an exhaustive handbook for the Dutch East Indies has been accomplished.

Perhaps one might suggest that in a second edition the transliteration of Dutch, Malay, and other foreign place-names and words might be reconsidered. At present the Dutch spelling has been adopted, which, especially where it attempts to give a scientifically accurate rendering of the original, is not only somewhat forbidding in aspect for anyone who does not speak Dutch, but does not enable the English or American reader to pronounce the local names with any approach to accuracy. Yet this is especially necessary, since the tourist will, as a rule, be unable to speak any of the local languages. The official system of transliteration adopted by the Royal Geographical Society, although probably the most scientifically correct, would not seem very useful for the average tourist. Perhaps, therefore, one might suggest the old-fashioned method of giving the consonants their English and the vowels their Italian values, as the most likely to suit the practical aim of a handbook of this kind.

The translation into English might, in the second edition, well be revised. There are passages which yield their true meaning only to one conversant with the Dutch language, whilst a more idiomatic construction would at times make for smoother reading.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE CIVILIZATION OF JAPAN. By Yosoburo Takekoshi. Three vols. (*Allen and Unwin.*) £3 3s. net.

The history of Japan is fairly well known to us through a number of English and foreign books, and through translations from the Japanese, both ancient and modern. These histories deal especially with the political rise of that empire. Many people are astounded at the growth of Japanese culture during the last eighty years, and do not realize that that growth was not as sudden as is generally believed. In looking over these three volumes one's vision becomes clearer and for the first time one obtains a complete

view of the true life of the Japanese people in the past, and this fact alone should make the appearance of the work welcome to historians, economists, politicians, and students of civilization. But this is not the only matter to engage our attention. The compilation has been done with a thoroughness, application, and wisdom that command the highest regard and respect for Japanese scholarship.

The volumes are so large that the reader will consult, apart from the list of contents, the accurate index of fourteen pages, which displays the author's wide field of his subject. A few of these subjects may be here enumerated: Relations with America—Arts—Banking System—Buddhism—Roman Catholics—China, its art and literature, as well as trade, coins, and currency—the Dutch and China—the East India Company—Trade and Relations with the English—Government—Guilds—Hideyoshi—Land, its cultivation, system, and taxation—Land Ownership—Merchants—Military—Rice—Ships—Slaves—Taxation—Temples—Village government, etc. It can, of course, be assumed that these are but a few of the numerous subjects touched upon or written about in detail. For instance, the third volume opens with a list of Merchant Guilds during various eras.

PROBLEMS OF THE JAPANESE EXCHANGE, 1914-1926. By J. Inouye. (*Macmillan*.) 10s. 6d. net.

This volume consists of a series of lectures given at Kyoto before the author became Minister of Finance, and is important, as it represents an account of the economic movement of modern Japan. The position of Japan was not favourable until the outbreak of the Great War turned her fortune for a time when Europe bought and borrowed heavily from Japan, and this golden time ceased to a large extent with the end of the war. The earthquake of 1923 also affected the country's finances for the time being.

The author insists upon the damage done to foreign trade by fluctuating exchange, and therefore favours the gold standard. The appendices contain tables of import and export, of the national debt, of Japanese loans and European loans in Japan, and of fluctuations in the course of exchange from 1880 to 1925. The English translation is made by Mr. E. H. Bunsen, formerly a Vice-Consul in Japan.

FOOD SUPPLY AND RAW MATERIALS IN JAPAN. By E. F. Penrose. (*Cambridge University Press*.) 9s. net.

With the help of thirty-four tables and various diagrams, the author traces the economic situation of Japan. The tables show from 1894 to 1927 the quantity of coastal fishery products, production of cereals, potatoes, beans, animal and other foodstuffs, of minerals. In the text the author explains his system of collation, the use of the indexes. Extensive study of economics has convinced the author that, for the welfare of the people, Japan should not adopt protectionist tariffs, but rather participate to a larger extent in the exchange of commodities with the rest of the world.

THE EFFECT OF THE WORLD WAR UPON THE COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY OF JAPAN. By K. Yamasaki and G. Ogawa, Yale University Press. (London: *Oxford University Press*.) 18s. net.

This volume commences the Japanese Series of the Economic and Social History of the World War, of which Professor Shotwell is the general editor. It is divided into two sections, which are treated separately by the two specialists. The first section has again two subdivisions—viz., during the war and after the war. On account of the heavy orders placed by the Allied Powers, there was an enormous increase in the export trade, which resulted in a large increase of prices at home with all the advantages and disadvantages that follow from it. When the war at last came to its conclusion the prosperity of Japan began to decline, as foreign goods competed successfully with Japanese articles. The result, naturally, was that the imports once more exceeded the exports, and speculation became rampant. The authors have produced a very valuable work in which not merely the effect of war upon trade and industry is shown, but also a general economic history of Japan is given.

HISTORY OF JAPANESE RELIGION. By M. Anesaki. With forty-three illustrations. (*Kegan Paul*.) 21s. net.

Professor Anesaki has long enjoyed amongst students and scholars a reputation for his wide knowledge of Buddhism. His best-known books are: *Buddhist Art in its Relation to Buddhist Ideals*, and the one on *Nichiren*. Professor Anesaki now appears before a much wider public. In six books he explains Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, and how they live side by side and supplement each other. This is a remarkable achievement. Christianity, he believes, will continue in Japan, but may become independent of the Western Church.

CHINA YEAR BOOK, 1929-1930. Edited by H. G. W. Woodhead (Tientsin). (London: *Simpkin Marshall*.) £2 2s. net.

The *China Year Book* has become a work of reference which is indispensable to everyone interested in China and from every point of view. Mr. Woodhead, editor of the *Peking and Tientsin Times*, deserves the gratitude of all students, business men, and institutions. He should further be congratulated on having overcome so many difficulties in compiling this volume of 1,262 pages, and one is at a loss to understand how a busy man can physically find the time to compile such a volume. The year book runs into twenty-seven chapters (with index), and it may be well to enumerate them: General Information (Geography, Geology, People, and Language, Fauna)—Mines, Minerals—Colonies and Settlements—Public Health—Customs Revenue—Greater China—River Conservancy Works—Custom Import Tariff—Currency, Banks, etc.—Communication, Railways and Roads—Posts, Telegraphs, Aviation—Religion—Education—Labour—Trade-marks—Finance—the Chinese Government—Army and Navy—Shipping—Inter-

national Problems—Who's Who—Trade—Commerce—Products—Miscellaneous—Public Justice—the Kuomintang—the Chinese Eastern Railway Dispute. The index alone comprises thirty pages.

THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF MANCHURIA. A Digest or Analysis of Treaties, Agreements, and Negotiations concerning the Three Eastern Provinces of China. By C. Walter Young. With Map. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 16s. net.

Not for the first time, Manchuria has become the object of international rivalry. Professor Young has devoted great energy to compiling the volume and commenting upon the various phases of recent diplomatic history. He has divided it into four periods—1891-1905, 1905-1915, 1915-1921, 1921-1929. Each of these sections is prefaced by a summary of contents. The student need have no misgivings as to statements made, since they are thoroughly documented on every page by references to the various agreements and treaties.

THE PERMIAN OF MONGOLIA. Report on the Permian Fauna of the Jisu Honguer Limestone of Mongolia and its relation to the Permian of other parts of the World. By A. W. Grabau. With text illustrations and thirty-five plates. (*Putnam.*) £2 2s. net.

This volume, comprising 665 pages, forms the fourth volume of the Central Asiatic Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History, conducted by R. C. Andrews. It is divided into four main sections. The first contains a general introduction on the Permian or final period of the Palæozoic era and its relations to the same era of other parts of the world, with its bearing on Permian geology and geography. The second section gives a description of the genera and species of the Jisu Honguer limestone fauna of Mongolia. The third section deals with the stratigraphic and faunal relations of the Jisu Honguer limestone to the Permian formations of other regions, and the last gives a detailed list of specimens which were used in the description of this fauna, and it further gives a full bibliography pertaining to the subject. A good map and a number of tables adorn—the word is used advisedly—the beautiful text, and the plates, accompanied by a descriptive index, are of the best collotype kind. Mr. Grabau, well known through his previous works, such as the *Stratigraphy of China* and his contribution to the Geological Survey of China, deserves the highest possible credit.

CHINA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE. A human geography. By L. H. Dudley Burton. With a chapter on the "Climate," by W. G. Kendrew. Illustrated. (*Oxford University Press.*) 15s. net.

Amid the vast literature on China this book should occupy a prominent place. After a topographical introduction the author gives a general survey

of ancient and modern fauna and flora, then proceeds with an account of the various races of the country. A very important part is the five chapters on agriculture, its methods, farming, cultivation of food plants, tea, and fruit, etc. The next chapter deals with the trade routes and their relation to industry and commerce. Special stress is laid upon the ingenuity of the Chinese in making use of their means of communication with no railways to assist them. Frequent references are made to the works by W. Wagner (in German) and F. H. King (in English), and we are pleased to note that the old volumes by Wells Williams are still considered serviceable. There are numerous sketch maps showing the various types of vegetation and of the climatic conditions, and the sixteen plates, all referring to the subject, are well produced by the Clarendon Press.

THE NATIONALIST PROGRAM FOR CHINA. By Chao-Chu Wu, Yale University Press. (London: *Milford*.) 7s. net.

The author is the Chinese Minister to the United States, and therefore represents the principles of the present Government in Nanking. These principles were made public through some lectures held at Williamstown, and deal with the domestic as well as the foreign programme of the Kuomintang. From them we learn that the present Government means to retain the best of Chinese culture and at the same time make the country into a modern State; on the other hand, the new Chinese rulers seem determined to have the old unequal treaties altered and to assume full sovereignty. As regards Manchuria, it is claimed that, though particularly Japanese economic interests are accepted, full political control is demanded. There are a number of appendices, mostly documents containing official statements on both the domestic and foreign policies.

THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNICATIONS INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL UPON THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF CHINA. By Ming-Fu Cheng. (*Routledge*.) 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Cheng, evidently a former student at the London School of Economics, has compiled a very useful book based on intensive study. The early chapters deal with the existing economic conditions in China, and they are compared with the foremost other countries. Unfortunately, his study abroad has given him ideas which are not very likely to be realized at once. First of all, unity is far from being a fact. His nationalist views are benevolent to his own country, but he seems to expect foreign Powers to assist in supplying the means for a large increase in railways and other communications to be owned by Chinese. The author's reading is very extensive, especially of recent literature.

HUNG LOU MEN. *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. Translated from the Chinese and adapted by Chi Chen Wang. With a preface by Arthur Waley. (*Routledge*.) 7s. 6d. net.

Chinese novels have been rendered into English since a long time past, but the popular taste for them is new, and also the style has become more readable, with the result that the reading public finds in them a great human element. In this particular case Mr. Waley must receive a tribute for his alluring preface, in which he devotes some pages to belles-lettres in general and the Hung Lou men in particular. These pages will be very welcome and useful. The novel itself is, of course, very long, and the Chinese translator has picked out the essential passages without losing touch with the original Chinese version. The appearance of the volume, with its arrangement and illustrations, is all that can be desired.

HISTORY OF CHINESE POLITICAL THOUGHT. By Liang Chi-chao. Translated from the Chinese by L. T. Chen. (*Kegan Paul*.) 10s. 6d. net.

Liang Chi-chao was one of the foremost Chinese thinkers in modern times—he died last year at the age of fifty-six years—but, although greatly admired in his country, his name has scarcely become known in Europe except to scholars. The publishers therefore deserve great credit for introducing his name and work to students of political thought. Although Liang Chi-chao introduced a new literary style, thus breaking with the old system, he nevertheless was a staunch supporter of the Confucian edifice. By no means was he a supporter of so-called democracy; he favoured the monarchy, to which, after all, the country owed its greatness. In the present volume, consisting of a number of lectures, the various schools of political thought—for example, those established by Confucius, Motse, the Taoists, and Legalists—are summarized. No one can foresee whether the future rulers of China will heed this scholar's warning that foreign ideas cannot be transferred to a country's native soil.

PORTRAIT OF A CHINESE LADY AND CERTAIN OF HER CONTEMPORARIES. By Lady Hosie. Illustrated. (*Hodder and Stoughton*.) 21s. net.

It is a novel idea, and a very happy one indeed, to picture a country by its people. In her second book Lady Hosie describes particularly Mrs. Sung, of Shanghai. Unfortunately, in most of the books published in the past on China the people have been judged almost entirely by Western ideas. Lady Hosie explains to the public the beauties of Filial Piety. There is a duality in all things—both East and West—and agreement or disagreement depends upon the personal view or knowledge, which may be faulty. At any rate, in this volume we begin to love the Chinese people, and it is to be hoped that Lady Hosie's book will bring a clearer view to Western peoples' minds. Lady Hosie's style is most attractive—nay, charming—and the reader feels instinctively that he can trust her sympathetic treatment. The illus-

trations are well selected from various sources, yet one cannot but regret the disappearance of the Chinese ladies' superb dresses as shown on page 112. The influence of European thought has not always been beneficial.

OLD BUDDHA (EMPRESS TZU HSI). By Princess der Ling. Illustrated. (*John Lane.*) 12s. 6d. net.

A number of books have been written on this great lady, the Empress-Dowager; here we find one compiled by her chief lady-in-waiting and special favourite. The volume should therefore be an authentic biography, based on intimate knowledge and on sympathy.

In looking at the picture on page 338, all the characteristics—her strength and weakness, her bitterness, her greatness as a ruler—are self-evident. She is being led down Peony Hill, a broken woman. We are grateful to the Princess for having given us a life study of this last Empress.

HISTOIRE DE LA CONCESSION FRANÇAISE DE CHANGHAI. Par Ch. B. Maybon et Jean Fredet. With maps, plans, and illustrations. (Paris: *Plon.*)

Monsieur Charles Maybon will always be honoured, not merely for his attainments in Chinese—he was for years at the French School at Hanoi, and afterwards in Shanghai—but no less for his personal charm. The material he left behind has been in the hands of Monsieur Fredet, who is responsible for some of the chapters.

It must be left to future generations to judge finally upon the system of "Concessions." About one thing there is no doubt—that the Concessions at Shanghai have changed the place, and that they have been a proof of good administration. The volume before us is the first complete history of any of the Concessions, and it is a pity that the work by M. Lanning on Shanghai has not been completed. In this volume sound scholarship is united with the desire to give an unbiassed account of the French achievement, which has been undeniable. Monsieur Fredet has lately seen clouds on the horizon, and justly so. All appearances are that these clouds will not disappear, but rather remain in view of the mentality of Young China. This volume, whatever the ultimate outcome may be, is a lasting testimonial of French efficiency in the East, which the Chinese themselves readily acknowledge. A reference may be made to the picture opposite page 240—that of M. Eugène Simon, whose book, *La Cité Chinoise*, is one of the best amongst a vast literature.

LA CIVILIZATION CHINOISE. LA VIE PUBLIQUE ET LA VIE PRIVÉE. By Marcel Granet. With five maps and ten plates. (Paris: *La Renaissance du Livre.*)

The books which Monsieur Granet has written have all shown great gifts of scholarship. The first volume through which he became known was his

Fêtes et Chansons anciennes de la Chine, an admirable example of learning. The present book is no exception. There are two sections in these 523 pages, the first dealing with the political history, the second with Chinese society.

It would really be idle to enter into details of this fascinating volume—every page is precious—but we cannot but quote two lines which denote Monsieur Granet's open-mindedness: "Le Fils du Ciel prend figure de Souverain dès qu'il se donne pour but d'anoblir son peuple tout entier."

HISTOIRE DE LA CHINE DE L'ANTIQUITÉ JUSQU'EN 1929. Par George Soulier de Morant. With seven maps. (Paris: Payot.) 50 fr.

It is, perhaps, not quite correct to say that this is the first history of China in one volume. The most recent is the one by E. T. Williams, before P. Wiegner issued one in China, *La Chine à travers les âges* (1920), and there was at least one excellent *abris* published in Vienna by Mr. Von Fries in 1884. However, Monsieur Soulier de Morant has presented to us an able history of Chinese civilization from its earliest times down to the present. The author is well known in England through his numerous works, especially on art and literature, and his translation from the *Has-chiu-chuan* has also appeared in English. His history is a masterly one; all-important events are skilfully interwoven, dates are given throughout, also the years of the various dynasties and reigns. A very good index concludes the work. But, in addition, the author has made the volume more useful to the English reader and student of Chinese by adding a Chinese index of names. This was essential, as English readers, and perhaps also others, are not familiar with the French transcription. Never before has such a transcription been used; and although it may be correct, it would have been more advisable to adopt the system generally in vogue. For instance, the Ts'ing Dynasty is written Tsring—to most people quite an unfamiliar name. It may be pointed out that there are other references to Fu Sang than the two mentioned. First, there is one in Ma Tuan-Lin, and then there is the larger special treatise by Vining (1885). As a history of Chinese civilization it can be thoroughly recommended.

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

UNVEILED. THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A TURKISH GIRL. By Selma Ekrem. (Geoffrey Bles.) 16s. net.

This well-illustrated book is a most attractively written autobiography, begun by a young Turkish girl who passed her early youth in Turkey at the time when there were still many severe restrictions on her women, but who had seen later on the great change that came about in her country owing to the reforms introduced by the Ghazi Mustapha Kemal. She certainly was the embodiment, when still of tender years, of that spirit in Turkish women that longed at last for freedom. She could not tolerate that her mother and

grandmother, her aunts and sisters, should have to be shut up in harems behind latticed windows and leading lazy lives reclining on sofas. She refused to wear a *yashmak* (white veil) and the long black gown that Turkish girls from their ninth year had to wear, but continued to put on the hat given to her to wear in early childhood. It is indeed wonderful how she picked up courage as a young girl and determined to have her way and wear her hat in spite of the *kudjahs* (Turkish priests) and the old Turkish women screaming, asking her why she wore it, being not a Christian, but Turkish. Her mother and sisters had not the same pluck, but went on with their veils, although they admired the little girl secretly for her obstinacy. Selma looked defiantly at her assailants, whilst her mother, who accompanied her, hurried her, frightened, along. Selma's father, Ekrem Bey, was a secretary of Sultan Hamid. He was absent all day and ignored all these happenings.

In due course Selma described their arrival at Jerusalem, after a short stay at Beirut, in glowing colours. There was a large crowd at the station to welcome the new Governor. Two Arabs ran at her mother, she says, grabbed her in their arms, and lowered her into the carriage ready for them, and one by one they were carried in this odd fashion; only the French governess, Lucy, protested at first, but had to give in, much to the amusement of the people around.

After passing narrow streets and big churches, they were driven to the governmental mansion, a big stone house, where her father at once went to the *solamlik*, the apartment reserved for men, and where he resided henceforth with the officials; whereas her mother and the children, with some of the servants, went to the harem side reserved for them. It was full of women, who all wanted to talk with her, though she was tired after the long journey and wanting rest.

Selma describes Jerusalem as unusually cold that winter. Charcoal was sold in the streets at tremendous prices, and the servants hastened to light fires in the rooms and the kitchen. Very interesting is the author's description of Easter at Jerusalem: how a procession of Catholics, Greeks, and Armenians marched in a gorgeous procession to the Holy Sepulchre, and how in the middle of it all the voice of the Muezzin chanted from the balcony of its mosque, with his hands lifted up: "Allah ekber, Allah ekber" ("God is great, God is great"). Selma describes how one by one the priests entered the Holy Sepulchre and how they came out after a time with the cry: "Christos anesti" ("Christ has risen").

After Jerusalem, her description of Mytilene, in the sunshine and amid the scent of flowers, is very attractive, and when the island was taken by the Greeks one is sorry to learn that the family had to leave, the father stoical in his courage, but the mother most unhappy and in tears. They were only allowed to take away suitcases, but had to leave their big luggage, which they ultimately all lost, in spite of being told that they would not. She describes mournfully their arrival at Stamboul at their grandfather's house, where they found all their relatives. Out of the Balkan War had come the Great War. Previously the Bulgarians had come to the very gates of Constantinople. "Alas! we suffered ignominious defeat," she cries out, "the loss of men and provinces and of our pride." That year Selma was

placed in the American preparatory school and the days of her freedom were over. Her father went back to his professorship. Everything they had left at Mytilene they never saw again, and they had to set up house, and found themselves in dire straits.

A very interesting chapter is "The Death of Old Stamboul," where the author describes the deep sorrow and humiliation that became the lot of the Turks. But there was still one hope for them, and that was Mustapha Kemal, who had retired with an army of soldiers to Angora and made that town the capital of Turkey after a long time of trouble and hardship. Selma herself, after a time, felt free at the American college, as she describes it, and made up her mind to go to America and find work there when she had to leave school. She realized that she had no opportunity in Turkey as a woman, with the dust of centuries ever choking her.

When she arrived in America from distant Turkey, after having received permission from her parents with great difficulty to undertake the voyage, everyone asked her: "But why did you come to the United States?" She had not come to sell peanuts and popcorn and to become a millionaire, but she had travelled "those hazardous miles of storm to be able to wear a hat in peace." When she arrived she had to face New York alone, as her friend to whom she had telegraphed could not meet the steamer with which she arrived. So she had to find her way all by herself through the crowded streets, where everyone was rushing and hurrying to some destination of their own. She could never think of crossing a street, for there was a never-ending stream of cars racing along on both sides. It was lucky that the young traveller found a kind person who told her, when she asked her the name of the street she was in, that she was in Fifth Avenue, which name she had heard of before and was familiar to her. She then took the train with her companion, where she walked up magical steps with fear; also her luggage was taken care of and waiting for her peacefully in a waiting-room. She was now to have her first American meal, and she describes "how attractive it was with gay-coloured tables and decorations." She did not eat, but marvelled, for everything was strange to her; the soup was sweet, the vegetables tasteless, the salad was made with sweet fruits spoiled with a dash of mayonnaise. "Would I like some ice-cream?" she was asked next. It was the middle of January, and she did not feel in the least like having ice-cream!

After New York, the train one day rushed Selma Ekrem on to Washington, where she had arranged to stay with an American family. It was like coming down from a dizzy shoot-the-chutes to the world again. It was difficult for her to believe that the same race she had seen rushing about in New York could breathe in this tame atmosphere of Washington. Later on she found a home there, and liked Washington on account of its numerous parks and cherry blossoms. She was now no longer conscious of her hat, as she always had been in Turkey. Prying eyes did not watch her; she felt free, free as the Americans who walked around her. No one believed that she was a Turk. They thought that the Turks had all black hair and dark complexions, and she, being fair, could not be a real Turk. "I felt more American every day and was longing to get work and get my living," she

says, "like the American women, who took their lives in their hands and shaped it to suit their wills." They had broken the shackles of pots and pans and prejudices and had forced themselves into life and politics, she found. These women worked, they voted, held important positions, and did all they wanted to do. They had fought for their liberty and had taken up their rights, while "we in Turkey remained passive and sighed that it was our Kismet to remain veiled from the light of life." After a long discussion at the club, Selma says that an elderly person came in. "This is my mother," said Selma's friend, who was about her age. "She is a good sport!" These words scandalized our Turkish girl, for she never had dreamed that mothers could be addressed in that way. In Turkey the respect due to the parents was so very different, whilst in America they were like friends and playfellows with their children.

It was summer now, and her wish to find work had not yet been realized. She moved again, however; she negotiated by mail with a lecture bureau and at last obtained what she was looking for. She gave, first, a lecture on Turkey in the little town, with the understanding that the profits realized would go partly to her and partly to the village school. She was very proud and happy when she held in her hands the twenty dollars she had earned, which she sent to her mother, who was delighted and surprised. She soon began lecturing regularly, which brought her into contact with numerous interesting people, and made her know the American people and America. She had come from a Turkey that had just emerged from the war; she had thought to find complete happiness in America, but did not find the perfect country she had expected. "America was far more interesting than that, and far more terrifying," she says.

After a year and a half our heroine began to long again for Stamboul. After the perpetual roar that is New York, she again yearned for the quiet of the white house perched on the hill of her grandfather. The tonic had become too strong for her Eastern nerves. She stood once more on a deck, watching New York as she went away. America had given her the longed-for personal freedom and work and many friends. She was grateful to her, and felt that this new world would always be a part of her life; but Stamboul was drawing her back irresistibly.

Once more Stamboul and the Bosphorus stood before her in full majesty with its slender minarets and its domes and majestic mosques. When looking eagerly for her family, she saw suddenly on the quay some naval officers wearing caps. Were these Allied officers? Certainly Turkish officers would not wear visored caps in Turkey, where the fez was the law. She forgot all about them in the joy of seeing her family again, but some time later she brought up the question.

"But they are Turkish officers," Bereat, her sister, answered. "They can wear hats now, and so can you!" It was a new Turkey to which she had come. She had fled to America for freedom, and now America had come back with her to Turkey. Turkish women now were free! The new Turkish Republic was not only strong and united, but a country that was free, a bridge between the East and the West. The old Stamboul had vanished, was dead and buried; it had become a new Republic, free from the

old tyranny and free for her women also! But although Selma Ekrem was happy and satisfied now in Turkey and made her way as a successful writer, she felt herself still drawn to America, that young and breathless West, the builder of centuries to come, and she resolved to visit it again.

THE LIFE OF MAHOMET. By Emile Dermenghem. (*Routledge.*) 15s. net.

The author of this biography, who evidently is a serious student of Arabic, brings great sympathy to bear on his subject; he has drawn from the original Arabic sources, chiefly from the Quran and the Traditions, and frequently renderings from the Quran are quoted. The works of European scholars have been used for the compilation of this *Life*, and we are glad to notice that the excellent book of Father Lammens has been singled out.

M. Dermenghem's study of Muhammad will appeal to a wide circle of readers. It is written in a peculiarly attractive style, and reads like a novel. A vivid picture is drawn of Khadija, his wife, and of their mutual relations. Although a short list of previous writers is given in the preface, a special bibliography would make it easier for the reader to familiarize himself with previous works.

HIGGINS. APOLOGY FOR MAHOMED. (A verbatim reprint.) Edition with introduction, critical notes, appendices, and a chapter on Islam, by Mirza Abu'l Fazl. (Allahabad: *Reform Society.*)

The first edition of this well-known apology was issued in 1829, almost exactly one hundred years ago, and the editor, a devout Muslim, evidently wanted to recall to the student's mind the circumstances under which the apology was originally written.

Mr. Abu'l Fazl has spared no trouble to produce a labour of love; he has on nearly every page provided necessary notes, many of considerable length, and has produced a very useful and up-to-date work on Islam. He has studied for this purpose a number of recent writers, such as Lane Poole, Sir William Muir, Rev. Bosworth-Smith, Cheragh Ali, and others.

A very appropriate memoir of Higgins has been added, with a complete list of his writings.

The book is dedicated to the late Sir Thomas Arnold in gratitude for his patient and independent researches into the history of the spread of Islam.

AROUND THE COASTS OF ARABIA. By Ameen Rihani. Illustrated. (*Constable.*) 21s. net.

Mr. Rihani is the well-known author of the Arabic work, *Muluk al Arab*. The same author has already acquired fame in English-speaking countries on account of his volume on *Ibn Saoud: His People—His Land*, and now he has added to the list one more important record of personal travels. A

great deal of valuable information on the Arab, his life and customs, is given, but the greater, and to English people most interesting, part is probably the pages devoted to the complex relations between Great Britain and the various rulers, sheikhs, sultans, etc. The photographs introduce the reader to all the leading personalities of Arabia.

UNDER FIVE SULTANS. By Mary M. Patrick. Illustrated. (*Williams and Norgate.*) 15s. net.

The author has spent over fifty years in Turkey. We learn from her the inner history of the Sultans and their governments, and to appreciate once more the good qualities of the Turkish people. She has done excellent work in connection with the well-known Women's College in Constantinople, over which she presided and where her name will always be held in the highest esteem. The picture of Constantinople and its life in war-time is excellent. There we see, almost with our eyes, how the city became transformed.

A LITERARY HISTORY OF THE ARABS. By R. A. Nicholson. Second edition. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 21s. net.

This history of Arabic literature in English was issued in 1907, and, as it had become out of print, a second edition was essential. The excellence of the volume is proved by the fact that Professor Nicholson has seen no reason to alter its text in any essential respect. A supplementary appendix has been added which incorporates some corrections, and the bibliography (ten pages) has been brought up to date. The volume appears in the same form as Professor Brownie's *Literary History of Persia*, and is issued in the attractive style which is characteristic of the Cambridge University Press publications.

COMMENTARIES OF RUY FREYRE DE ANDRADA, in which are related his exploits from the year 1619, in which he left his Kingdom of Portugal as General of the Sea at Ormuz and Coasts of Persia and Arabia. Edited, with introduction, by C. R. Boxer. (*Routledge.*) 15s. net.

A new volume in the Broadway Travellers' Series is always welcome. This series began only a few years ago, and some notable volumes have already been issued. The book on Ruy Freyre is all the more desirable as it is the first translation from the Portuguese of this well-known traveller in the East. It has another advantage—that of having found an able editor and translator. Mr. Boxer has met with considerable difficulties, the chief of which was that the original text is not always reliable, and that, therefore, he had to have recourse to the Portuguese as well as English documents. Mr. Boxer has overcome all these difficulties and has produced a most commendable book. Since the publication of the work on the Persian Gulf by Sir Arnold Wilson the interest in this part of the world has greatly increased,

and readers will now be able to understand and appreciate British activities in the Gulf better than before. The account describes the capture of the city and island of Ormuz from the Portuguese by an Anglo-Persian force. There are altogether twelve appendices, consisting of documents, various Portuguese and English accounts, including one which is preserved in the India Office.

THE HEROINES OF ANCIENT PERSIA. Stories retold from the Shah Nama of Firdausi. With fourteen illustrations. By Bapsy Pavry. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 15s. net.

Miss Pavry has selected nineteen heroines from the Shah Nama in order to present them to the ever-increasing number of readers of Oriental literature. The scholar, of course, knows the Shah Nama, and is therefore familiar with the stories which have these heroines for their subjects. The stories are well told, but, perhaps, a little short. The illustrations are taken from Persian manuscripts in the New York Metropolitan Museum, and are an attractive embellishment to this beautiful volume.

RED STAR IN SAMARKAND. By Anna Strong. (*Williams and Norgate.*) 15s. net.

The Great War has brought about changes that no one in 1914 could foresee. Samarkand, once a sleepy town safe for the Tsar's troops, is today buzzing with trains, trams, cinemas, and machinery of all kinds; it has become the Bolshevik outpost in Central Asia. Women, once veiled, are not only unveiled, but are parading their unveiling in public. Workers' clubs, Red army and university clubs abound. Miss Strong's narrative of the new life in Central Asia is fascinating to read, yet one cannot but wonder whether the future will bring that happiness which the people in their ignorance dream of. One of the episodes that are related refers to the death of Enver Pasha, who was killed by chance in an encounter with a Bolshevik reconnoitring party. The Emir of Samarkand himself had to flee for his life, and what is left of his palace is now occupied by committees and various offices.

THE CALIPHS AND THEIR NON-MUSLIM SUBJECTS. A critical study of the Covenant of Umar. By A. S. Tritton. (*Oxford University Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.

We learn from this book that a great amount of liberty was granted in the Covenant of Umar to Christians and Jews, which, as time went on, became more restricted. In early days Christians were even allowed to reside at Mecca and Medina, and it appears that Muslim rulers were more lenient to their non-Muslim subjects than Christians towards Muslims. The consequence was that frequently non-Muslims rose to considerable authority and rank. Although it is time that these facts are brought to light and that

Islam gradually comes to its own, it must not be overlooked that restriction did exist, to the discomfort especially of Christians and Jews. The wearing of special turbans and clothes was one of them. Professor Tritton, an able Arabic scholar, should be appreciated for his services to truth, and it is to be hoped that he will continue his work in the cause of scholarship and a gradual understanding between the Muslim on the one hand and the so-called Unbeliever on the other.

ORIENTALIA

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF CASTE IN INDIA. By N. K. Dutt. Vol. I. (Kegan Paul.) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE.)

There are three questions which everyone who approaches the vexed problem of caste is bound to ask himself: What was its origin? Why has it persisted in such strength? and, as a corollary, What is the cause of untouchability and of the veneration for the cow? Mr. Dutt answers the first more or less in the orthodox way; he regards caste as an Aryan institution which in certain conditions of non-Aryan society was adopted in a form modified by pre-existing tribal or Dravidian customs, particularly in the south. There are objections to this theory, as Mr. Dutt has shown that there are objections to others. It is as easy to argue that the Indo-Aryans found the institution established and adapted it to their own needs as to maintain that it was grafted upon pre-Aryan customs, which thus became "hardened into caste divisions." There are several views of the origin of caste, and in the present state of our knowledge it cannot be said that any of them is definitely proved.

It would be unfair to Mr. Dutt to complain that he has not answered the second question, because the volume does not take us beyond 300 B.C. That caste has persisted in India alone, in spite of the irruption of the Muslims and of the coming of the Europeans, is a very remarkable historical fact, and Mr. Dutt's solution of this mystery will be awaited with some interest.

There is no doubt that the killing of bovines was not only not regarded with any horror in ancient India, but was of common occurrence, and in some cases was even prescribed. Mr. Dutt explains that by the time of the Sutras there was a revulsion of feeling against animal slaughter. The wave of Jainism and Buddhism which overspread the country had, in all probability, much influence in this direction, and Mr. Dutt gives six other reasons for the sacredness of the cow. They do not entirely satisfy, even when allowance is made for their cumulative effect. For if the repugnance to the slaughter of the cow be ascribed to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls and to a distaste for animal food, why is the cow exalted above all other animals? The theory of its utility to man has often been put forward, and a reluctance to kill cows may be analogous to the European reluctance to kill horses; but the European does not worship the horse, nor has he

carried his horror of their slaughter to the extreme length of condoning almost everything short of killing. And though the Aryans may have used cattle as a medium of exchange, that idea would have died out very soon, and in any case a worthless cow was worthless. Finally, if the Vedic Aryans attached "some sort of sacredness" to the cow because of the produce which was essential to sacrifice, why did they sacrifice the cow itself?

On the question of untouchability there are many who will agree with Mr. Dutt that the idea of the outcaste was "borrowed from the Dravidians," though they may, perhaps, differ from him in ascribing the practice to filthy habits. This, however, seems to be the orthodox view, and Mr. Dutt cannot be blamed for orthodoxy.

All these are very difficult questions over which scholars will wrangle. When he gets on to surer ground where the materials are more definite and complete, Mr. Dutt is able to show how the original idea of caste hardened under priestly influence into a rigid and intolerant system. He supports his main theses with a wealth of quotation from original sources, and one gets the impression that, while caste in its beginning was a not unreasonable solution of primitive social conditions, by 300 B.C. it had already become a tyrannical organization in which human nature was lost in a maze of Levitical rules. With the exception of a few lapses from our wayward idiom the book is well written.

RELATIONS OF GOLCONDA. (*Hakluyt Society.*)

(Reviewed by SIR WILLIAM BARTON.)

The importance of the Hyderabad State in the scheme of Indian Federation should provide an incentive to the student of Indian politics to examine the *Relations of Golconda*, the latest publication of the Hakluyt Society. Hyderabad enshrines the memories of Muslim political achievements in the Deccan. In the chronicles of the ancient kingdom of Golconda will be found the origin, the evolution, and the characteristics of those achievements. The *Relations*, although they cover a short time only—the events they describe relate mainly to the second decade of the seventeenth century—give an interesting glimpse of the political, social, and economic life of the Deccan at an important period of its history. They touch lightly on the activities of Englishmen and other Europeans in India at the time.

There are three *Relations*, of which the most comprehensive is written by an Englishman, Methwold; the other two are by Dutchmen, both factors in charge of a trading station at Masulipatam, chief port of the Golconda kingdom. Methwold wrote his narrative for Purchas' Pilgrimage; the others for the information of the Dutch East India Company. The *Relations* are ably edited by Mr. W. H. Moreland, I.C.S., who has written an illuminating introduction.

Methwold had a distinguished career in the East. Appointed to Surat on first going to India, he was sent later on to the East India Company's head office in Java, and was nominated by the Council of the Company at Bantam as their factor at Masulipatam, where he remained from 1618 to 1622. He

then returned to England; in 1632 he was appointed Chief Agent at Surat, where he remained for several years.

Golconda at the period in question comprised nearly half the Deccan, extending from the Mogul province of Orissa and the Godaveri on the north to the Penner River in the south. With her neighbours on the west, the Muslim kingdom of Bijapur and Ahmednagar, she was in alliance against the Mogul emperors of Delhi. On the south lay the broken kingdom of Vijianagar, where warring provincial governors (*nayaks*) struggled for mastery. The people of the country are referred to generally as Moors or Moslems and Gentus, the latter term a corruption of a Portuguese word meaning "Gentile." Brahmins and Banias are separately noted. The administration even for those days was inefficient. The king was the only freeholder; he ruled by divine right. The provinces or districts were put up to auction and given to the highest bidder, who, as governor, was chiefly concerned to extort enough from the people to make a profit from his farm. The governors were usually Brahmins, occasionally Banias; Muslims rarely took charge of a district. They preferred to act as supervisors of the governors. Governors, if they failed to make good their obligations to the king, were often thrown to the elephants to be trampled to death. The conventions of Islam forbade the king to execute justice on Muslims, especially Persians, in this manner. That the usual deterrent was absent in their case was quoted as a reason for the fact that districts were so infrequently given to Muslims. The predominating influence at court was Persian; the State religion was Shiah. Practically all the Muslims of the country derived their living from the king. There was no Muhammadan peasantry; there is practically none at this day. Only the Shiahs had mosques; Sunnis were not molested. Hindus had temples everywhere; many were in ruins because of Muslim rule. The Brahmins came in for special notice as priests, clerks, accountants, and governors. They are described as the brainiest of the Hindus. What is recorded of the Pariah might have been written today. Child marriage was the general practice among the Hindus; the joint family system is noted; all three narrators mention cases of widow burning, some of which they witnessed themselves. Muslim officials discouraged the practice and refused their sanction when asked. The life of the Hindu child widow was much the same as today. Hookswinging was a common practice.

Justice was administered by the governors with the aid of Muslims. The Qazi dealt with cases under Muslim law. There was no written law of the country. The court of the ruling family, the Qutbshahis, maintained great state. Their capital at Hyderabad was greatly admired by their European visitors.

Methwold describes the diamond fields at Kollur, near the Kistnah, where a great town of a hundred thousand people had grown up. Apart from agriculture, the principal industry was weaving. It was practised chiefly in the coastal tracts, apparently by a particular caste and not as a village industry. The weavers worked in their houses, a prey to the moneylender or middleman. Shipbuilding was practised at Narsapur Peta, on a branch of the Godaveri, north of Masulipatam, where ships up to six hundred tons

were built. Masulipatam had an extensive trade carried on by Muslims and Komatis (Hindu Banias), apart from English and Dutch. "The Gentus do not go much to sea." The coasting trade had been a Portuguese monopoly during the sixteenth century. Much of it had passed into the hands of their European rivals. The principal exports were cotton goods, iron, steel, tobacco, spices, and sandalwood. Muslim traders carried their commodities to the Red Sea, Arakan, Pegu, Achin in Sumatra, Java, etc. Ships left in January for the pilgrim traffic to Mecca. Dutch and British trade followed much the same lines as Muslim trade. Iron, steel, calico, etc., were taken to Batavia, Achin, etc.; pepper, porcelain, and china goods were the return cargoes. The Red Sea trade was paid for in bullion; from Pegu, tin, gold, rubies, and sapphires were imported. Customs dues were levied on both imports and exports. Operations were facilitated if the *chhapa-dalali* fees (stamping dues) were accompanied by a *douceur* to the governor and harbour-master. Relations between the European traders and the people appear to have been friendly.

Hyderabad lost the Northern Circars, or coastal tracts, a century and a half ago. She still retains treaty rights in Masulipatam.

LES INSCRIPTIONS MALAISES DE ÇRĪVIJAYA. Par G. Coëdès. (Extrait du Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, t. XXX., Nos. I. and II., 1930.) Pp. 80. Six plates.

(Reviewed by C. O. BLAGDEN.)

Srī Vijaya is the Sanskrit name of a state, centred at Palembang, in South-Eastern Sumatra, which flourished for at least five hundred years, from the seventh to the twelfth century. During a great part of that time it rivalled the power of Java, and it is remarkable that, unlike the latter country, it has left so few concrete evidences of its former prosperity in the shape of monuments and inscriptions. Its wealth and importance from the point of view of trade is sufficiently attested by Arabic, Chinese, and other sources. Of its scanty array of inscriptions, four are reproduced and discussed in the above-mentioned article. They have all been edited before by Dutch scholars—Nos. I. and II. by Professor Van Ronkel; No. III., very briefly, by Professor Krom; and No. IV. by the late Professor Kern, who was the pioneer in this line of research. The last two inscriptions represent variants of substantially the same text.

These documents are in a local language, but contain a very large number of Sanskrit loanwords. Except No. III., they are dated, in dates of the Śaka era falling within the period A.D. 683-686. They are thus the oldest inscriptions, hitherto discovered, of any of the languages of the Indian Archipelago. Their interest is therefore twofold—linguistic and historical. To students of Malay they are of very special importance, as embodying the earliest specimens of what must be regarded as either the direct ancestor or, at any rate, a very close cognate of that language. Professor Coëdès pleads for the former view, which is certainly arguable. But Malay, by its very name,

claims to be the language of the district of Malayu, which bordered Śrī Vijaya, and is said to have been to the west of it, though, as it apparently had a port on the east coast of Sumatra, it must have been on the north-west of the Palembang region. It is known that Malayu became annexed to Śrī Vijaya shortly before A.D. 690, and, judging from the map, it would seem probable that inscription No. III. was set up within the confines of the newly annexed territory. But, on the other hand, the inscriptions, being official documents, would presumably be in the language of the capital, Palembang, which need not have been exactly identical at this time with the Malay of the neighbouring region Malayu. Still, when one compares them with modern Malay, it is surprising to find that in many respects there is close agreement, and the lapse of more than twelve centuries has left quite a number of words practically unchanged. This is not, however, the place for a technical discussion of the linguistic details, and we may fairly speak of these documents as being in old Malay, for short.

Their historical aspect is of more general interest. They show us a Hinduized Indonesian state, which had already extended its rule to the island of Bangka (No. IV.) and the upper waters of the Jambi River in Sumatra (No. III.), as well as sending a warlike, and professedly punitive, expedition against Java. For though the name Java is somewhat ambiguous, there seems to be no particular reason to doubt that in No. IV. it means what we call Java, or at any rate some part of that island. The most interesting point, however, in these records is one which Professor Cœdès has now, for the first time, brought out—namely, the particular type of Buddhism favoured by the Palembang rulers of this period. Inscription No. II. makes it clear that it was Mahāyāna of a distinctly Tantric type. It appears from other sources, to which Professor Cœdès refers, that this peculiar development of Buddhism arose in Bengal in the middle of the seventh century, and became very popular there. Its presence a few years later in Southern Sumatra is definite evidence of the intimate relations that existed at this time between the two regions, in spite of their great distance from one another. It is plain that their connection was close, not only in matters of trade and traffic, but also in the propagation and spread of new fashions in religion. A few generations later, as is well known, Java had also fallen under the same influence, which inspired its early Buddhist temples, such as Kalasan and Bara Budur. Professor Cœdès' thorough acquaintance with the texts of Buddhism has enabled him to make the meaning of inscription No. II. quite clear, and has added a fresh item to the history of the spread of Buddhism beyond the confines of India proper.

BHAGAVAD GITA. An exposition on the basis of Psycho-Philosophy and Psycho-Analysis. By Vasant G. Rele. (Bombay: Taraporevala and Sons.) Rs. 4'12.

This book is beautifully printed, and its general appearance leaves nothing to be desired. The Gita, which has, through its numerous renderings into most languages of the cultured world, become one of the great classics, has

received a proportionately large variety of interpretations. Mr. Rele has certainly made a deep study of the original text; he has further examined a number of commentaries. In many cases he differs in a marked degree from adopted explanations, while other passages which have remained unintelligible now find a solution from the author.

THE BOOK OF THE KINDRED SAYINGS (SANYUTTA NIKAYA, OR GROUPED SUTTAS).
Part V. Translated by F. L. Woodward. (*Oxford University Press.*)
10s. net.

This great work, the translation of the Sanyutta Nikaya, has just been concluded, and from all scholars of Pali and Buddhism sincere thanks are due to Mr. Woodward for the enormous work of translation and editing of the last three volumes. How accurately this task is accomplished is proved by the final three pages, which contain a list of errata and additions to vols. i. to iv. This list is but very short, and it further shows how masterly the translator has read and re-read his subject. There are twelve books in the final volume, of unequal length, comprising four hundred pages in all. Mrs. Rhys Davids, the editor of the Pali Text Society translations, of which it forms part, has provided an introduction, in which a generous tribute is paid to Mr. Woodward.

BALADITYA. An historical romance of Ancient India. By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.*) 7s. 6d. net.

The author had a commendable idea in his mind in writing a novel which has for its characters personages of the Gupta Dynasty. He wishes to make dry history popular and interesting, and is quite right in the preface where he states that history pure and simple often leaves most people cold. Perhaps the public in India reading historical novels in English is not very large, but Mr. Ayyar has broken new ground, and no doubt he will have his followers, and together they may succeed in making Indians recall their own history. The author pictures the adventures of King Baladitya and his Queen Sarasvati admirably, and welds them into a modern English novel.

LES RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS LE PAGANISME ROMAIN. Par Fr. Cumont.
4^e édition revue. Illustrée et annotée. (Paris: *Paul Geuthner.*)

This volume has enjoyed, on account of its profound scholarship, a worldwide reputation. Three editions have been sold out—a great testimony to the learned author's reputation—and this fourth edition has now been placed on the market. The text itself has undergone but few corrections; one appendix, *Les Mystères de Bacchus à Rome*, has been added. The most valuable part of the book, consisting of one hundred pages of notes in small quarto size, has, however, been considerably altered and enlarged. In view of recent researches, this became absolutely necessary, and on this ground

alone many of the purchasers of the former editions will have to turn to the new one for up-to-date information.

VEDANTA, OR THE SCIENCE OF REALITY. By K. A. Krishnaswamy Aiyar. (Madras: *Ganesh.*) Rs. 10 net.

It is a pleasure to look at some of the modern examples of Indian book production, and this volume is a good specimen. The outward cover in this case is indicative also of the contents. There is a vast amount of independent thinking to be found in these three hundred and fifty-odd pages, based on much study, including that of non-Hindu religions and modern Western philosophers. Comparatively few notes have been appended to the pages, and only casual references have been made to the Sanskrit sources. Although Continental thinkers have been largely included in Mr. Aiyar's discussions, he only refers to those with English renderings. Numerous works have not been translated, and these might have given rise to further stimulating thought. This is a minor defect, and it is the happy and well-poised independence of views that lend an additional charm to the volume. Professor S. Radhakrishnan pays tribute to this fact in an appreciative foreword.

THE TWELVE PRINCIPAL UPANISHADS. Text in Devanagari, with translations and notes from the commentaries of Sankara and the glossary of Anandagiri. By E. Roer. Vol. I. Isa, Kena, Kathago Upanishads. Second edition revised and rearranged by M. N. Dvivedi. (Madras: *Theosophical Publishing Association.*)

The Upanishads continue to attract the attention of scholars and laymen in an increasing degree, and thanks are due to the publishers for re-issuing the famous edition by the late Dr. Roer. A new arrangement has been introduced by having the Sanskrit text with the translation below, and the notes, also in English, by the two renowned commentators. The volume is beautifully printed on excellent paper and in good type. Professor Dvivedi, one of the foremost Sanskrit scholars, has undertaken the new edition with his usual thoroughness. Two more volumes will complete *The Twelve Principal Upanishads*.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF BUDDHISM AND A BUDDHIST PILGRIMAGE. By Professor James B. Pratt. (Macmillan.) 15s. net.

In 1916 Professor Pratt published a work entitled *India and its Faiths*. Since then he has travelled once more to the East with the purpose of studying Buddhism, and has especially devoted his time to the various Japanese Buddhist systems. In this volume the author gives a comprehensive account in a few chapters of the origin of Buddhism and of the Buddha's teaching, chiefly from Pali scriptures, but also according to the Mahayana system. The chapters deal with the spread of this faith in South-

Eastern Asia, in China, and Japan. He has made his study on the spot, and his knowledge of present-day Buddhism is remarkable. His conclusion is that even in those parts of the world practice is different from theory, or teaching. That Professor Pratt is a well-read man is testified by numerous references to and quotations from original texts or translations from the various Buddhist scriptures, be they of the Hinayana or Mahayana systems. Reference may be made to the good index, which might, however, in view of the size of the volume, have been more detailed.

CULAVAMSA, being the more recent part of the Mahavamsa. Translated from the Pali by W. Geiger. Part I. Pali Text Society. (*Oxford University Press*.) 10s. net.

The Translation Series of the Pali Text Society is making rapid progress, the present volume showing No. 18. Professor Geiger, one of the foremost scholars of Pali, and known for his masterly German work on Pali language and literature, has translated for the first time the Culavamsa in a manner readable and at the same time scholarly, with numerous notes, philological and literary. The Mahavamsa has already taken his name far abroad, and the present volume can but add to his name as one of the great pioneers.

The translation has been entrusted to Mrs. Rickmers, formerly Miss Mabel Duff, who herself is an able scholar, having studied years ago under Professor Rhys Davids. All praise is due to her for her share in the task, which cannot have been an easy one.

SANTAL FOLK-TALES. Edited by P. O. Bodding. Vol. III. Oslo, 1929. (London: *Williams and Norgate*.) 23s. net.

This truly formidable work is now complete. The reader may be reminded that it does not merely contain the Santali text, but also on opposite pages the English translation. The stories, numbered 68 to 93, are divided into those concerning Jugis, the souls in human bodies, animals born by women, and miscellaneous. They are not only interesting in themselves, but they give valuable information about the mentality and the manners and customs of the Santalis. The notes should be most useful to the Indian philologist. The Oslo Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning deserves the thanks of the students of folk-lore for adding these three volumes in their series, and Mr. Bodding has added to the high esteem in which he has been held by his previous works on Santali language and literature.

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

THE APPLIED ARTS IN THE FRENCH COLONIES (*L'ART DE RECONNAÎTRE LES STYLES COLONIAUX DE LA FRANCE*). By Emile Bayard. With a preface by Marshal Lyautey. Two hundred and three illustrations. (Paris: Garnier Frères.)

(Reviewed by JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

It was as inevitable as it is fortunate that M. Emile Bayard, whose extensive knowledge of architecture, domestic decoration, and the artistic crafts, served by an easy pen, has piloted us so agreeably through the "styles" of all the French "periods," should now have undertaken to guide us through those of the French colonies. Strictly speaking, he claims to do more than that. Not only the title of the book, but its general trend, seems to assume that there are artistic developments in the French territories overseas which deserve to be classed, not as the styles of certain French colonies, but as the "colonial styles of France." A special chapter at the end of the book, devoted to "the indigenous art in the French colonies," emphasizes this impression. Such a conception may seem strange to us who, if we think on these matters at all, are likely to become obsessed with the nightmare of all the "post-office Doric" with which British rule has inundated the overseas parts of the Empire. But it is not a surprising assumption to a Frenchman.

If France can hardly claim to have initiated the great architectural movements of which so many magnificent examples are to be found within her borders, she has always imprinted her own personality upon that which she borrowed, thereby turning it into something which the world came to identify with France rather than with the country of its origin. Moreover, the preponderating cultural influence exercised by France over the whole of Continental Europe during the periods of her greatest political radiation has spread French artistic ideas throughout the Continent and, though with perhaps somewhat greater modifications, also in England. How could her colonies, even those with a living artistic tradition of their own, escape such overbearing influences? Particularly noticeable is this influence in those French colonies where the European population had settled down in towns and lived in comfortable circumstances—such as, for instance, in Pondicherry or such islands as Réunion. With excellent illustrations M. Bayard shows us the modifications in Pondicherry of the various styles from time to time current in the French metropolis. He shows us, too, how, according to the greater or lesser extent of British influence at the time, the neighbouring colonial nation affected these modifications. Now that colonial furniture of British ancestry is being eagerly collected and studied in North America, whilst the Dutch are preserving not only the indigenous, but also the European furniture of their colonies, we may, perhaps, in due course expect a comprehensive survey of the whole field of the European applied arts in the colonies, leading up to the modern developments of the arts generally in the great British Dominions where, both in painting and architecture,

national arts can be said to be dawning, South Africa having, in architecture, already a clearly defined style to its credit.

As regards the local, if not necessarily indigenous, arts of the French dominions overseas, the two most interesting centres are to be found in North-Western Africa—Algiers, Morocco, Tunis—and in the Far East—Cambodia, Annam, Tonkin, Laos. As the former is the outcome of the great Muslim movement which swept from the lands of its origin throughout Northern Africa into Spain on the one hand and into Morocco on the other, so the Eastern centre also owes its art to foreign influences, in this case partly Chinese and partly Indian. The magnificent Colonial Exhibition which is now drawing millions to Vincennes affords a unique opportunity to compare M. Bayard's interesting survey with the marvellous range of objects displayed there, which the study of his book renders both more interesting and coherent.

The frequently impressive but crude architecture of Equatorial Africa so imposingly displayed in some of the buildings at the exhibition is also fully dealt with. Unless one belongs to those hyperæsthetic moderns whose jaded tastes in matters of sculpture and decoration can only be stimulated by the virile but more often than not clumsy and crude creations of obviously uncultured peoples, this side of French colonial art will probably be found scientifically interesting rather than æsthetically satisfying. A comparison between the dwellings, tools, and implements, the textiles and ornaments of these Equatorial African races and those, even the least cultured, of the East Indian Archipelago will turn out to the disadvantage of the black as against the brown races. The chapters on those West Indian colonies of the French in which the negro has largely replaced the original population seem to confirm this impression of the negro's artistic inferiority compared with even the primitive races of Asia. Nor is this opinion likely to be changed by hearing the charming music of the Javanese or Balinese *gamelan*, or the reed flutes of Laos, by the side of the African prototypes of the modern "jazz," effective as these latter may be for the purposes for which they were designed.

The last chapter, dealing with the measures taken in various French colonies to stimulate the study and practice of the indigenous arts, is of particular interest to us, as there is ample proof at the Colonial Exhibition in Paris of the great success which has attended these French endeavours. In finding men such as M. Ricard for Morocco, M. Groslier for Cambodia, and M. Tardieu for Tonkin, the French have been fortunate in that these men are primarily artists of true French inspiration, but so deeply imbued with the value of the indigenous arts of their respective territories that the pupils they are training derive their main inspiration from their traditional ancestral arts. If the achievements of these students are such as to appeal keenly to modern French taste, so much the better. The great thing is, however, that they have not set out to gratify the prospective buyer, by working down to his alleged taste, but have maintained the high standards which have been set from the start.

This result of French colonial art education is the more to be admired because, except perhaps in Morocco—and there only to a limited extent—

there is no equivalent in the French dominions of the traditional art patronage and the continued practice of the arts found in India. The French colonies in the Far East lack not only those wealthy princes and merchants whose orders, in India, continue to call for the production of the time-honoured article, for the building of the traditional palace or temple, but also anything which can be compared with the palace schools in the Indian States or with the hereditary master-builders and craftsmen of India. In Indo-China the traditional arts and crafts had, thus, almost completely died out when the French set out to revive them. To study not merely the measure of their success, achieved in a short space of time, but especially their methods, should be of particular value to all who are interested in the Indian arts and crafts. If it could be arranged to display some of these modern Indo-Chinese works, which include remarkable paintings and sculptures as well as interior decorations, in London, I fancy the English public would be greatly surprised at their excellence, as also Indians keenly interested in the means by which this artistic revival has been brought about.

In Muslim North Africa the traditions linking these parts with the remainder of the Muhammadan world have been better, if only partly, preserved, and the arts have benefited accordingly. The policy followed by the French in erecting their public buildings in the traditional style of the country is contributing to keep native appreciation of their own art alive. It would be of the greatest interest to be able to compare the artistic movement, down to modern days, in the whole belt of Muslim countries which runs from Morocco to Malaya. Since it would be of equal value to all the three great colonizing Powers—Great Britain, France, and Holland—perhaps we may hope that some day their friendly co-operation may achieve this aim through a selective but representative exhibition.

Meanwhile not only all visitors to the Colonial Exhibition in Paris, but all those interested in the applied arts of Asia and Africa, will read M. Bayard's book with keen pleasure and great profit.

HANDBUCH DER ORIENTALISCHEN TEPPICHKUNDE. Von R. Neugebauer und S. Troll. With one hundred and twenty-eight half-tone and sixteen coloured plates. (Leipzig: Hiersemann.)

This new large edition has been thoroughly revised and new chapters have been added. The authors have divided the text into the Oriental carpet before and after 1800, and all types, such as of Central Asia, Persia, Asia Minor, Egypt, Caucasia, and India, give room for description and technique in every detail. Nothing seems to be omitted. One chapter deals with the carpet as a work of art, and finally advice is given as to the buying and treatment of carpets. The coloured plates are beautiful, and besides the one hundred and twenty-eight half-tone plates there is a good map showing the places of manufacture. Finally, eight *motif*-plates adorn the book, which should be of great service to lovers of carpets, designers, art schools, and manufacturers.

CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON. Part VI. Moghul Painting. By Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. (Cambridge, Mass.)

The Department of Indian Art of the Boston Museum submits a further instalment of its rich collections to the public, and the keeper, Dr. Coomaraswamy, deserves once more fullest credit for the lucid manner in which they are represented in book form. The list of paintings is divided into the various schools, beginning with that of Akbar. The collection comprises three hundred and seventeen numbers in all, many of which are critically described and reviewed. The closing pages contain a bibliography of Persian and Moghul painting and a valuable index. Two hundred and ninety-four illustrations are reproduced in all on seventy-four plates.

LA PEINTURE INDIENNE À L'ÉPOQUE DES GRANDS MOGHOLS. Par Ivan Stchoukine. (Paris: Leroux.)

The study of Moghul art in Europe is of recent date. It is chiefly due to Mr. E. B. Havell, who aroused a sensation with his work *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, and this was followed by the monumental work of Vincent A. Smith, *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*. Amongst the subsequent workers in the field are Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, F. R. Martin, Laurence Binyon, the late Sir Thomas Arnold, Percy Brown, H. Goetz, and E. Diez, who all contributed to our understanding of Moghul art. It is a pleasure to note that another edition has been made, this time in French, which should almost complete the European survey of this branch of Asiatic art. The volume of Mr. Stchoukine is a most conscientious production. An introduction to the study of Moghul painting in Europe recalls the names and works of those who have preceded him. In chronological and systematic order he then deals with the origin, growth, and decline of Moghul and Indian art, with a section on its technique, the colours, the paper, and the brush. In the second part the author describes in a masterly manner the elements of Indian painting, first the nature and scenery with its architectural decoration, then the animals, and finally the portraits. In the last part we learn of the composition of the painting and of the art of colour. In the appendix is to be found a most accurate, complete, and systematic bibliography of twenty pages, which completes the artistic treatise of his subject. The volume itself contains two hundred and fourteen pages of text in quarto size and one hundred collotype plates. The study of Indian painting by Mr. Stchoukine takes a worthy place in the literature upon the subject.

HANDBOOK OF MOHAMMEDAN DECORATIVE ARTS. By M. S. Dimand. With one hundred and sixty-three illustrations and four plates in colour. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.) \$2 in paper; \$2.50 in boards.

The Metropolitan Museum has rendered a great service in issuing this capital handbook. As the book is undoubtedly intended for a wide circula-

tion, the price has been kept low. The book has nine main chapters: an historical introduction, Ornament, Miniature Painting from the Earliest Beginnings down to the Rajput School of Indian Painting, Calligraphy, Bookbinding, Sculpture, Woodwork, Ivory, Metalwork, Ceramics, including the Ceramic Art of Syria, Egypt, Persia, Turkey, Glass and Crystal, Textiles, Rugs. It will be observed that of all the arts only architecture is omitted. The volume begins with a very complete and useful bibliography and ends with a desirable chronological table of Muhammadan dynasties. This fine book is bound to have a ready sale also in England, as well as in Muslim countries.

LE ROYAUME DE CHAMPA. Par Georges Maspéro. Illustrated. (Paris: *Van Oest*.) 160 fr.

Monsieur Maspéro is known to be one of the best scholars of Chinese, and any work which he may place before the public is sure to be one indicative of great research and scholarship. The reader is made acquainted with the country and its inhabitants. Descriptions are given of its Fauna, Flora, Religions, Institutions, Customs, Agriculture, and Commerce. Hereafter an account is supplied of the Origins, chiefly based on inscriptions and on Chinese texts, and all passages are fully documented by references and notes, and a really detailed history, not dry but interesting, to the end of the kingdom in 1471, forms the chief part of this notable work. There is a complete chronological table of the kings of Champa with their Sanskrit, Chinese, and Annamese names side by side, and an index of twenty pages completes the work. The forty plates which illustrate the handsome volume are of the best.

LES FOUILLES DE HADDA. Par J. Barthoux. Part III. Figures et figurines. Album photographique. (Paris: *Van Oest*.) 380 fr.

This attractive volume in folio size belongs to the series "Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan." Although the author states in a short introduction that the age of these monuments has been discussed in the first part, it appears that this part, as well as the second, still awaits publication. The present part, therefore, contains merely a short introduction, a list of the plates, and one hundred and twelve plates in collotype, for the excellence of which the firm of G. Van Oest deserve great praise. The first plates are those in large size of the heads of Buddha, which are to be found on the monuments, or which are placed on the walls of the stupas; other plates are those of smaller size, representing chiefly the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, and also figures in connection with the life of the Buddha, and finally illustrations of demons and warriors. It would be difficult to select for their beauty special plates from the large number offered, but the first, which portrays a large head of the Buddha, is, perhaps, the finest piece. The variety is considerable, and we feel sure that the student of Buddhism and Buddhist art will revel in this volume and will more and more wonder at the religion and artists that could produce such monuments of enduring joy.

CHINESE ART. By William Cohn. With ninety illustrations. (*The Studio*.) 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Cohn is the writer of a number of books on Eastern art, and it can be safely stated that they are conscientious and critical. The present volume, though small in size, is no exception. Mr. Cohn, evidently also a master of English style, gives in six chapters a résumé of Chinese art—*i.e.*, Architecture, Bronzes, Painting, Sculpture, Ceramics, and other arts. The author does not repeat statements made by previous writers; he offers quite new ideas and information. The volume can, therefore, be recommended as an interesting new book. We gladly subscribe to Mr. Cohn's statement that the preservation of so many works of art is due to the interest which most emperors showed by collecting. There are ninety plates, illustrating all subjects.

GENERAL

SIR EDMUND HORNEY. An autobiography. With introduction by D. L. Murray. (*Constable*.) 18s. net.

Appointed to the Foreign Office in London, the author was despatched as Commissioner of the Turkish loan to Constantinople in 1855, and in 1865 to China in order to reform the Consular Service, and was subsequently appointed judge of the Supreme Court in Shanghai, where he remained until 1876.

These interesting memoirs contain a great deal of information about life in Turkey and in China, not only in regard to the European population, but also to the Turks and Chinese themselves.

THE CENTENARY OF A SYMBOLOGIST.

"The study of the hidden meaning in every religious and profane legend . . . pre-eminently the traditions of the East has occupied the greater portion of the present writer's life"—namely, Madame H. P. Blavatsky, born in the south of Russia on August 11, 1831. This statement prefaces Part II., on "Symbolism and Ideography," of the first volume of *The Secret Doctrine*, published in London in 1888. The centenary of Blavatsky's birth coincides with several important scientific centenaries, and is marked, also, by the dawning of a new era in archaeological research. During her lifetime archaeologists and historians were still under the obsession of mediæval traditions, as Professor Sayce recently pointed out in the Huxley Memorial Lecture, 1930, where he summed up the results of the past century's researches: the latest "objective facts of archaeology" have shown, however, that "civilized man in the fullest sense is immeasurably old"; and we cannot interpret the records of the distant past by the knowledge, assumptions, and prejudices of our own time. This was Blavatsky's then heterodox position, and she declared that researches would prove the fallacy of the "solar myths" which denied prehistoric existence to the

legendary empires of the East, and would show, also, the error of the gross phallic interpretations of ancient philosophical symbols which we find are now beginning to be questioned by some investigators.

There is no doubt that Blavatsky's writings stimulated research and provoked a more general interest in the thought, literature, and history of the ancient East; but her special contribution in this respect was extremely radical, as indicated by the still more novel statements that the history of ancient races is "embedded in symbols"; that "an historical, real event was deduced by those versed in the hieratic sciences—from certain emblems and symbols recorded in the ancient archives of the temples. . . . All the thoughts and emotions, all the learning and knowledge of the early races, found their pictorial expression in allegory and parable"; and in this way the hieratic symbols of old Egypt and the ancient Chinese alphabet were created (*S. D.*, I., p. 307). Professor Marguliès' recent articles explain clearly the synthetic characteristic of ideographical writing. Blavatsky, however, claimed to have found a key to the archaic ideographs, and *The Secret Doctrine* embodies an interpretation, derived by means of this supposed "key," concerning "the origin of man, the evolution of races, and geognosy." She stated that "the cosmological legends all over the world are based on a knowledge by the ancients of those sciences which have allied themselves in our day in support of the doctrine of evolution, and further researches may demonstrate that those ancients were far better acquainted with the fact of evolution itself, embracing both its physical and spiritual aspects, than we are now" (*ibid.*, p. 332). This knowledge was transmitted, she said, from civilization to civilization—a doctrine that modern investigation tends to maintain (e.g., see p. 167, *The Asiatic Review*, January, 1931): from it the various religions are derived and diluted. "Every nation receives in its turn some of the said truths, under the veil of its own local and special symbolism, which, as time went on, developed into a more or less philosophical cultus, a Pantheon in mythical disguise" (*ibid.*, XXXVI.). The archaic symbolism of the world-religions are examined and compared in *The Secret Doctrine*, II., 449 to 641, and it was Blavatsky's contention that this ancient knowledge is the only true basis for a synthesis of science, religion, and philosophy; that in prehistoric ages science and religion were one.

It is obvious from these brief citations that *The Secret Doctrine* as a whole must still be considered as merely plausible, although its probability has been enhanced since Blavatsky's death in 1891 by the many confirmations of certain parts of it by scientific researches which it is impossible to detail here. Her revolutionary statements regarding (1) the nature of matter have been substantiated by physicists—its electrical constitution, its permeability, its origin in Space and the illusive "atom"; (2) the antiquity of the human species have been partially proved by palæontologists who have found *homo sapiens* in Tertiary times; and (3) the sites of many prehistoric civilizations have been found correct—one described in the introduction of *The Secret Doctrine* (XXVI.) has been discovered by Sir Aurel Stein.

FICTION

TWO INDIAN NOVELS

ANTONY VANROY. By J. Chartres Molony. (*Methuen.*) 7s. 6d. net. DOORWAYS OF THE EAST. By Mrs. Theodore Pennell. (*Murray.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

These two novels between them cover a wide field, and, despite their great differences in form and outlook, are in some sort complementary. Mr. Molony has written a real "thriller," old-fashioned in construction if highly modern in setting; Mrs. Pennell, a gentle and sympathetic study, very readable and very illuminating. Both authors adopt a "liberal" standpoint, and both are at pains to show how fatally easy it is for Westerners to look upon the peoples of India as a homogeneous mass, whose race—and class—distinctions can be ignored.

The scene of *Antony Vanroy* is laid in an important Indian State, and the principal character, the eternal type of adventurer, has completely won the heart of his creator. With the sentiments, if not with the morality, of Colonel Vanroy, many of us will agree when he attacks somewhat bitingly the current ideas concerning the personality and methods of the Indian Princes:

"The first thing you've got to realize is that the man's a gentleman. He's not a fool: but it's not fair to say, as a lot of the English do, that he knows which side his bread's buttered on. Most of these old-fashioned Indian rulers have a very high-falutin' notion of fidelity, loyalty, and that sort of thing. They're not British politicians, you know. The Nawab's the ally of the British. The British don't treat him particularly well. They've driven some Shylock bargains with him over territory, and very often they don't even show him common politeness in their communications. And they preach at him with the most infernal smugness. For example, I heard our worthy Resident at one of his official dinners deploring the misgovernment of the State, the oppression of the people, and all that sort of thing. Rotten form, considering that some of the Nawab's own subjects were present. They were too polite to say anything, but I endeavoured to supply a want. 'Your Excellency,' I said—old Harland loves being called Your Excellency, though he isn't really entitled to it—'at the present moment whether is there more dissatisfaction in the dominions of His Highness or in British India?' Harland didn't like that: I've been in his black books more or less ever since. But the Nawab is loyal. He's given his word and he'll keep it."

But there is plenty of dramatic incident to carry this shrewd wisdom along in its stride, and the book is so far from being didactic that few readers will be able to put it down when once they have started it. Mr. Molony has the wit of his countrymen; and his sound knowledge of India serves to complete a most convincing and exciting story.

Mrs. Pennell deals with the problem of the Western-educated son of a Punjab family that is in the transitional stages between orthodoxy and modernism, and the reader will receive with respect her incidental references

to the great work accomplished by "Pennell of Bannu." She has done good service in revealing to Western readers the deep charm of Indian family life; while her picture of the awakening of Indian womanhood, and of the clash which in India, as elsewhere, often occurs between personal (and political) ambition and the claims of the home life is finely drawn and sympathetic. Her hero, Ram Ditta, is a thoroughly good fellow, and she has resisted the temptation to make him either a plaster saint or a naughty boy. Her women characters are real creations, with form and substance, and she endows them with personalities that move us strongly. This book, for all its charm and interest, is a contribution to a better understanding between England and India, and I feel sure that those who read it will share my own feeling of gratitude to the author.

UNE FILLE DE H'AU. Par Albert Gervais. (*Bernard Grasset.*) 12 fr.

(*Reviewed by VÉRONIQUE GOLDSTREAM.*)

M. Albert Gervais is the author of several books portraying life of the present day in the more remote and conservative provinces of China. None could be more enchanting than this one. The supposed writer is a French doctor practising (we are not told why) in Chentu in the province of Szechwan. He has apparently none but Chinese acquaintances, whose curiosity and amazement at his European ways—his extraordinary ideas of propriety, his wonderful furnishings and household appointments—are not the least amusing parts of the book. It is actually possible to have a bath winter and summer in his house, for the windows all shut quite easily and you merely turn on a tap to fill the bath; he has thick carpets, which are most unpractical, since, if you spit or throw the inedible parts of your dinner on them, as everyone in the best society does of course, they are difficult to clean; he writes his letters with a machine, and even at his age cannot make an easy Chinese character with any elegance; he eats with a knife and fork, and takes rice only about once a week; and he even likes to sit down at the same table with women! A visit to his house is naturally entertaining!

The theme of the book, which has no proper plot, is the tale of an idyllic liaison between the French doctor and a little Chinese lady, a widow of about nineteen. She is an exasperating and yet charming person, impassive and unreal as a doll sometimes, timid or irresponsible as a child at others. She has the strictest ideas of propriety, in spite of her ready acquiescence in becoming the doctor's mistress, and insists on conforming rigorously to Chinese canons of good manners. Needless to say, her standards are not those of the doctor's. She is shocked at the idea of taking a walk with her lover, but thinks nothing of inviting her women friends to make use of his wonderful bath without asking his permission or even introducing them beforehand!

M. Gervais tells his uneventful tale with great delicacy and a sympathy with Chinese behaviour which does not preclude a pointed humour. He gives a picture of Chinese provincial life which rings true and yet preserves unspoilt the bloom of romance which, for most Westerners, still rests upon it.

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EIGHTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT LEYDEN, 1931

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE PLENARY SESSION
ON SEPTEMBER 12.

OFFICIAL TEXT

Section IV.—The Far Eastern Section of the Eighteenth Congress of Orientalists, meeting at Leyden from September 7 to 12, 1931, having heard various papers on Sinological subjects, deeply impressed with the scholarly work which at the present time is being done in China, convinced that in the interest of the programme of Sinology it is very desirable that these studies become better known in the West, expresses the hope that ways and means may be found for publishing a regular bibliography of new Chinese publications.

The Far Eastern Section of the Eighteenth Congress of Orientalists, in view of the inadequacy of the existing resources in Sinology and the almost total lack of co-operation in Chinese researches, calls the attention of all learned societies, and individuals interested in these studies, to the urgent need for translations and indices of the most important works of Chinese literature.

It is especially urged that the preparation of an index of all the names and technical terms occurring in the twenty-four dynastic histories be at once set on foot.

Section V.—That the Eighteenth International Congress of Orientalists regrets that it has been impossible, owing to financial difficulties, to complete the publication of the 1926 volume of the *Orientalische Bibliographie*. The Congress heartily endorses the resolution of the Seventeenth Congress at Oxford to the effect that this great work is indispensable for all Orientalists, and that its continuation must be regarded as a matter of *international concern*. We recognize with deep appreciation the able and devoted work of Professor Scherman and his collaborators, and we represent to all governments and learned societies interested in any phase of Oriental studies the urgent necessity of raising funds to carry on the publication.

That the Indian Section of this Congress approves of the appointment of a committee consisting of Professor F. W. Thomas, Professor P. Tuxen, and Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, with power to co-opt two additional members (one French and one German), for the purpose of corresponding with learned bodies of the world with a view to present to the next Congress a scheme for the preparation of a comprehensive Sanskrit dictionary.

That the Indian Section of this Congress welcomes with profound satisfaction the announcement that the Government of India proposes to submit a Bill to the autumn session of the Legislative Assembly for facilitating the participation of scientific bodies, Indian and overseas, with the co-operation and under the supervision of the Archaeological Survey, in archaeological exploration. This section feels that the excellent work of the Archaeological Survey might be further advanced by the co-operation of competent experts belonging to other scientific bodies, both in India and elsewhere.

That the Indian Section of this Congress has learned with great satisfaction that researches in connection with Indian music, including the systematic collection and recording of folk-songs and the bardic chronicles of Upper India, have been undertaken by Dr. A. A. Bake under the auspices of the Kern Institute. This section, convinced of the importance of these studies and of the necessity of obtaining such records without undue delay, and recognizing the special competence of the scholar who has undertaken it, expresses the hope that Provincial Governments and Ruling Chiefs in India, as well as learned bodies and private individuals in India and elsewhere, will lend financial support to Dr. Bake's undertaking, and thus enable him to bring it to a successful conclusion.

That this section strongly supports the suggestion that it would be in the interest of artistic development in India if the excellent work commenced by the Government of India in publishing its Report on Modern Indian Architecture (in 1913) were completed by a general survey covering both British India and the Indian States and that the principal crafts should be included therein.

That the Indian Section of the Eighteenth Congress of Orientalists desires to record its appreciation of the very valuable services which the Kern Institute is rendering to Oriental learning, particularly by the publication of its *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, and to express the hope that the Institute may be enabled to carry out its project of publishing a complete historical and archaeological atlas of Greater India.

* Que le Congrès présent exprime le vœu que les gouvernements et les sociétés savantes procèdent sans retard à l'enregistrement par le film des gestes rituels qui accompagnent les actes du culte dans les religions de l'Orient pour servir de base à un classement méthodique et à une étude comparative des procédés d'expression dont ces gestes sont les symboles.

Section VI.—† Le XVIII^e Congrès International des Orientalistes rend hommage à l'effort déjà fourni par l'Académie de Vienne pour la publication des inscriptions sud-arabiques de la collection Glaser; émet le vœu que les organismes savants des

différents pays s'entendent pour mettre à sa disposition les moyens qui lui permettraient de réaliser complètement cette œuvre d'intérêt scientifique international.

‡ (La IV^e Section ayant adopté une résolution de la même tendance que la première résolution de la V^e Section, il a été considéré qu'il suffit d'adopter cette dernière résolution.)

ENGLISH VERSIONS

* That this Congress hopes that governments and learned societies will proceed without delay to make a cinematograph register of the ritual gestures accompanying religious services in the East to serve as a basis for the methodical classification and the comparative study of the forms of expression of which the gestures are symbolical.

† The Eighteenth International Congress of Orientalists appreciates the efforts made by the Academy of Vienna to secure the publication of the South Arabic inscriptions of the Glaser Collection, and hopes that learned bodies in the various countries will agree to furnish the necessary means to that Academy to enable it to complete this work of international scientific importance.

‡ (The Fourth Section having adopted a resolution in the same sense as the first resolution of the Fifth Section, it has been deemed sufficient to adopt the latter resolution.)

A NOTE ON THE CONGRESS

(Contributed by Sir E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E., LL.D.)

The Eighteenth Congress of Orientalists has just completed its session in Leyden under the presidency of that veteran scholar Dr. Snouk-Hurgronje. In spite of the absence of many German scholars, owing to the financial crisis, the congress was attended by over six hundred men and women, and every branch of Oriental research was well represented. Owing to the limited accommodation available in Leyden, many of the members took up their quarters either in The Hague or at the modern seaside resort of Noordwijk. During the day, from 9 a.m. onwards, lectures were delivered in the nine various sections, and in the evenings there were receptions or dinners in one of these three centres. On Thursday evening a grand banquet was held at a large hotel in Noordwijk, at which the Prince Consort presided. Speeches were made during the dinner by Dr. Snouk-Hurgronje for Holland, Professor Pelliot for France, Dr. Littmann for Germany, Sir Denison Ross for England, and Professor Nallino for Italy.

Among the more important communications made during the congress may be mentioned: Professor E. Forrer on his decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions; Professor Langdon on his latest excavations at Kish; Baron Max von Oppenheim on his diggings in Tell Halaf; Professor J. Capart on

a masterpiece of Amarna art; Professor Sandford on Palæolithic Man in Egypt; Selim Hassan on the discovery of an intact tomb belonging to the Ancient Empire; Professor Minorsky on the progress made in the study of Persian history and geography since 1900; Professor Margoliouth on a recently discovered Turki historical document; Professor Pelliot on the most urgent tasks awaiting the attention of Sinologists; Professor Hummel on the sceptical approach of Chinese history; Mr. A. L. Saunders (representing the East India Association) on the edicts of Asoka; Mr. C. L. Fabri on the chronology of the frescoes of the Ajanta and Bagh Caves; Mr. John de La Valette on the encouragement of archæology and the arts in the Indian States; Miss A. Conway on the pottery of Petra; Dr. H. C. Gallois on the relations between the ceramics of the Near and Far East; Professor Albright on exilic and post-exilic Judah in the light of Palestinian archæology; Dr. Vogel on the aims of the Kern Institute; Professor Guy on recent excavations at Megiddo; His Excellency Hafiz Afifi Pacha on the system of writing capital letters in Arabic recently adopted in Cairo; Mr. Teymour on modern Arab literature.

The above list, representing only a small selection of the lectures delivered, will suffice to indicate the very vast field of research covered by this congress.

The arrangements left nothing to be desired, and the hospitality of the Dutch was most lavish. I am glad to learn from the Editor of the *Asiatic Review* that he has arranged to publish several of these excellent papers *in extenso* in its pages.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

PUBLIC MEETING IN MEMORY OF THE LATE LADY (DORABJI) TATA, C.B.E.

A PUBLIC meeting in memory of the late Lady (Dorabji) Tata, C.B.E., was held at Caxton Hall, London, on Monday, July 20, 1931, at 5 p.m.

The meeting was under the chairmanship of the Right Hon. the Marchioness of Aberdeen.

Sir Leslie Wilson moved the following resolution: "The friends and admirers of the late Lady (Dorabji) Tata, C.B.E., in public meeting assembled desire to express their heartfelt sorrow at her untimely death in the midst of her manifold activities in the interests of India both in that country and in England. They wish to place on record that her amiable qualities had won the affection and esteem of all who had come into contact with her either socially or in the wider sphere of her public services, especially in the cause of the uplift and welfare of India's womanhood, which has suffered an irreparable loss by her death." He said that he had had the privilege of making Lady Tata's acquaintance before going to India, and during his five years' service as Governor of Bombay he had seen a great deal of her work. He had frequently met her personally, and he could testify to some of the many spheres of activity in which she had taken part. They were there to mourn a great personality. One of Lady (Dorabji) Tata's many wonderful characteristics was her intense love of life and the determination which she always had to get everything possible out of life, not for herself, but for the benefit of everyone who was in need of help. He was sure the one thing she had always desired in her all too short life was to leave the world a little better because she had been in it. She brought into everything that she undertook courage and perseverance. It was impossible for him to give a history of all the splendid work which had been done by Lady Tata. Almost her first public appearance was the very successful organization of the Industrial Section of the Bombay Exhibition in 1905. From that time until her death there was hardly a moment in which she was not actively engaged in good works of all descriptions. For her splendid work during the war His Majesty the King had awarded her the C.B.E. Her work would always be a permanent memorial to her name. They all knew the brilliant and successful efforts she had made for the representation of women in politics and in the local government of India; they knew of her care for the women in Bombay and her other activities, which were far too numerous to mention. The English language was poor on such an occasion as the present. He could not help thinking of the words of the great French philosopher Rousseau, who had said: "To live is not to breathe; it is to act." By that Rousseau meant that no man or woman was worthy of living who simply thought of his or her own interests and pleasures and did not humble himself or herself in order to help the world by personal assistance. If anybody had ever lived up to this, Lady (Dorabji) Tata had done so. Also, she was one who was always perfectly willing to be convinced if it could be proved to her that she was wrong, which was a sure sign of greatness. She had spent her life in helping others, overcoming all difficulties by her loyalty and her kindness of heart. They were met together that afternoon in order to say how truly and sincerely they mourned her loss and how they sorrowed

at her untimely death. They mourned, with Lady Tata's friends and relatives, one who at the present time could indeed be ill-spared.

H.H. the Maharaja of Burdwan, in seconding the resolution, said that after the charming tribute to the memory of the late Lady (Dorabji) Tata which the chairman had paid, and after the very kind and true words which had fallen from Sir Leslie Wilson, who, as Governor of Bombay, must have come into direct contact with Lady Tata's work, few words were needed from him in adding his contribution to their appreciation of the great work which Lady Tata had left behind her. They had indeed lost a true friend of India, and a true friend of womanhood generally, who could be ill-spared at the moment. If it was any consolation to a man bowed down with grief as his old friend Sir Dorabji Tata must be at the moment, he was sure that when he heard the eulogies paid to the services of his late wife it would bring him some solace in his great grief. He had much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Kumar Victor of Cooch Behar, Sir Atul Chatterjee (representing the Secretary of State for India), Sir Bhupendranath Mitra (High Commissioner for India), Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon (representing the British National Council of Women), Mr. Justice Mirza Khan, and Sir Charles Armstrong also spoke in support of the resolution.

The resolution was carried, all present standing.

Lady Pentland proposed: "That a copy of the resolution just passed be forwarded to Sir Dorabji Tata with an expression of the deep condolence of this meeting for the heavy bereavement suffered by him and the members of his family." She said that she still remembered her first meeting with Lady Tata when she saw her in the gardens of Government House at Ooty, with Sir Dorabji, in beautiful companionship. Lady Tata had been chosen as the representative of Indian women on many occasions. When the King and Queen visited India, and the women of India presented a jewel to the Queen, Lady Tata had been selected, with two or three other ladies, as representative Indian women to go in deputation to their Majesties to make the gift. When Lady Tata visited America in 1927 with her husband she made a great impression. She had been lavishly entertained by New York society, and was made an honorary member of some of the foremost clubs and institutions. She had addressed several societies, and both Sir Dorabji and Lady Tata had been presented at White House to President Coolidge by the British Ambassador. They all felt very conscious of the loss, not only to the country, but to Sir Dorabji Tata, by the untimely death of his wife.

Dr. R. P. Paranjypte, in seconding the resolution, said he wished to express his deep sympathy with Sir Dorabji Tata and the family of the late Lady Tata. Her name was a household word in all circles in India devoted to public service. Coming from a comparatively small community, she had no communal bias, her sympathies being extended to all the various communities of India. The great works which she had done would always keep her memory green among the people of India.

Mrs. R. M. Gray, the Right Hon. Sir Dinshaw Mulla, Lady Hartog, and Major Lockwood Stevens spoke in support of the resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

* Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, in closing the meeting, said: I have to ask the meeting, before the noble Chairman leaves the chair, to accord her ladyship a very hearty vote of thanks.

This was carried with acclamation.





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